

FRONTISPIECE.

THE SPECTRE OF THE CAPE.



N. Pocock del.

T. McLeod sculp.

TO LAVINIA COUNTESS SPENCER,

THIS PLATE, WHICH REPRESENTS THE DARING ENTERPRISE OF DA GAMA,

TO LAVINIA 'COUNTESS SPENCER,

THIS PLATE, WHICH REPRESENTS THE DARING ENTERPRISE OF DA GAMA.

THE
PROGRESS
OF
MARITIME DISCOVERY,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO
THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

FORMING
An Extensive System of Hydrography.

BY
JAMES STANIER CLARKE, F.R.S.
DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

" Cessem do sabio Grego, e do Troyano
As Navegaçoens grandes, que sizerão;
Callesse de Alexandre, e de Trajano
A fama das victorias, que tiverão:
Que eu canto o peito illustre Lusitano,
A quem Neptuno, e Marte obedecerão;
Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se levanta."

CAMOENS, Os Lusindas, Cant. I. iii.

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TO

THE PRINCE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

THE Favours with which you have condescended, SIR, to honour me, demand this public acknowledgment of my gratitude, and first induced me to request permission to express that gratitude, by dedicating this Volume to your ROYAL HIGHNESS.

YET I had also, SIR, other reasons for thus presuming to draw your attention towards the present Work. With the rest of my countrymen I not only regarded you as the PRINCE of THE BRITISH ISLES, but as the Heir Apparent of a Monarch, during whose Reign the progress of Maritime Discovery has been extended to the most distant regions, and the commercial interests of the United Kingdom have been pro-

DEDICATION.

portionably augmented. In your Royal Brother, WILLIAM HENRY DUKE OF CLARENCE, the World has beheld the noble example of a PRINCE, submitting to the Spartan discipline of the British Navy, and ascending by due gradation to the distinguished rank of ADMIRAL.

THE Naval Profession, thus highly honoured, was still, SIR, further upheld by your own conduct. It is the peculiar privilege of Royalty to select its friends from every rank, to raise unobtrusive Merit from obscurity, and to confirm the path of hereditary Honour. With this extensive range to choose from, you selected as the first, and most confidential of your Friends, two NAVAL OFFICERS: the Worth and professional Merit of Lord Hugh Seymour justified your choice; whilst the Independence and Sincerity of Admiral Payne, have shewn what is the noblest, as well as the most successful conduct to obtain the confidence of a PRINCE.

THAT plainness of Manners, which your ROYAL HIGHNESS admired in these Characters, you have sedulously encouraged in Society. By your Example, SIR, you have relieved exalted Rank from unmeaning Pomp, and cumbrous Statefulness, and by the ease of your demeanour, have rendered the deportment of our Nobility more conciliating.

Thus

DEDICATION.

Thus the liberality of your mind hath diffused the elements of Courtesy throughout the different ranks of Society, and given additional attractions to the noble character of an ENGLISHMAN.

IN this view, SIR, the present Volume, containing the commencement, and completion, of that arduous Maritime Design which originated with the PRINCE OF PORTUGAL, the renowned offspring of Philippa of Lancaster, grand-daughter to Edward the third, has a claim to your attention; and more particularly so when it is recollected, that the Son of this Monarch, whose military attainments you need only Occasion to emulate, first wore the Insigne of your Principedom on the FIELD OF CRESSY.

I have the Honour, SIR, to profess myself

With sentiments of grateful attachment,

And wishes for your happiness,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS' obliged and dutiful servant

JAMES STANIER CLARKE.

DEDICATION.

These the liberality of your mind hath diffused the elements of Country throughout the different minds of Society, and given additional attraction to the noble character of an

Is this view, Sir, the perfect Volume, containing the commencement and completion of that ancient Statute, Design which originated with the Prince of Portugal, the renowned offspring of Philip of Castile, grand-daughter to Edward the third, but a claim to your attention; and more particularly to when it is recollected, that the son of this March, whose brilliant attainments you first only observed to emulate, first wore the livery of your Princes on the

PRINCE OF CASSIN.

I have the Honour, Sir, to be Sir,

With sentiments of grateful attachment,

And wishes for your happiness,

Your Royal Highness obliged and dutiful servant,

JAMES STANIER CLARKE.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE Introduction to this Volume will be found to contain a progressive Memoir of Maritime Discoveries by the Cuthites, and Phenicians, the Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans. The Work itself, after some illustrations of Commercial history, in which, among other subjects, the doubtful progress of the Norman Mariners is glanced at, proceeds to review the early periods of Portuguese History prior to the fifteenth century; an account is then given of their most distinguished writers on Portuguese Asia and America; and the history of their Discoveries follows, from the reign of JOHN the first in 1385, to the arrival of da Gama in 1498 on the coast of Malabar; which completes the first great division of my labours. In the Appendix are many curious and scarce Tracts respecting Navigation, which are intended to elucidate the preceding pages.

But the reader may be curious to know, why the present Work was undertaken, and with what authority an obscure Individual like myself, has ventured to embark on so perilous a voyage.

A general idea of the Plan may have been formed from the Prospectus already circulated. It informed the public that the Outline was projected under the auspices, and with the approbation, of EARL SPENCER, who presided at the board of Admiralty; but I did not then mention another Patron by whom the arrangement of the whole was formed, that zealous Mariner Admiral John Willett Payne:

*Tuque ades, inceptumque unâ decurre laborem,
O decus, O famæ meritò pars maxuma nostræ,
MÆCENAS! pelagoque volans da vela * patenti.*

* Georg. lib. II. 39.

Under

Under this eminent Officer my attention was first directed to Naval Literature. His ardent mind pointed out whatever of novelty, or of utility, had hitherto been neglected; and whilst his genius cast new light on the desiderata thus presented, his Conversation cheered my fatigues, and his Enthusiasm prolonged my industry.

On my return from a Cruise in the Impetueux, my first efforts were submitted to the Press, and favourably received. When I contemplated the next object that offered, I trembled at its magnitude: my professional duties were increased; and I felt that I not only wanted the ability, but the leisure, requisite to complete an undertaking so great, as the progress of Maritime Discovery from the earliest Period to the close of the eighteenth Century. Whilst I hesitated, the importunity of Friendship increased, and at length prevailed. It repeatedly urged, that a Complete System of Hydrography was wanted by the literary world, and particularly by naval men; that it would prove an essential service to future Navigators to have the principal Discoveries of their predecessors connected and arranged; that a perusal of the numerous works relative to this subject demanded rather the leisure of a Recluse, than the agitated and interrupted day, which the Mariner constantly experiences.*

The Labour which Friendship thus urged me to attempt, has been greatly lessened by the suggestions and remarks, among many others, of the following Gentlemen. To my good friend Mr. Nicholas Pocock; to my brother Captain George Clarke, Captain Francis Mason, and Lieutenant Gourly of the Royal Navy; to Captain Burgess of the East India Service; to Mr. Bailey, Master of the Royal Academy at Portsmouth; and Mr. Whidbey, for whose acquaintance, and for many valuable hints, I am indebted to Captain W. Tremeneere of the Royal Marines; my first thanks are deservedly due. From the Reverend Mr. Bowles, and from Mr. Selwyn, I have experienced attention, though only known to them by the courtesy of literature. From Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, Bart. from the Reverend Samuel Henley, the Reverend Mr. Maurice of the Museum, the Reverend Mr. Greatheed, and from Mr. Pollard

* Sermons on the Character and Professional Duties of Mariners; with the first, second, and third Volumes of the Naval Chronicle.

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Pollard the learned friend of the late Sir William Jones, I have received that assistance which cheers and alleviates fatigue. The skill and experience of Mr. Arrowsmith, as well as his numerous MSS. have been always generously contributed; nor shall I on this occasion omit to acknowledge the great assistance I have invariably obtained, from the liberality and bibliographic information of that truly respectable and honest bookfeller, Mr. Thomas Payne.

An explanatory Catalogue of Collections of Voyages, and other geographical works of repute, is given by Mr. Locke in the * Appendix; many of them are now become extremely rare, and can only be purchased with difficulty at a great advance on their original price: but to Mr. Locke's Catalogue considerable additions may be made, which will be inserted in the course of the present work. It is at present sufficient to consider the Volumes that are styled COLLECTIONS.

1. SIMON GRYNORUS, the son of a peasant of Suabia, and the friend of Luther, of Melancthon, and Erasmus, published the first Collection of Voyages, in Latin, at Basil, one volume folio, 600 pages. (See Appendix, p. 202.) An Edition was printed at Paris in 1532, another at Basil in 1537, and a third in 1555. There also was an edition at Germ. Strass. in folio 1534, and one at Belg. Austr. in 1563. This Collection contained the Voyages of CADA MOSTO, COLUMBUS, PEDRO ALONZO, PINZON, and VESPUTIUS. Grynus visited England in 1531, and died at Basil in 1541.
2. PETER MARTYR, born at Angbiera in the Milanese, 1455, published in 1502 at Basil his three *Decades de Rebus Oceanis et Novo Orbe*. Folio.—An edition afterwards appeared in 1530, 1533, and one in Quarto, 1587, entitled *De Navigatione et Terris de novo repertis*. The following Copies among others are in the British Museum. (1) *De Insulis nuper inventis*, Complut. 1532. Folio. Rotterdam, 1616, 8vo. (2) *De Rebus Oceanis*, Col. 1574, 8vo. An abridgement of these *Decades* is given at the beginning of Ramusio's third Volume. Like him, MARTYR was soon famous for his diplomatique Talents. Ferdinand the fifth, of Arragon, entrusted him with the education of his children, and afterwards sent him as ambassador, first to Venice, and then to Egypt. He died in 1525 at the age of seventy. Campbell in a note to Harris's Collection observes, that Peter Martyr's account of Magal-baen's Voyage was burnt, in the sack of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon.
3. ALEXANDER GERALDINUS composed, what he termed, *Itinerarium ad Regiones sub Equinoctiali plaga constitutas*, anno 1520. *Complectens Antiquitates et ritus populorum Aethiopie, Africae*

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Africa, Atlantici Oceani, et Indicarum regionum. This work however did not appear until 1631, when it was edited at Rome in an octavo volume, by his grandson *Onuphrius Geraldinus*.

4. **RAMUSIO**, or **RANUSIO**, published his *RACCOLTA DELLE NAVIGAZIONI, ET VIAGGI, IN TRE VOLUMI DIVISI*, at the repeated solicitations of several learned men, particularly the celebrated *SIGNOR HIERONIMO * FRACASTORO*, to whom the first Volume is dedicated. *Ramusio* there observes, "The reasons which more particularly induced me to print this *RACCOLTA*, were, the defects I had remarked in the Maps of *Ptolemy* respecting *India*, and *Africa*. I therefore imagined it would prove an acceptable service to the world, if I collected the best accounts of those Countries that have been given us by modern writers, to which, if some notice of the *Portuguese* Charts was subjoined, it would then be an easy task to make such improved maps, as would form a most valuable acquisition to nautical men; since they would then be certain of having the longitude and latitude, at least of the Coasts of the above countries, correctly marked.—The best editions of the *RACCOLTA*, and its contents, are given in the Appendix, (page 173.) The principal editions are *Venice* 1583, 1584, 1588, 1606, 1613. There are two sets of *Ramusio* in the British Museum 1565, 83, 88. and 1583, 1606, 13. In the same library is an English translation of *Ramusio* by *JOHN FLAVIO*, 4to. Lond. 1580. As no memoir of this learned foreigner has yet appeared in our language, the following † Sketch is given from *Tiraboschi*. (Tom. 7. page 246. 8vo.) The family of **RAMUSIO** ranked among the Venetian *bourgeoisie* in the 15th century, and had previously distinguished itself in Literature, before the appearance of **BATTISTA**. *Jerome Ramusio* was celebrated not only for his skill as a physician, but for his knowledge of Arabic: his Brother **PAULO**, after practising at the Bar, became supreme magistrate at *Verona*, and is extolled, as a man of the most profound learning and the strictest integrity, in a letter from *GIOVITA RAPICIO* to the younger *Paulo*.—*GIO. BATTISTA*, son to this respectable magistrate, was born in 1485, and probably at *Verona*: when yet young he was sent on an embassy to France, and afterwards to Switzerland, and Rome, and executed his respective duties in each with credit. In France he so much distinguished himself, that according to *Paulo Manutius* in a dedication of *Cæsar's Commentaries* to *Ramusio's* son the younger *Paulo*, his father had been requested by *Louis XII.* to travel through the interior of his kingdom, and report his observations. As a reward for his valuable services to the republic of *Venice*, **BATTISTA** was afterwards appointed Secretary to the Council of Ten; and on retiring from this honourable post, as we learn from a letter of *Jerome Negri's*, **RAMUSIO** took up his residence at *Padua*.

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* See chap. 2. § 2. page 310. The curious reader will find the literary works of this celebrated Italian in the *British Museum*, and his life, in Mr. *Creswell's* Memoirs of celebrated Characters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

† For this, and other literary assistance, I am indebted to an Italian scholar, *Signor Demiani* of Naples.

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The Maritime Discoveries in Eastern and Western India, were at that period the principal subject of conversation among the learned and polite societies at *Padua*. RAMUSIO yielding to the desire of his friends, and the prevailing taste of the age, undertook his *RA-COLTA*; but I am unable to ascertain the exact date of its first publication. Previous to his death on the tenth of July 1557, at the age of seventy-two, he had prepared a fourth Volume for the press; which was accidentally destroyed in the succeeding month of November, by fire in the printing house of the *Giunti*. In the course of his Work RAMUSIO derived great assistance, from the correspondence he preserved with the most learned characters of the age; among whom were ANDREW NAVAGERO, and BALTHASSAR CASTIGLIONE, whilst they resided in Spain; GONZALO FERNANDO, the historian of Charles the fifth; SEBASTIAN CABOT, and Signor FRACASTORO. In the first, and second Volume, *Thomaso Giunti* pays a deserved tribute to the abilities of his countryman, and particularly dwells on his literary merit. Owing to the important duties of his station as secretary, *Ramusio* was often obliged to take those hours from his rest that were dedicated to Maritime Researches. *Giunti* laments, with much reason, the total loss of the works which *Ramusio*, previous to his death, had projected; and also regrets that the Antartick Discoveries had not been more advanced in the life time of so experienced a geographer. The second Volume we are informed was originally published after the third, as the MSS. of that part of the work were earlier arranged. *Colomesius* was of opinion that the MS. copies of *Ramusio* contained more than the printed *Raccolta*.

Prefixed to the third Volume is a Dissertation addressed by *Ramusio* to his friend *Fracastoro* on the celebrated passage in Plato's *Timæus* respecting the Island ATLANTIS. This Dissertation is dated Venice, June 20. 1553. *Ramusio* commends the great learning of *Olaus Magnus*, archbishop of Upsal; and, taking a review of Maritime Discovery from the time of *Columbus*, notices the Astronomical acquirements of the *Spanish* Navigators. He then concludes with the following passage: "As your Excellency requested, that I should draw, after the manner of *Ptolemy*, four or five Maps of these discoveries, and avail myself of the Observations communicated to you by *Gonzalo Oviedo*, the imperial historian; I have also engaged *Messer Jacomo de' Gasfaldi*, an excellent geographer to reduce them; and they are now drawn upon a smaller scale on four sheets."—We are besides informed, that any Captain or Pilot, who arrived from the newly discovered Countries, always sent their Journals to FRACASTORO; as did also some learned Frenchmen their MSS. from *Paris*, relating to the discovery of *Nuova Francia*. This third Volume is full of curious maritime Tracts, particularly those inserted at the end, respecting the discovery of *Nuova Francia* in North America, which *Ramusio* is inclined to think was first discovered by GASPAR CORTEREALE a Portuguese, in 1500. *Ramusio* enters into the natural history of those Seas, and gives some engravings of the marine animals.

These Dissertations are accompanied by Views, and Maps, among which is given one of the earliest of North and South America; and an excellent map, for that age, of Western Africa, in which *Cabo Verde* is accurately laid down as the most Western point of land.

5. A COLLECTION was published at Venice in 8vo. 1543, entitled, *Viaggi fatti da Pinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Constantinopoli; cio e Viaggio di Josaphat Barbaro, di Ambrofo Contarini, et di M. Aluvgi di Giovanni in India et in Calesut, &c.* This was reprinted in 1545.
6. The valuable black letter Collection by the REVEREND RICHARD HAKLUYT, the learned student of Christchurch Oxford, was first printed by *George Bishop*, and *Ralph Newberie*, the Queen's Printers in 1589. It originally consisted of one Volume, divided into three parts. 1. Travels of the English into the *East*, and also into *Africa*. 2. Northern discoveries of the English. 3. American discoveries by the English, to which is added, *The last most renowned English Navigation by Master Thomas Candyshe, made round about the globe in the space of two yeeres, begun in 1586.* This Edition is dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham; in which the author observes, that his first turn for Naval Literature, proceeded from the perusal of some geographical books, which he had access to, when a boy at Westminster School, in the library of his relation *Mr. Richard Hakluyt* of the Middle Temple. A Map of the World is prefixed: the Volume contains 825 pages, and a most excellent index is subjoined. This however was not his first publication, which consisted of a smaller Collection of Voyages printed in 1582, and dedicated to *Sir Philip Sidney*. A second edition of *Hakluyt's Collection* appeared in two volumes by the same printers in 1599. The first of which is dedicated *To my singular good Lord the Lord Charles Howard, Erle of Nottingham*, brother-in-law to *Sir Edward Stafford*; this dedication is dated Oct. 7. 1598, and seems to promise the publication of the second and third Volumes in the next spring: however the date of 1509, as above, is in the title page of both the first, and also of the second Volume, which is dedicated to *Sir Robert Cecil* Knight. The third Volume did not appear until 1600, and was also dedicated to *Sir Robert Cecil*. During *Hakluyt's* residence in Paris 1584—1588, where he accompanied our ambassador *Sir Edward Stafford*, he published a new edition of *Peter Martyr's Novus Orbis*, illustrated with notes, and a copious Index, and dedicated to *Sir Walter Raleigh*; and afterwards, in conjunction with a *Mr. Lock*, translated the same into English. *Hakluyt* also published *Galvano's Dissertation*, as inserted in the *Appendix* to this Volume. This zealous Geographer first introduced Maps, and Globes, into the schools of Oxford, where he began a *Lecture on Navigation*, which was greatly approved of by *Sir Francis Drake*. To increase the value of his Collection, *Hakluyt*, like *Ramusio*, opened a correspondence with some of the most scientific persons in Europe; among whom were *Ortelius* Cosmographer to the King of Spain, and *Mercator*. So great was the skill and information of our author on every subject relative to Maritime Discovery, that Secretary *Walsingham* sent him an official letter of thanks; for the manner in which he had promoted the Discovery of the Western parts of the World, by pointing out to the merchants of *Bristol*, in what manner the expedition then fitting out for *Newfoundland*, ought to be arranged. The acquaintance which *Hakluyt* possessed with Naval Men was very extensive; and so much did they consider that the interests of Navigation and Commerce were promoted by his labours, that Captain *W. Hudson* called a promontory in *Greenland*, lying in 80 degrees,

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north, HAKLUYT'S HEADLAND; and in the same year during a voyage to *Pikora* in *Russia*, a River which they discovered, received a similar appellation. Drayton paid a compliment to the merit of Hakluyt's Collection in an ode on the *Virginian Voyage*. This learned writer died on the 23d of November 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (*For the contents of this Collection, see Appendix, page 193.*) The following Works of Hakluyt are in the British Museum. 1. *Voyages*. Lond. 1589. Folio. 2. *Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Lond. 1598. Folio. 3. *History of the West Indies*. Lond. 8vo. 4. *History of the Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida*, London 1611. 4to.

7. The INDIA ORIENTALIS ET OCCIDENTALIS of DE BRY and MERIAN, commonly styled by the French LE COLLECTION DE GRANDES ET DES PETITS VOYAGES, is contained when complete in seven folio volumes, printed at Frankfort 1590 et ann. seqq. ad annum 1634. The First Division consists of Voyages to America and the West Indies in thirteen parts; the Second of Voyages to the Western and Eastern Coasts of Africa, and to the East Indies, in twelve Parts. (See Appendix, page 172, and de Bure's *Bibliographie Instructive*, tom. 5. p. 67. whose description of this rare Collection takes up 120 pages.) The finest Copy of De Bry is probably that in the possession of Mr. White in Fleet Street. This Collection, when complete, has sold for as much as three hundred guineas. Mr. White's copy includes seven volumes of scarce Voyages, the original editions of some of the works noticed by De Bry. The Collection itself consists of the West Indies in seven folio volumes, thirteen parts; and the remainder, relative to the East Indies, is in six volumes of a smaller folio, in twelve parts. The whole is elegantly bound in blue Morocco, and in fine preservation.
8. CLAUDE BARTHELEMI MORISOT, born at Dijon in 1592, published in folio during the year 1643, his *Orbis Maritimus, sive rerum in Mare, et Littoribus gestarum Generalis Historia*. This Collection is fraught with much hydrographical information. Morisot died at Dijon, at the age of sixty-nine, in 1661.
9. The Reverend SAMUEL PURCHAS, being in possession of the unpublished MSS. of Hakluyt, which nearly amounted to a Volume, laid the plan of a more extensive Collection; but previous to this he published, what would now be termed, *A GEOGRAPHICAL GRAMMAR*, in folio, 1617, consisting of *Relations of the World, and the Religions observed in all Ages*: in which his great object was, as he informs us, to trace Relations of Foreign Countries to their first authors, that the authorities hitherto passed over might be preserved, and to epitomise extensive works often into one chapter. This Volume consists of 1102 pages, and is supplied with an excellent Index; it is dedicated to ANNOT Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he was Chaplain. From a passage in the Preface, it would seem that this was the third edition (*And now reader the pilgrime comes unto thee the third time.*). The first appeared in 1613; and in a postscript PURCHAS mentions that the edition of 1617 was an improved one. He also alludes to the good reception this work had met with, and speaks with particular pleasure of his being established in London, by his promotion to the rectory of St. Martin's, Ludgate, which took place through the interest of his patron Dr. King, Bishop of London. *I joy to acknowledge with all thankfulness that the relater hath bene collated*

unto.

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unto this Watch Tower, where I may behold all the Kingdoms of the Earth, by the opportunities of books, conference and manifold intelligences in this Honourable City of London, by Honourable, learned, and Reverend Pastor thereof. These RELATIONS are divided into nine books; five of which are assigned to *Asia*; two to *Africa*; and the remainder to *America*. The numerous Catalogue of authors consulted precedes the first book.

Encouraged by the reception of his first publication, PURCHAS proceeded to continue his labours; and in 1624, or 1625, (for the dates vary in the engraved and printed titles) this learned divine, having engaged with a bookseller Mr. Henry Featherston in St. Paul's Church-yard, published the four volumes of HAKLUYT'S POSTHUMUS, or PURCHAS his PILGRIMES, the first sheet of which appears, from the Preface, to have been put to press in August 1621. The first Volume is divided into five Books, and is dedicated to CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES. The Second Volume contains also five books, and is dedicated To the most high and mighty Prince, George Duke, Marquess, and Earle of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England, &c. &c. &c.—The Third Volume forms a new division of the work, and consists, as before, of five books; it is dedicated to JOHN BISHOP OF LINCOLN, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. In this dedication PURCHAS passes a just encomium on St. John's College Cambridge, where he was educated. The Fourth Volume consists also of five books, and is particularly interesting. The dedication, like that of his first publication, is to Archbishop Abbot. (For the contents see Appendix, p. 194.) Boissard in his *Biblioth.* gives a very high character of Purchas. He also published, A Theatre of Political Flying Insects, which is in the *British Museum*.

10. BERGERON'S choice Collection principally of *Asiatic Voyages and Travels from the 12th to the 15th century*, first appeared in 8vo. during the years 1630, and 1634, at *Paris*. It was afterwards reprinted at the *Hague* in two quarto volumes, 1735, and at *Leyden* 1742. Of Bergeron little is known; he is styled in the avertissement *Ecrivain du milieu du Siècle précédent, et Homme parfaitement entendu dans ces sortes de Compositions*. This Collection is rendered more valuable by Bergeron's Treatise on Maritime Discoveries prefixed to the first volume; the abstract of the history of the Saracens and Mohammed in the second; and the learned Preface to *Marco's Polo's Voyages* by Andre Muller Griesenhag.

11. MELCHISEDEC THEVENOT, Librarian to the King of France, obtained considerable credit by his publication of *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux qui n'ont point été publiés, et qu'on a traduits des Originaux des Voyageurs François, Espagnols, Allemands, Portugais, Anglois, Hollandois, Persans, Arabes et autres Orientaux*. This Work was first published in four folio parts; the first of which appeared at *Paris* in 1663, and the succeeding ones in 1664, 1666, and 1672. An octavo edition appeared in 1681, which is in the *British Museum*; and another considerably enlarged in two volumes, *Paris*, 1696. This Collection is enriched by the insertion of an *ROUTIER, pour la Navigation des Indes Orientales, par Alvaro da Motta, qui a navigé dans ces Mers l'Espace de 35 ans en qualité de Pilote Major des Caravaques de Portugal, traduit d'un Manuscrit Portugais*. It is to be lamented

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mented that *Theorens* did not give the whole of this manuscript, which he says in his preface would have too much delayed the publication of his work. His death prevented a more exact arrangement of the Collection, and in consequence of this many Copies are defective. For the Contents, see De Bure, tom. 5. p. 188. and the APPENDIX, p. 175.

12. A good Collection was published at *Paris* in quarto, during the year 1674, entitled, *Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique, et en Amerique, non encore publiés, avec figures en taille douce.*
13. A Collection of Voyages is mentioned by *Du Fresnoy*, as being published in four volumes, folio, *London* 1674.
14. The *Il'Genio Vagante*, in two volumes 12mo. by the *CONTE AURELIO ANZY*, appeared at *Parma* in 1691.
15. The first Collection, of repute that occurs in the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, was that by *CHURCHILL* in 1704; this when complete, with the two volumes of scarce Voyages printed from *Lord Oxford's* collection, the first of which appeared in 1732, amounts to eight volumes in folio, and bears an high price. A new edition appeared in 1732, and 1752.
16. *HARRIS'S* COLLECTION in two volumes folio, entitled *NAVIGANTIUM ATQUE ITINERANTIUM BIBLIOTHECA*, followed the above in 1705, and was considered as a rival publication. It has since been reprinted with considerable additions by the learned *Dr. Campbell* in 1744, 1748, 1764.

An Abridgement, principally of such Voyages as relate to the Discovery of *America* and the *West Indies*, was edited at *Paris* in 12mo. 1707, entitled, *Histoire Universelle des Voyages faits par Mer et par Terre dans l'ancien et le Nouveau Monde, avec un Discours préliminaire sur l'Utilité des Voyages.* This is given by *Du Fresnoy* to the *ABBE BELLEGARDE*. But in the Translation of it into English, printed in octavo, *London* 1708, the original work is assigned to *M. DU PERRIER* of the Royal Academy. One of the most interesting passages in this Volume, is that, wherein he informs the reader, that *Jacques de Vitri* in the second book of his *Oriental History* affirms, that The Needle has been in use at sea, ever since the year 1215.

17. The great Collection by the *DUTCH* entitled, *REYSEN NA OOSTEN, WEST INDIEN*, consisting of voyages by the navigators of that Country, was published in 29 octavo Volumes at *Leiden* by the *Sinnr Vander Aa*, 1707—1710.
18. Previous to the above work a Collection of Voyages for the Establishment of the *Dutch East India Company*, had been published at *Amsterdam* in five volumes 12mo. 1706; and a second edition appeared in 1754.
19. The *Dutch Collection of Northern Voyages*, containing many valuable and scarce Memoirs relative to Navigation and Commerce, was printed in seven duodecimo volumes, *Amsterdam*, 1715, 1718, and 1720.
20. The learned President *M. DE BROUSSE* published in two quarto volumes at *Paris* 1756, his excellent *HISTOIRE DES NAVIGATIONS AUX TERRES AUSTRALES*; of this history *Mr. Dalrymple* has given the following opinion (*Preface*, p. 14.) "This Work must ever

be held in great esteem, by men solicitous after real knowledge, as there is no where to be found so curious an assemblage of instructing materials on this important subject, and very few Works of any kind where there is so exact an arrangement of matter: having said thus much, I must, at the same time, be allowed to explain myself, that my opinion differs in many points, from the ingenious author of that work." *De Brosse* died at Paris on the seventh of May, 1777. His work was translated by *Mr. Callander*, under the title of *Terra Australis Cognita*, 3 vols. 8vo. *Edinburgh*, 1766.

21. A COLLECTION from *Les Lettres édifiantes*, and *Journals of the Missionary Jesuits*, was printed at *Paris*, during the year 1767, in four duodecimo volumes, entitled, *MEMOIRES GEOGRAPHIQUES, PHYSIQUES, ET HISTORIQUES SUR L'ASIE, L'AFRIQUE; ET L'AMERIQUE*, &c. Much curious Hydrographical information is contained in these Volumes; particularly in the *second*, which relates to the *Indian Ocean*, and in the fourth which is confined to *America*.

In all of these Collections the impartial reader will find much more to commend than to blame, and the collective mass of information is extremely valuable. Yet, whatever may have been the reason, almost every one of these publications was introduced to the public with some abuse of its predecessors; whereas each possesses its respective value and utility. If the palm can be yielded to any one writer in particular, it seems to have been merited by the modest and anonymous author who succeeded, *MR. JOHN GREEN*. This gentleman in conjunction with a bookseller of the name of *Astley*, published,

22. A NEW AND GENERAL COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS in four thick quarto volumes, the first number of which appeared in December 1744. The Volumes as they came out, were dedicated to *Admiral Vernon*, *Admiral Anson*, *The Duke of Bedford*, who then presided at the Board of Admiralty, and the last volume, 1747, to *Lord Chesterfield*. Some of its principal Patrons were, *Admiral Vernon*, *Lord Barrington*, *Sir Thomas Cave*, *Bart.* *Dr. Balguy*, *Reverend Charles Bowles of Donhead*, *Lord Egmont*, *Harry Gough*, *Esq.* *Professor Martyn*, *Commissioner Hay*, *Sir William Irby*, *Bart.* *The Honourable Admiral Stewart*, *Colonel Selwyn*, and the *Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol*.

Of its anonymous • author *MR. JOHN GREEN* I can give no account. *Mr. Charles Green* the astronomer, who accompanied *Captain Cook* on his first Voyage had an elder brother

• The following works by *Mr. J. Green* are in the *British Museum*. (1.) A Chart of *North and South America*; including the *Atlantic*. *Lond.* 1753. *Folio*. (2.) Remarks in support of

PREFACE.

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ther *The Reverend Mr. John Green*, who kept a school in Soho, but the similarity of name is all that can be offered. *Mr. GREEN*, as I am informed, had projected a more extensive Work, but the impatience of his publisher brought it to a conclusion on the publication of the fourth Volume.

The superior merit of this Collection was acknowledged even by foreigners, and before the completion of the first volume, the Chancellor of France deemed it worthy of attention. He accordingly requested the ABBE PREVOST, Chaplain to the Prince of Conti, to translate it: the execution of this occupies the seven first volumes of his Histoire Générale des Voyages, and part of the eighth. But I am sorry to add, that, in the performance of this task, Prevost has taken very unwarrantable liberties; has shewn throughout a desire to supplant the fame of the Original Work, which is not once named in the title, and by affixing his own portrait to the first Volume, few readers in the present day are aware that the Original exists in their own language. Such was the confusion the Abbe produced in his translation, by transposing passages he afterwards inserted as his own, and by the mistakes which he made; that M. Pierre du Hondt, an excellent judge of the merit of Astley's work, brought forward a new Translation at the Hague, in which he restored the mutilated parts. An Edition was also printed by Didot at Paris in 12mo. 1749, and some of the volumes at Dresden; the whole amounted to fifty-six volumes.

23. A valuable HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF THE SEVERAL VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN, was given by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. in 4to. 1770. To which was afterwards added in 1775, another Volume consisting of *A Collection of Voyages and Observations in the Ocean between South America and Africa*. One of the most valuable of the Journals published by Mr. Dalrymple is the following—An Historical Journal of the Expeditions, by Sea and Land, to the North of California in 1763, 1769, and 1770: when SPANISH ESTABLISHMENTS were first made at SAN DIEGO and Monte-Rey. From a Spanish MS. translated by William Revel, Esq. published in 4to. by Mr. Dalrymple in 1790.

24. The Collection publishing by *Estala* at Madrid, entitled EL VIAGERO UNIVERSAL, began in 1796, and, when completed, is expected to extend to forty Volumes in octavo.

25. De

of the new Chart of North and South America. Lond. 1753, 4to. Mr. Thomas Astley, son of a clergyman near Salisbury, who was cousin to Sir John Astley, was formerly a bookseller in Paternoster-row; whence he retired, and was succeeded by Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Astley afterwards recommenced business in Cornhill, where he continued until a conflagration took place, which destroyed many of the houses in that neighbourhood.

VOL. I.

b

25. DE LA HARPE in his Collection, which consists of twenty-nine volumes octavo, has made an extensive abridgement of *Mr. Grew's* Collection, after making some alterations in the arrangement of its contents, and of the subsequent volumes of the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*; which extended to 21 quarto volumes: three of the additional volumes, to those published by Prevost, were written by Messrs. *Querlon*, and *De Leye*. De La Harpe added to his abridgement the names of *Bougainville*, *Byron*, *Wallis*, *Carteret*, and *Cool*, first, second, and third Voyages. This Collection is described, and commended, in the *Monthly Review* for 1781. (Vol. 64. p. 298.)

In all of these Collections, though in *Astley's* least of any, Hydrography has been considered in a secondary, and frequently in a subordinate point of view. The great objects of this branch of science, so interesting to a great commercial nation, and so important to its Navigators, are dispersed through an infinity of Volumes, and often erroneously given. Authorities have been seldom cited; the claims of nations, and individuals, to the merit of their respective Discoveries, are too faintly traced; the remarks of the Navigator and Traveller, united in the same work, destroy that connection and arrangement each might separately possess; the Dissertations and Remarks of Nautical men have multiplied, until some of the earliest, and most valuable, are nearly lost amidst the mass of information that exists; so that it appeared necessary at the close of the eighteenth Century, to arrange, and separate, the Stores which preceding ones had afforded; and thus to form a General System of Hydrography, equally interesting to the Navigator, the Statesman, the Merchant, and to readers in general.

Such is the general Outline of my Plan, which, notwithstanding the number of Volumes marshalled in dread array before me, I should imagine might be executed in about six, or at the utmost in seven thick quartos. The Voyages of the present Reign alone amount to more than twice that number. I wish not, even if I possessed the ability, to supersede the valuable Collections that exist; but am anxious to form a Work, which shall produce a systematic reference to the contents of *Hakluyt*, *Purchas*, *Thevenot*, *Churchill*, *Harris*, and *Astley*, and thus render them more generally known, and by comparison with later productions more correct. An Explanatory Catalogue of Voyages, and other Philosophical publications connected with the progress of maritime Discovery, will enable the Merchant, and the Man of Science, to form that Library, which opulent individuals, in the first Commercial Nation in Europe, should have an ambition to possess.

A Work

PREFACE.

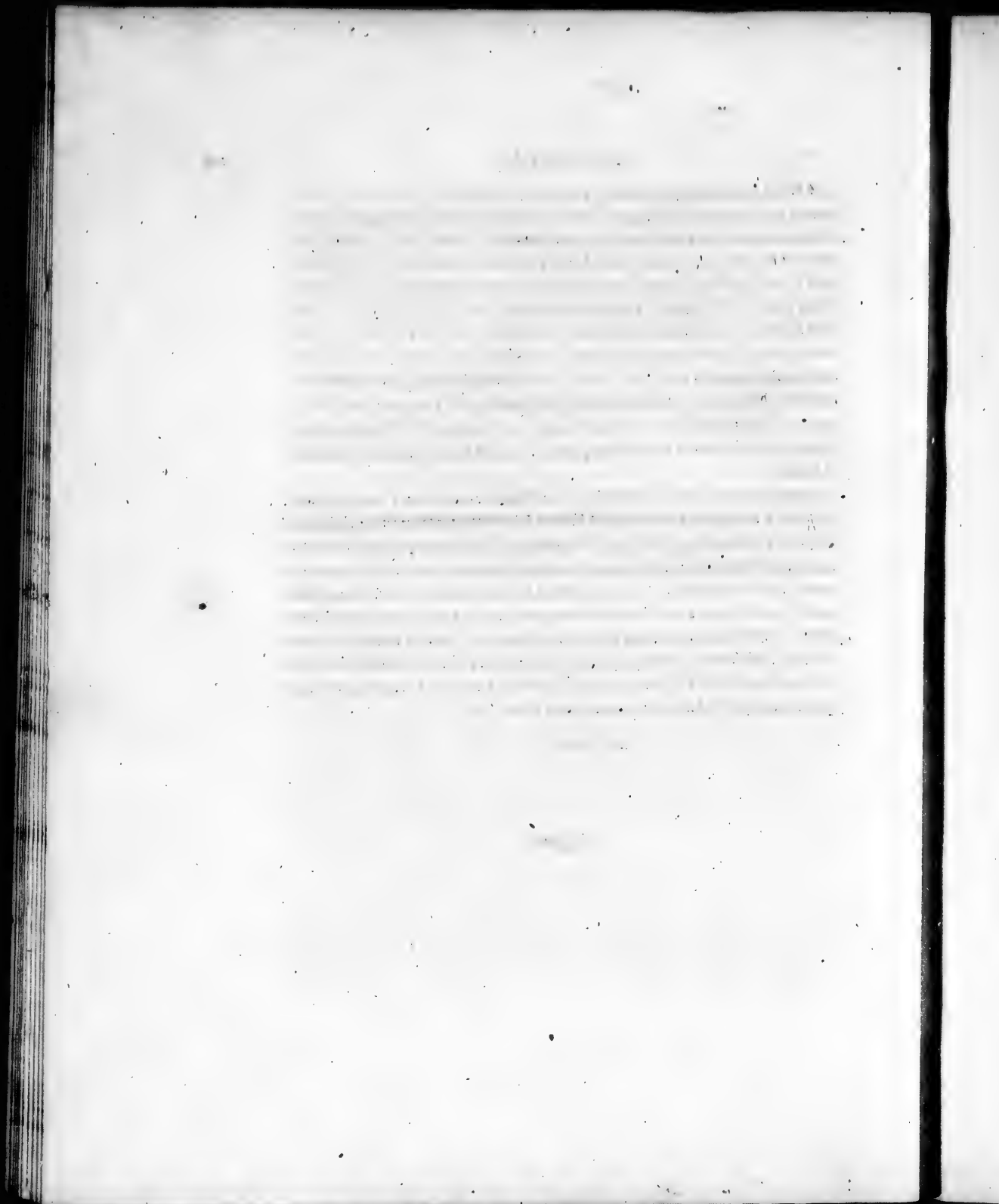
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A Work of this extensive nature, if executed as it ought, will demand a considerable portion of secluded Leisure ; much tranquillity of mind ; and some prospect of commendation, from the Country it was intended to serve, and the Profession, whose information it originally was brought forward to promote. The first Volume is now before the public, and I await its decision with respect. The Second would give the Portuguese Discoveries in India until the year 1546; it would then illustrate the enterprize of our own Countrymen, who soon followed the same track ; might possibly mark the slow but extirpating progress of the Dutch, and give a general View of the Islands in the Indian Ocean, as discovered by different Navigators. This completes the second great Division ; and the attention of the Reader should then be directed to that Branch of Discovery which sprung from the School of Portugal, under the forced, and ungrateful patronage of Spain.

*Though I have so long trespassed on the Reader's attention, I must still add, that in the composition of the present Volume I have often felt my own deficiency : the faults, which the severity of Criticism may indulge in magnifying, are faults which continued labour, and repeated anxiety prolonged even at the expence of health, could not prevent. "A large Work," said a great * Critic, "is difficult because it is large, even though all its parts might singly be performed with facility. Where there are many things to be done, each must be allowed its share of Time, and Labour, in the proportion only which it bears to the whole ; nor can it be expected that the Stones which form the Dome of a Temple, should be squared and polished like the Diamond of a Ring."*

* Dr. Johnson, vol. 2. page 60.





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DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

FRONTISPIECE.

IN this Plate the Table Land of the Cape of Good Hope is seen through the drift of the Tempest, towards the east. The mountainous and sweeping Sea is also described by Mr. Pocock, which so continually rages around the southern extremity of Africa. (See chap. 2. page 367. and chap. 3. page 425.) The portrait of Da Gama's Ship is represented as broached to in the Tempest, without any sails except her Foresail which is flying to pieces. The height of the Poop and Prow, the squareness of the lower Yards, the taunt Masts, and the small round Tops, are the chief peculiarities in the naval Architecture of that age. The remainder of the Scenery is given from the Lusiadas of Camoens, when the SPECTRE, having uttered his dreadful prophecy, is vanishing into air.

“ Beneath the glistening wave, the God of day
Had now five times withdrawn the parting Ray;
When o'er the Prow a sudden Darkness spread,
And slowly floating o'er the Mast's tall head
A black Cloud hover'd
Amazed we stood—O Thou, our fortune's Guide,
Avert this Omen, mighty God, I cried.
Or through forbidden Climes adventurous stray'd,
Have we the Secrets of the Deep survey'd,
Which these wide Solitudes of Seas and Sky,
Were doom'd to hide from Man's unballow'd eye?
I spoke; When rising through the darken'd air,
Appall'd we saw an hideous Phantom glare;
High, and enormous, o'er the Flood he tower'd,
And thwart our way with sullen aspect lour'd.
. Far echoing o'er the Waves
His voice rebounded, as the cavern'd shore
With hollow groan repeats the Tempest's roar.
Ye Sons of Lusts, who with eyes profane
Have view'd the Secrets of my awful Reign,

Have

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

Have pass'd the Bounds which jealous Nature drew
 To veil her secret Shrine from mortal view;
 Hear from my lips what direful Woes attend,
 And bursting soon shall o'er your Race descend . . .
 " He paus'd, in act still farther to disclose
 A long, a dreary Prophecy of Woes:
 When springing onward, loud my voice resounds,
 What art thou horrid Form, that ridest the Air,
 By heaven's eternal light, stern fiend declare?
 IN ME THE SPIRIT OF THE CAPE BEHOLD!
 With wide stretch'd Piles I guard The pablest Strand,
 And Afric's Southern Mound unmoved I stand."

Both this Description, and the Engraving, are strikingly emblematic of those visionary Horrors which pervaded the minds of Portuguese Mariners during this memorable Voyage, and are also characteristic of that peculiar CLOUD, whose sudden envelopment of the Cape is a sure forerunner of a Storm.

VIGNETTE THE FIRST. (Sect. 1. page ii.)

Representation of the celebrated APAMEAN MEDAL from Bryant, who, beside the attention which he paid this Coin in his *Mythology*, published afterwards, a vindication of the same, (4to. Payne, 1775.) This was in answer to a letter which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for May 1775, page 225.—
 " In this coin of PHILIP, the side of the Ark is divided, as it were, into two Tablets; and seems to have been designed for the names of the two persons above them. Upon the first of these, under the figure of the man, is inscribed the name Noë: but upon that of the woman no name occurs. The reason probably was, that the name was either unknown, or else too long to be inserted. . . Take away the letters Noë, or assign them to a different purpose; yet the Historical part of the Coin can neither be obliterated, nor changed." Falconerius thus reads the inscription round the laureated head of Philip the Elder, Imp. Caf. Jul. Philippus; and that round the reverse, Sub Marco Aurelio Alexandro iterum Archipræsule Apamensium,—“ this Medal was struck, when Marcus Aurelius Alexander was a second time chief Pontiff of the Apameans.” (See Introduction, Sect. 1. page xxxviii.)

VIGNETTE

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

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VIGNETTE THE SECOND. (Sect. 2. page lviii.)

That learned medallist, the Reverend S. Henley, has enabled me to give this valuable and appropriate head-piece to the Second Section. It contains an engraving of a Phenician medal, from the Collection of Dr. Hunter; which consists of an uncoined lump of Silver Bullion: the impression has been struck by force. The Ship, or Galley, in Mr. Henley's opinion, is of higher antiquity, than any he remembers to have seen. Other Coins, with similar devices, present a date and inscription, which prove them to have been stricken at TYRE, on the elevation of the last DARIUS to the Persian throne; and in the same year on which ALEXANDER succeeded his father. The Head of ALEXANDER, placed near the Murex shell, is engraved from the fragment of an ancient gem: the Phenician date is subjoined from one of the above mentioned Coins, when he became sovereign of the East, viz. 330 years before Christ; and the Sacred Epithet of Tyre, THE CROWNING CITY, is added in the original, from the prophet Isaiah.

PLATE THE SECOND. (Sect. 2. page lxxxi.)

View of the fort and town of Columbo, in Ceylon, from the anchorage in the road. The near Vessel is an English man of war Brig, of the present built.

VIGNETTE THE THIRD (Sect. 3. page xci.)

Represents two of the Amonian fire towers, light-houses, or Sacred Colleges, so celebrated in the early periods of Maritime history. (See Introduction, page xlvi, xlvii. Sect. 1.) They are given by Mr. Bryant in his first volume of Mythology, (page 410.) The square one describes an ancient Tower at Torone, and the circular Light-house the Tower of Cronus in Sicily.

VIGNETTE THE FOURTH (Sect. 4. page cl.)

Marks the origin of THE TRIDENT, as taken from the Sacred Triads of the Indian Seeva, on the ancient pagodas of Deogur. Copied by Mr. Maurice's permission from the Indian Antiquities. (See Introduction, Sect. 1. page iii.)

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VIGNETTE THE FIFTH. (Book I. Chap. 1. page 3.)

Madeira, bearing north-west, and by west, about ten leagues distant. The near Vessel is the Portrait of a Bean Cod, and in the distance is a Ship of the built of the fifteenth century, making for Funchal Road.

VIGNETTE THE SIXTH. (Chap. 1. Sect. 2. page 139.)

Head of the celebrated epic poet CAMOENS, from the Dillon medal.

VIGNETTE THE SEVENTH. (Chap. 2. page 140.)

Cape St. Vincent, as seen at the distance of about a mile and a half, bearing east and by north. A Spanish boat is introduced in the centre, and to the right a Galleasse from an old print.

PLATE THE THIRD. (Chap. 2. page 345.)

View of St. George del Mina and Cape Corfe, bearing north-east and by east, at which Settlement the Portuguese built the first Church that was founded in the Countries then newly discovered. The Outline is from Barbot. The near Boat is of a very early date from De Bry, and seems to have been hollowed out of a solid piece of timber. The Man of War, at anchor, to the right, as well as da Gama's ship in the Frontispiece, is taken from the designs of Henry Cornelius Vroom, born at Haarlem in 1566: Being cast away on a small Island near the Coast of Portugal, he was preserved by some monks, and carried to Lisbon, where he greatly improved his skill in painting Ships.—Different Vessels of the fifteenth century are at anchor off the coast.

VIGNETTE THE EIGHTH. (Chap. 3. page 373.)

Portrait of the kind of Galley the Portuguese used on the Indian Ocean, and which probably differed but little from the Vessels which Nearchus commanded. The drawing is taken from De Bry.

VIGNETTE THE NINTH. (Chap. 3. page 398.)

Specimens of the Indian Lotus, by Mr. Daniell R. A. as they appear on the most ancient of the Hindoo temples; in order to elucidate the real name of the ornament

DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

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ornament which is generally used on the Mariner's compass to designate the North.

. Capital of a Pillar near Gyah, Bahar.

.. Part of the base of a Pillar at Dio, Bahar.

... Fragment near the temple of Seta, Ramaugur, Cheynpoor district.

.... Do. Do.

VIGNETTE THE TENTH. (Chap. 3. page 491.)

Cabo Verde, as seen at the distance of four leagues, bearing south-east and by south. A dead view of a Vessel of a very early date is introduced, under her courses upon a wind. This View of her shews the railing of the Prow, and the peculiarity of the Forecastle.

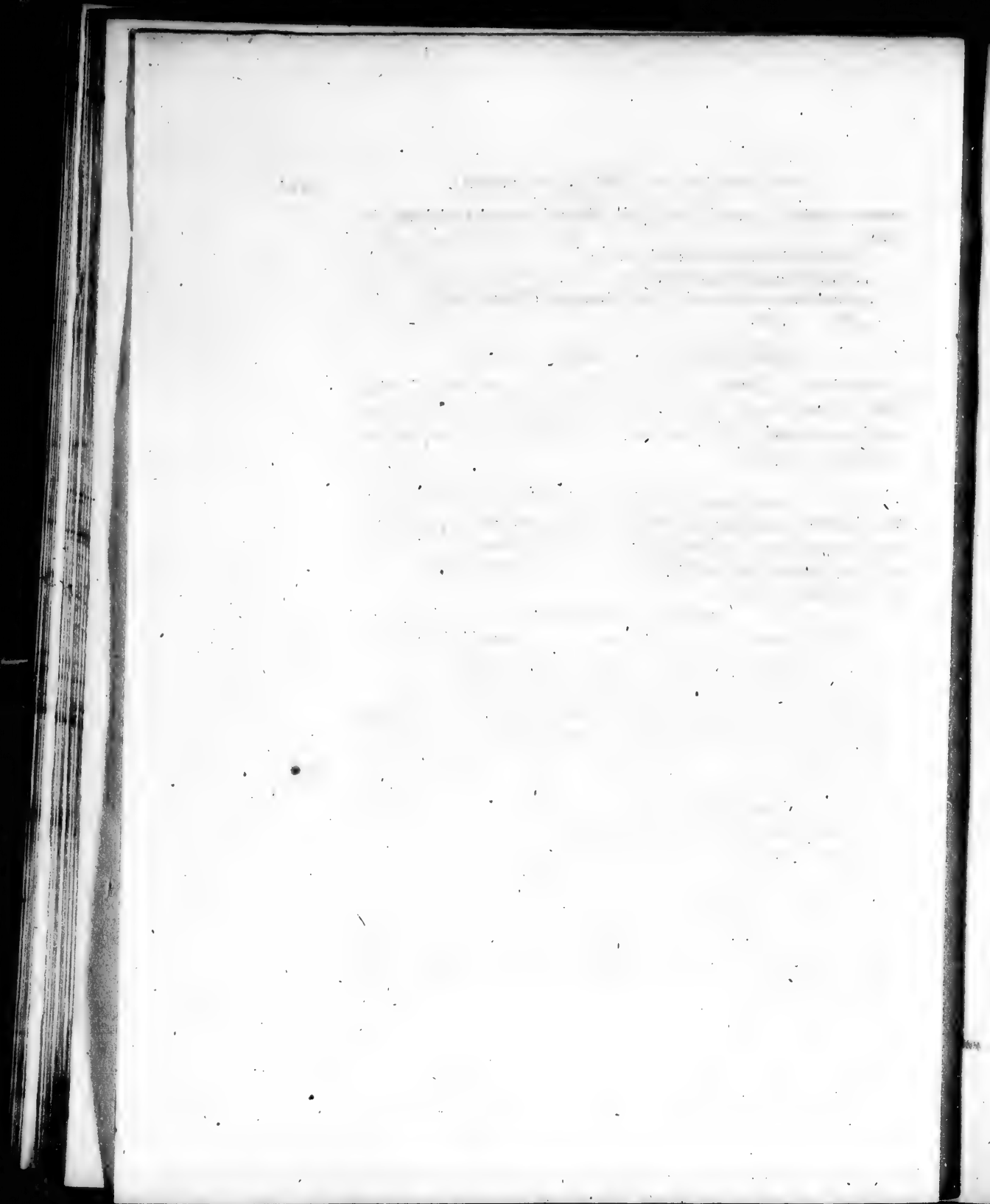
. The communication of Sketches, which Officers have made of headlands, and of the entrance of harbours, and rivers, in different parts of the world, would prove of essential service to the future volumes of this work; as it is my intention that the Engravings should, as much as possible, be taken from original Drawings.

CHARTS drawn by Arrowsmith from various geographical MSS.

1. Coast of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cabo Verde.
2. From Cabo Verde to Cabo Formoso. The drawing of Cabo Verde on a larger scale as inserted in this Chart, differs from the other, and is taken from a MS. chart in Mr. Arrowsmith's possession. D'Anville seems to have copied the same authority.
3. Illustrative Chart, No. 1. of the Calabar and Bonny Rivers, from an original survey by Captain William Newton.
4. Coast of Africa from Cabo Formoso to the Cape of Good Hope.
5. Southern coast of Africa.

The Lotus is restored to mark the North in these Charts, from the drawing by Mr. Daniell. (See Chap. 3. Sect. 1.)

. It is recommended to the purchasers of this work, not to bind up the Charts with the volume, but to reserve them in order to form a separate Neptune when the whole is completed.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE 2. *addition to note.* Pliny is of opinion that the first idea of *Ours* was derived from the fins of Fish; and that the manner in which the Flight of a Bird is directed by its tail, suggested the use of the Rudder. (*Philos. Nat. Hist.* lib. xii. p. 551.)

PAGE 3. l. 9. "and appeal to heavens for the truth of his opinion," read scripture.

PAGE 11. l. 8. "and behold it was very good," read behold—*Ibid.* page, first note, for "Miscellaneous" read Miscellaneous in.

PAGE 65, addition to note (5) on the Purple Shell fish. Dr. Hawkesworth informs us (*Cook's first Voyage*, vol. 2. 8vo. p. 235.) that in the passage from *Madeira* to *Rio de Janeiro*, some of the Shell Fish, called *Helix Janibina*, and *Violacea*, were taken up, about the size of a Snail, supported on the surface of the Water by a small Cluster of Bubbles. "It is probable that it never goes down to the bottom, nor willingly approaches any Shore. Every Shell contains about a Tea-spoonful of liquor, which it easily discharges upon being touched, and which is of the most beautiful Red Purple that can be conceived. It dies Linen Cloth, and it may perhaps be worth inquiry, as the Shell is certainly found in the Mediterranean, whether it be not the *Purpura* of the ancients."

PAGE 81. l. 6. from bottom, dele, "as a frontispiece to the present volume."

PAGE 89, margin, for Grecian periods, read Sacred.

PAGE 100, addition to note the first. Dr. VINCENT makes some remarks on this Voyage in his *Periplus* of the Erythrean (page 9.) "Whatever difficulties may occur in the return of the *Argonauts*, their passage to *Colchis* is consistent; it contains more real Geography than has yet been discovered in any record of the *Bramins*, or the *Zendavesta*, and is truth itself, both geographical and historical, when compared with the portentous expedition of *Ram to Ceylon*."

PAGE 101, addition to note. See also GIBSON (vol. 7. p. 321.) "The waters of *Colchis* or *Mingrelia*, impregnated with particles of gold, are carefully strained through Sheep-skins, or Fleeces."

PAGE 105, note second. "Among us, there a relarge," read, there are large.

PAGE 106, l. 7. from bottom, "will in some grec" read, degree.

PAGE 127, note the third, l. 8. for "Ramafio" read Ramafio.
VOL. I.

PAGE 104, l. 7. from bottom, insert a comma after the word apparent.

PAGE 128. addition to note the third. The same circumstance is also noticed in the construction of canoes at *Onahite*. "Of the fibres of the *Cossa Nut* they make Thread, for fastening together the several parts of their Canoes: the planks being supported by stanchions, are sewed or clamped together with strong thongs of plaiting, which are pulled several times through holes that are bored with a Gouge or Auger of bone. As the plaiting soon rots in the water it is renewed at least once a year; in order to which the vessel is taken entirely to pieces." (*Hawkesworth's account of Lieut. Cook's Voyage*, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 63—72.)

PAGE 224. for the catchword *Difcourse*, read Disser-tation.

BOOK THE FIRST.

PAGE 2. Kings of Denmark, for "Eric the seventh," read Eric the tenth.

PAGE 3, add to note, See also Chap 3. Sect. 1.

PAGE 76, l. 4. after "interest," add, As a foreigner remarks, it is singular that the glory of Portugal should commence under the auspices of an HENRY, and set during the Reign of an HENRY. *Ibid.* page, l. 8. for "pormote," read promote.

PAGE 78, Addition to the first note. A most authentic account of this Siege is given in a Latin letter, 1147, written by *Arnulfo*, a person of distinction on board the Combined Fleet, and addressed to the bishop of *Terone* in *France*. This Letter was discovered among the MSS. in the Library of the *Aquitainian* Abbots in *France*, and was published in the Collection of *Martens*, and *Durand*. (Tom. 1. *Veterum Monumentorum*, printed at Paris in 1724.) See *Murphy's Travels in Portugal*, p. 137, who subjoins a translation.

PAGE 79, addition to the first note. The above fact is also given on the authority of the *Marquis D'Almeida*, the late Portuguese ambassador.

PAGE 87, l. 8. for "twenty-one gallees," read fifty-four: and in the note, second line from bottom, for "Bomarc" read De Bure.

PAGE 88, l. 11. for "their patriotic spirit" read this patriotic spirit.

PAGE 92, Note the second, l. 3. for "quadem" read quzdam.

PAGE 94, note the second, l. 20. for "R. P. Gaubil" read P. A. Gaubil.

d

Page

Page 95, note on the *Tartars*, add, There is also a curious Discourse concerning the *Tartars* in the Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. W. Whiston (2 vols, 8vo. 1749.) Originally by Giles Fletcher, ambassador from queen Elizabeth to the emperor of Russia. The eruption of the *Moguls* from their romantic valley, is described by Mr. Maurice (Modern India, vol. 1. p. 113.) It was probably from this passage, in their history, that Dr. Johnson derived his Happy Valley in Rasselas.

Page 116, third line from bottom, add, as note to CATAYA. Refer to the end of Bryant's *Analysis* (vol. 3.) for his account of the *Seres*, and to Dr. Vincent's *Nearcticus* (p. 69. N. 7.) for remarks on the term *Kathai*.

Page 117, l. 16, for "Guillame" read Guillaume.

Page 121, note the second, and in some few other places, for "Valentine Green" read John Green.

Page 123, l. 9, insert after the period, Our Traveller then proceeds to relate (*Parchas*, vol. 3. p. 50.) the following curious passage, which is noticed, and elucidated by Mr. Bryant (vol. 3. p. 10.) "Neere the City *Paxnan* there are Mountaines, on which, they say, the Arke of Noah rested: and there are two, one greater than another, and Araxes runneth at the foot of them. And there is a little Towne there called *Cemaimum*, which is by interpretation, *Right*: for, they say, it was so called of the Eight perions, which came south of the arke, and built it. They call that Mountaine *Maffus*."

Page 124, margin, for 1729 read 1279, the figures having been transposed; and in the Note, for "Mekagan" read Mehagan.

Page 127, addition to note (b), Mr. Murphy informs us, that the remains of a Palace formerly the residence of King Denis, still makes a conspicuous figure on the brow of a Precipice contiguous to the ancient City of Leiria. (*Travels in Portugal*, page 74.)

Page 131, account of the Portuguese historians, add, The Marquis D'Almeida was so obliging as to inform me, that the Governors of the different Asiatic provinces in India, were ordered by the king of Portugal to draw up a Report of every thing their experience could furnish, to form materials for the history published by De Barros. A general catalogue in MS. of the principal Portuguese writers, was presented to his present majesty by the Chevalier de Pinto. In the *Memorias de Mathematica et Phisica da Academia Real de Sciencias de Lisboa*, (tom. 2. 1801.) A MEMOIR on NAVIGATION has been published by M. de Esperio Santo Limpo.

Page 140, quotation from Michle, l. 3, for "Victor's banner" read victor-banners.

Page 155, l. 19, for "cords" read records.

Page 158, note (c) l. 4, del. See preceding hist. Memoir of the Progress of Discovery by the ancients.

Page 161, line 1, from bottom, dele the word is.

Page 167, addition to note (f), GABRIEL DE BORY, who died at Paris in 1801, made a voyage to Madaira

in 1753 to determine its situation. His observations appeared in the *Memoires* of 1768, and 1772, part 2d. Previous to his Voyage he published a description of a sea octant by reflexion.

Page 187, addition to l. 8. The following Anecdote of this Monarch, as given by Mr. Murphy (*Travels in Portugal*, p. 37.) on the authority of a Portuguese gentleman, is particularly interesting: "Don JOHN was so secure in the Affections of his Subjects, that he frequently walked abroad without any attendants. In one of his morning perambulations, he chanced to observe an Old Man, who was lame and blind, at the opposite side of a rivulet, waiting till some one came to guide his steps over a plank thrown across it. As there was no one at hand but the King, he instantly approached, threw him on his shoulder, and carried him in that posture to the next road. The poor man, surprised at the ease with which he was carried, exclaimed, *I wish Don JOHN had a legion of such stout Fellows to humble the pride of the CASTILIANS, who deprived me of the use of my legs.*"

"Here, at the request of the King, he gave a short account of the several Actions in which he had been engaged. In the sequel his Majesty recollected, that this was FOMARCA, the brave Soldier, who had courageously fought by his side in the memorable battle of ALJUBARROTA, that fixed the crown on his head. Grieved to see him in such a distressed State, he desired him to call next morning at the Royal Palace, to know how he came to be neglected by his servants in power. *Who shall I inquire for?* quoth the brave Bellarius. *For your gallant Campaign at the Battle of ALJUBARROTA*, replied the King departing.

"A person, who at a distance witnessed the Scene, shortly after accosted Fonseca, and informed him of what his sovereign had done. *Al! said he, (when he recovered from his surprise) I am now convinced of the truth of what has often been asserted; the shoulders of Monarchs are certainly accustomed to bear great Burthens. I rejoice in having devoted the prime of my life to the service of one who, like the PRINCE of UZ, is LEGS TO THE LAME, AND EYES TO THE BLIND.*"

Page 191, addition to note (a), Refer to the *Rivington's Annual Register* for 1792, *Natural history*, page 80.

Page 213, l. 10, add, but having landed, and placed a Wooden Cross on the Promontory, he returned, &c.

Page 218, addition to note (c) line 8. According to BRUCE (vol. 2. p. 104.) the various names which the SENEGA went by, were all Abyssinian words. "Senega comes from *Afenagi*, which is *Abyssinian*, and signifies carriers, or caravans."

Page 228, l. 10, for "ought" read aught.

Page 233, note (i) for "Decad. 1. lib. 1. ch. 11." read Decad. 1. lib. 11. ch. 1. as cited by Melchisedec Thevenot. (Tom. 2.) See also Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, under the article *Gades*.

Page 235, note (x). My information was incorrect, in stating that the first edition of *Cada Moysa's Voyage* was in the King's library.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 240, note (g) l. 7, for "made the years 1791-1793" read made in the years, &c.

Page 203, l. 10, for "cardomum seeds" read Guinea pepper; and add to note (r) Or Malaghetta (Grana Paradiſi) ſo called according to Lemery, and Poncey, from Molege a town in Africa. (Aſſier's Collection, vol. 2. p. 551.) Other writers refer the Grana Paradiſi, imported from the Moors, to Cochinal.

Page 246, note (x) add, and Montefquien's *Aſſertion* des Loix, Liv. xxii. c. 1.

Page 287, l. 20, add as note. OSORIO places this event in 1460, and thus ſpeaks of this illuſtrious prince, 'p. 52.) *Fuit enim HANARIQUE, Vir animi maximæ, et religionis facilitate clariffimus. Neque tantum clariſſimus, ut nomen ſuum clarum redderet, quam ut CHRISTI Religionem propagaret: ad quod nihil magis utilis fore putabat hæc navigatione, ut poſſet CHRISTI nomen apud Barbaras nationes a ſua noſtra diſtantiſſimas, ad omnium ſalutem prædi.*

Page 288, addition to note (x). Decade 1. Liv. 1. cap. 16. and probably from this Painting the Print of HANARIQUE, prefixed to the firſt Decade, was taken.

Page 289, add to the concluſion of the ſeſſion, "O qual infante," ſays de Barros on concluding the ſixteenth chapter of his firſt book, "e Principe de grandes empresas, ſegundo ſuas obras, e vida, devemos crer eſtá em o Paraſo entre os ſantos de Deos."

Page 303, l. 22, for "on the equinoctial," read beyond the equinoctial.

Page 318, l. 2, read to within 32° 30' of the Cape of Good Hope, or about ſix hundred and fifty marine leagues.

Page 330, l. 14, after the word idolatry, add, In conſequence of this requeſt three Ships were fitted out under Gonçalo Spuſa, and ſent to Congo.

Page 337, l. 6. from bottom, after CALZADILLA, add, Caſtanheda ſays, that he was a maſter of art, and a good aſtronomer.

Page 339, l. 2, read, left the village of Santaxen for Naples, according to Caſtanheda, on the ſeventh of May, &c. *Ibid.* page, l. 4. from bottom, add as note, In the reign of JOHN THE FIRST, the Jews had their Synagogues and Rabbins in Portugal; and JOHN THE SECOND, and EMMANUEL, tolerated them at the beginning of their reigns. The celebrated Edition of the BIBLE published at Ferrara in 1553, was tranſlated by a Portuguese Jew. There is ſomething in the air, and ſoil, of Portugal ſo congenial to the Jews, that many of them have been known to import Earth from Liſbon, and enjoin their ſurviving friends, as their laſt dying requeſt, to depoſit it with their Corſe. (Murphy's *Travels in Portugal*, p. 222.)—OSORIO gives the beſt account of their expulſion from Portugal.

Page 348, l. 8. from bottom, for "the twenty-third of June" read the ſeventh.

Page 358, addition to note (i). OSBECK (Forſter's *Travels*, vol. 2. p. 109.) calls the MAR DI SARGASSO, the Graſs Sea: "The Graſs Sea is that part of the

ocean in which *Engl* Indian Sailors meet with the Sea Weed (*Pucus Natans*) ſwimming in greater or leſs quantities; though all ſorts of ſeeds are called *Sea Weeds*. We entered the *Grass Sea* in our return on the ſeventh of May, 1752, in ſeventeen degrees, and a half of north latitude, and twenty-two degrees, and a half of weſt longitude from *Aſcenſion Iſland*, and 37° 21' weſt longitude from *London*. The Weed in the firſt Days came but ever now and then, in ſmall quantities; but in 26° latitude in great Heaps, ſometimes ſeveral Fathoms long. This appearance continued to the twenty-fifth of this month; when a freſh ſoutherly wind at twenty-four degrees and a half latitude, twenty-four degrees and a half Weſt from *Aſcenſion Iſland*, and 39° 9' Weſt from *London*, brought us out of the *Grass Sea*. We may conclude that this Plant comes from *America*." An extraordinary kind of ſea weed is noticed in *Cook's* firſt voyage, on their entering the ſtreights of *Le Maire* (*Hawkeſworth*, vol. 2. 8vo. p. 272.) "The Leaves are four feet long, and ſome of the Stalks, though not thicker than a man's thumb, above 120. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined ſome of them, over which we ſounded and had fourteen fathom, which is eighty-four feet; and as they made a very acute Angle with the bottom, they are thought to be at leaſt one half longer: the foot Stalks were ſwelled into an air veſſel, and Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander called this Plant, *Pucus Giganteus*." An engraving of the *Sargass* is given by *De Bry*.

Pages 418, 422, 424, margin, for "1498," read 1497.

Page 439, line 8. from bottom, De Bar gives the original appellation *Baxos da India*, correct in his map, but not in the text, "Kl. Auguſti, brevis, illa India, quæ Nantæ Os Baxos de India vocant præterveſit ſumus. diſtant ea 30 milliaribus a Capo das Correntes." (Il. *India Orientalis*, cap. 5. p. 17.)

Page 478, note (h), l. 4, for "tempeſtatiſſimus" read tempeſtatiſſimus.

APPENDIX.

Page 29, note, for "plate the ſecond" read plate the third.

Page 33, l. 8. from bottom, for "1539" read 1534.

Page 113, note, for "plate the third" read Plate the ſecond.

Page 202, line 6. from bottom, for "Pizon" read Pinzon. Line 3, read, della Bibliotecæ, &c. che demonſtrano l'ſole Antille.

Page 230, l. 14, add as note, This evidently deſtroys the boaſted Antiquity of the *Chineſe*; and proves them to have been a Colony of the ancient *Sindi*, or *Indi*. This paſſage is accordingly noticed by Mr. Bryant (vol. 3. p. 556.) It was alſo the opinion of Sir *William Jones* that the *Chineſe* were an ancient race of emigrated *Indians*. (*Maurice's Modern Hindooſtan*, vol. 1. p. 115.)

Page 246, l. 8. from bottom, "Zeilah." The Bay of Zeilah is noticed by Dr. Vincent in his *Periplus* (page 111.)

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a multi-column document, possibly a ledger or a list of entries, with several lines of text per column. Some words are difficult to discern, but the layout suggests a structured record.]

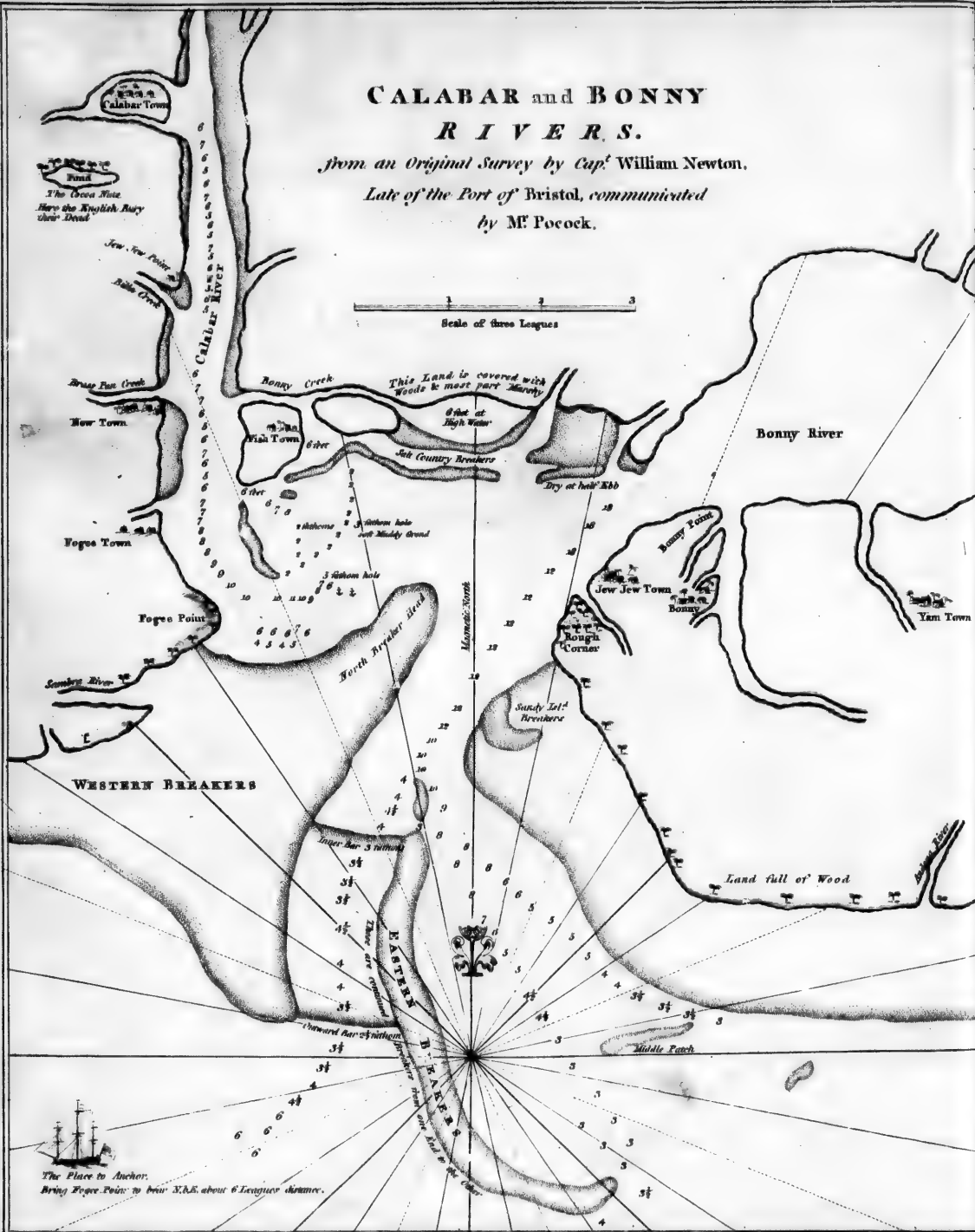


CALABAR and BONNY
RIVERS.

from an Original Survey by Cap.^t William Newton.

Late of the Port of Bristol, communicated

by M^r Pocock.





COLUMBO HARBOUR, CEYLON.

Introduction page 63.

PLATE II.



J. Russell del.

T. Medland sculp.

TO MY KIND PATRON, GEORGE EARL OF EGREMONT, F.R.S.

TO MY KIND PATRON, GEORGE EARL OF EGREMONT, F.R.S.

FORTALEZA DE S. JORGE DA MINA.

PLATE III

to face page 325.



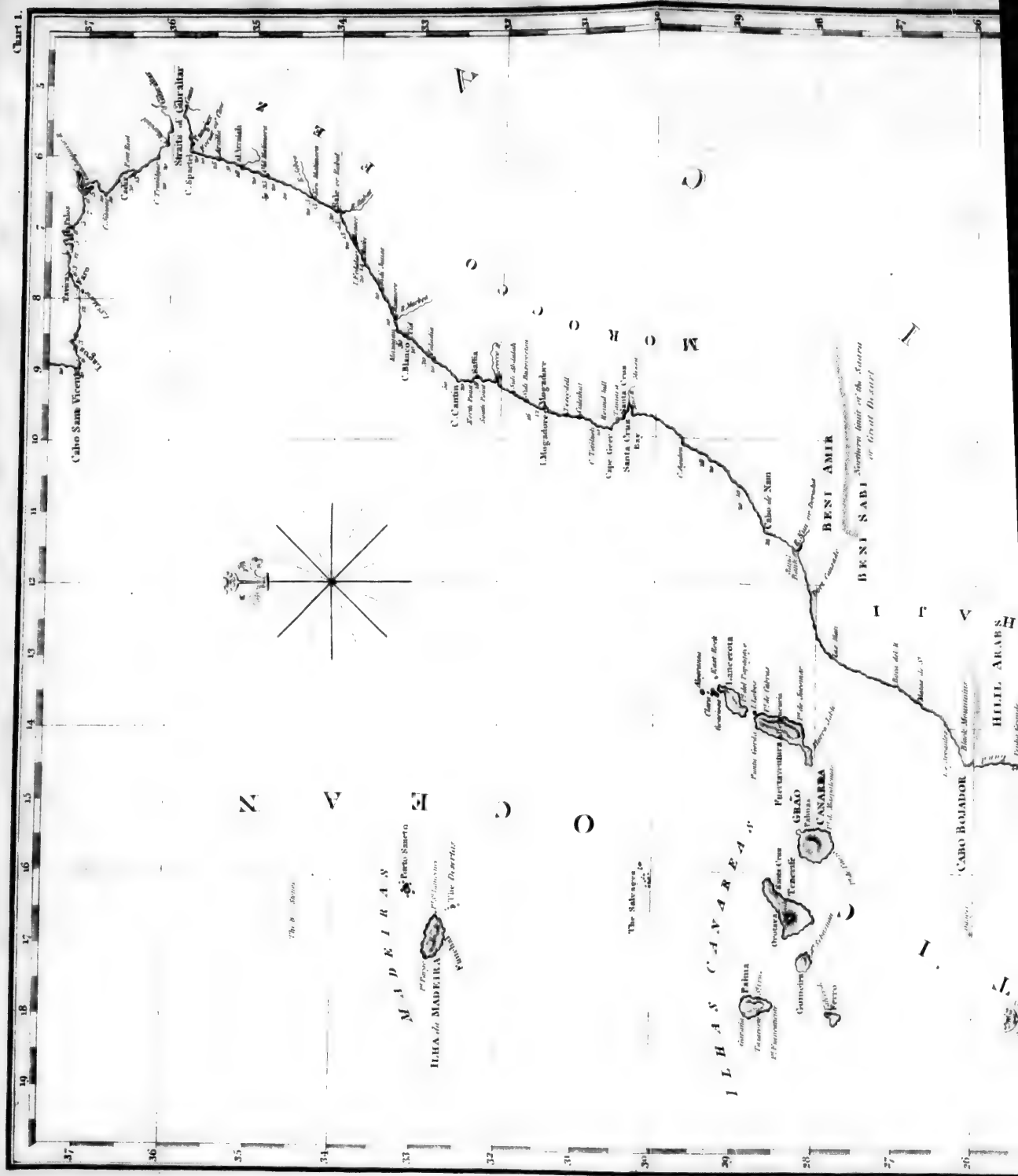
N. Ponsé delin.

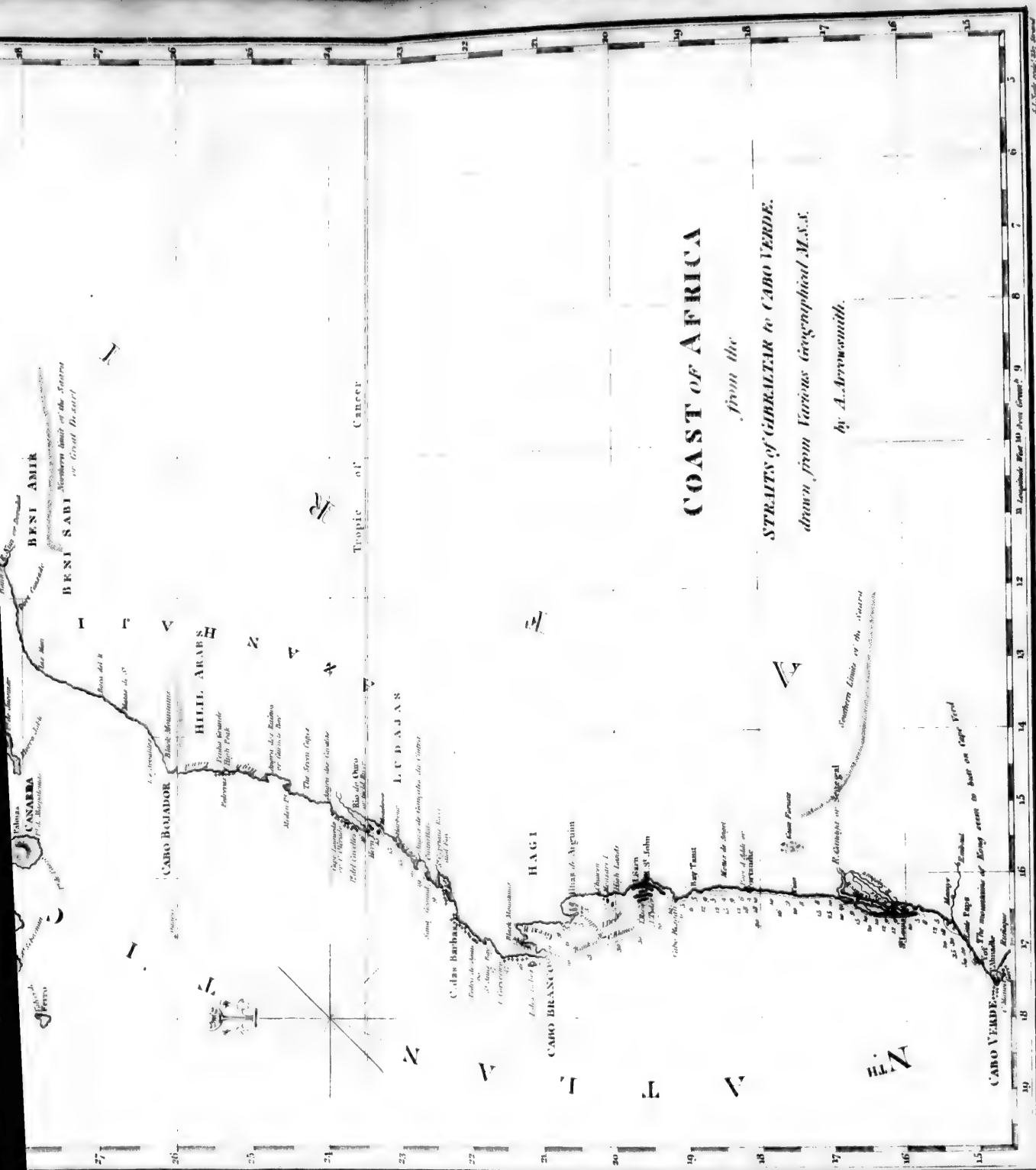
T. Mollard sculp.

TO ADMIRAL JOHN WILLETT PAYNE.

VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS OF DEVONSHIRE & CORNWALL, TREASURER OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL, COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE PRINCE, &c. &c. &c.

TO ADMIRAL JOHN WILLETT PAYNE,
VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS OF DEVONSHIRE & CORNWALL, TREASURER OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL, COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE PRINCE, &c. &c. &c.

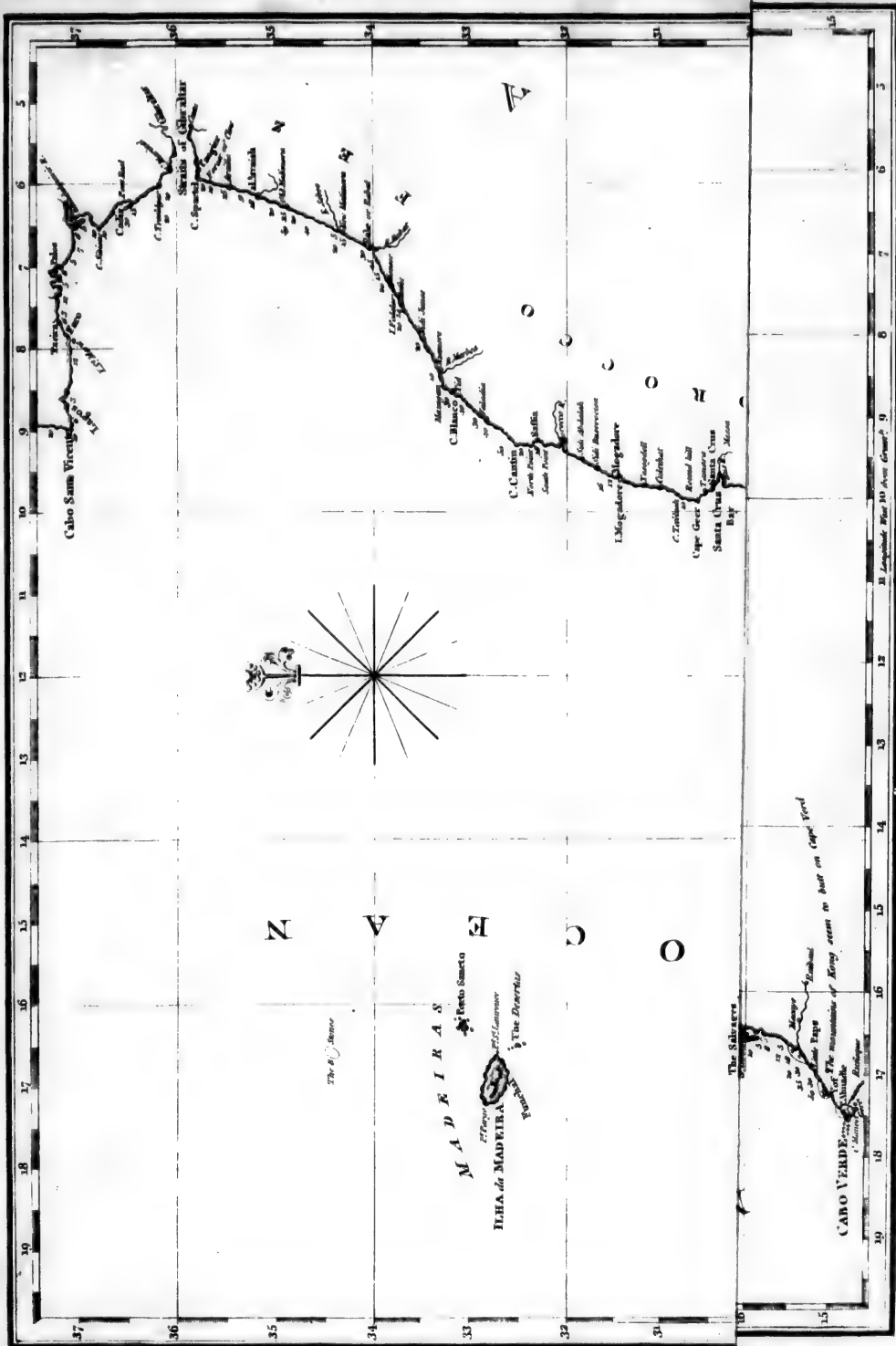




COAST OF AFRICA

from the
STRAITS of GIBRALTAR to CABO VERDE.
drawn from Various Geographical M.S.S.

by A. Arrowsmith.







COAST OF
from
CABO VERDE to CA
drawn from Various G
by J. Arrows

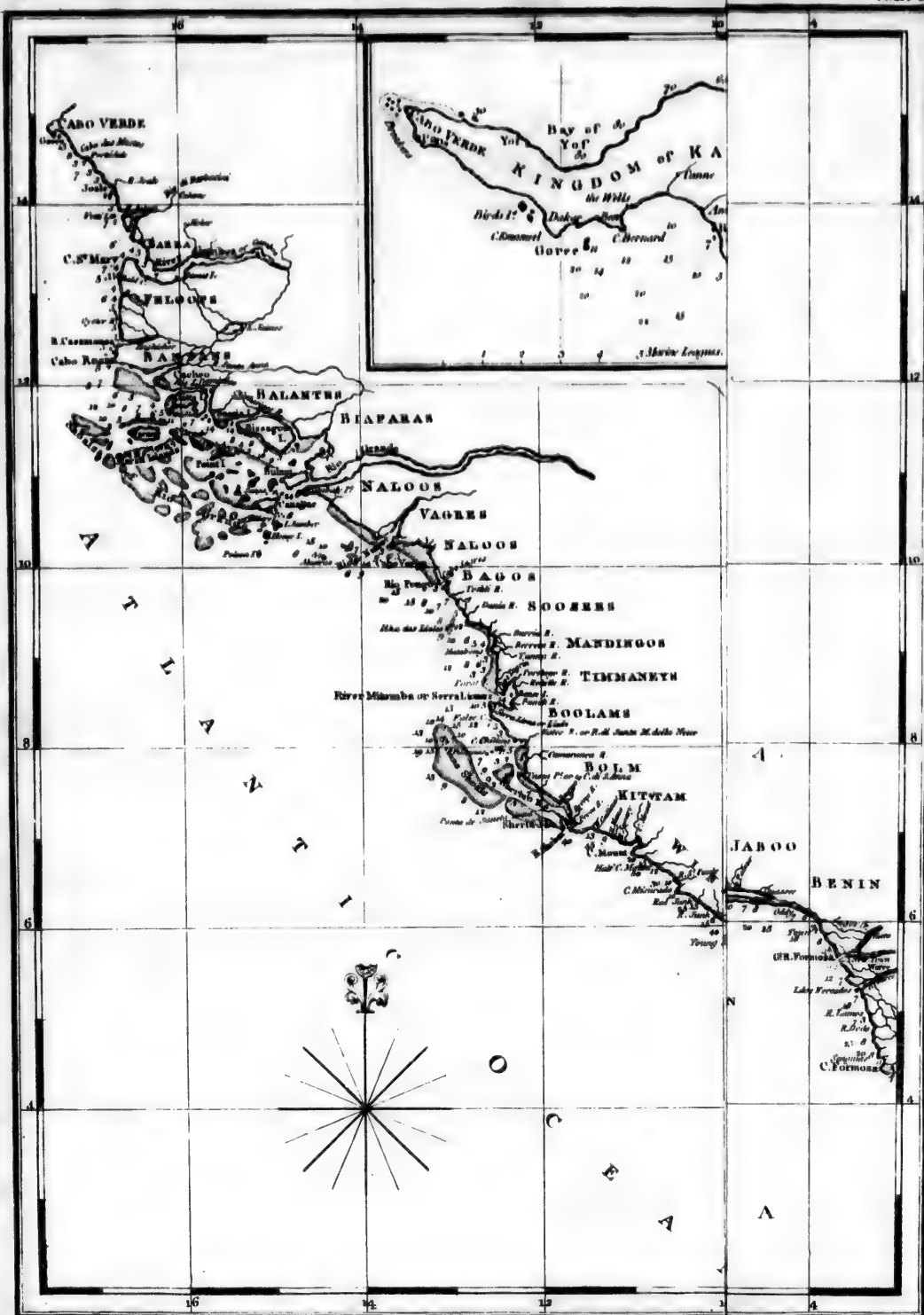
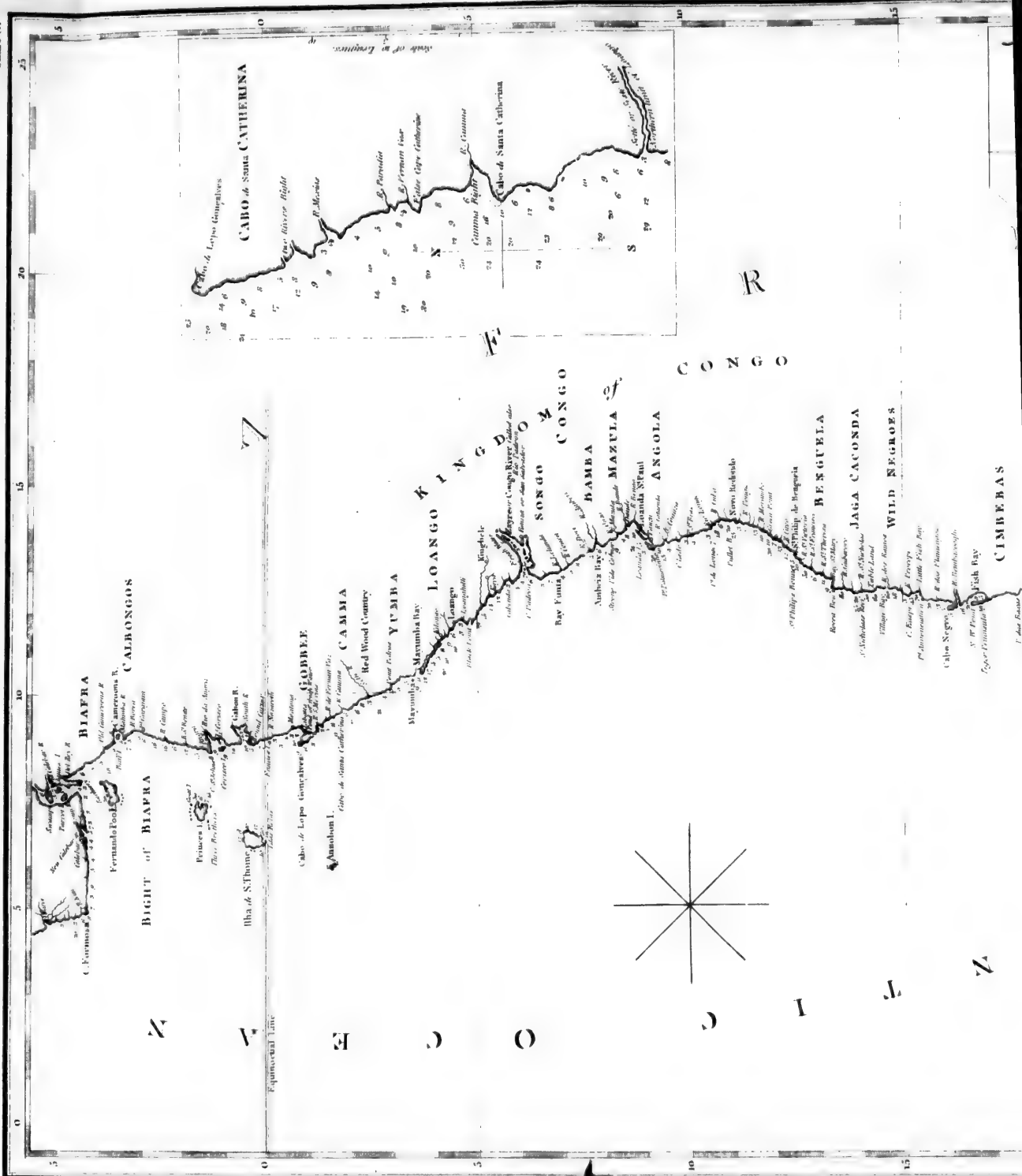
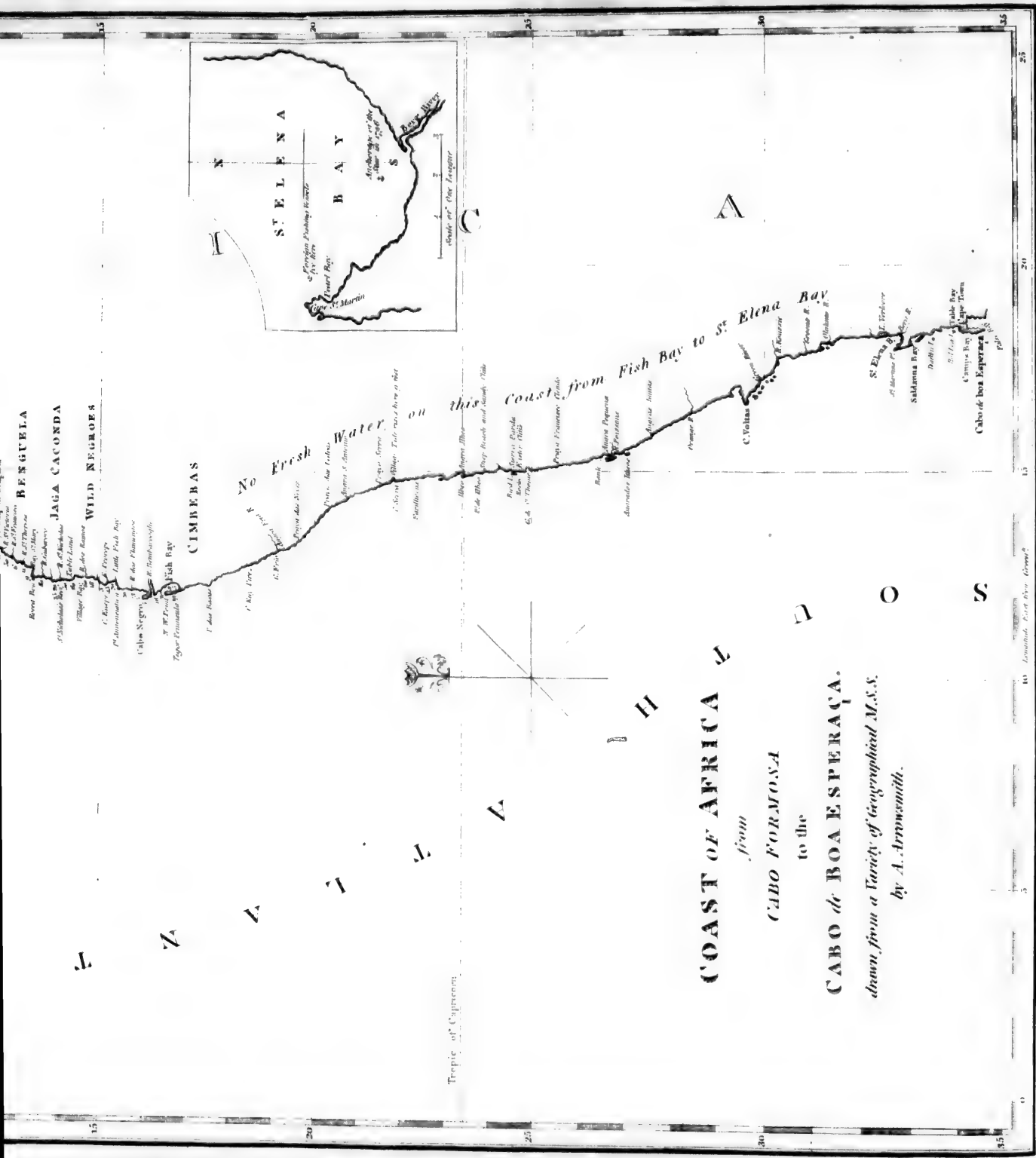




Chart 5.





REQUEIA

JAGA CACONDA

WILD NEGROES

CIMBERAS

ST. HELENA BAY

COAST OF AFRICA

from

CABO FORMOSA

to the

CABO de BOA ESPERANÇA.

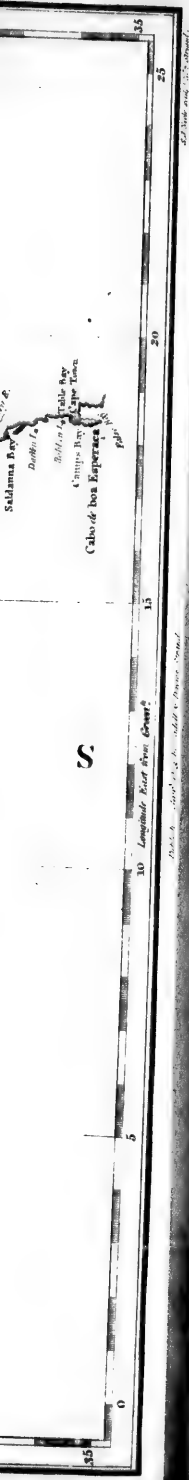
drawn from a Variety of Geographical M.S.S.

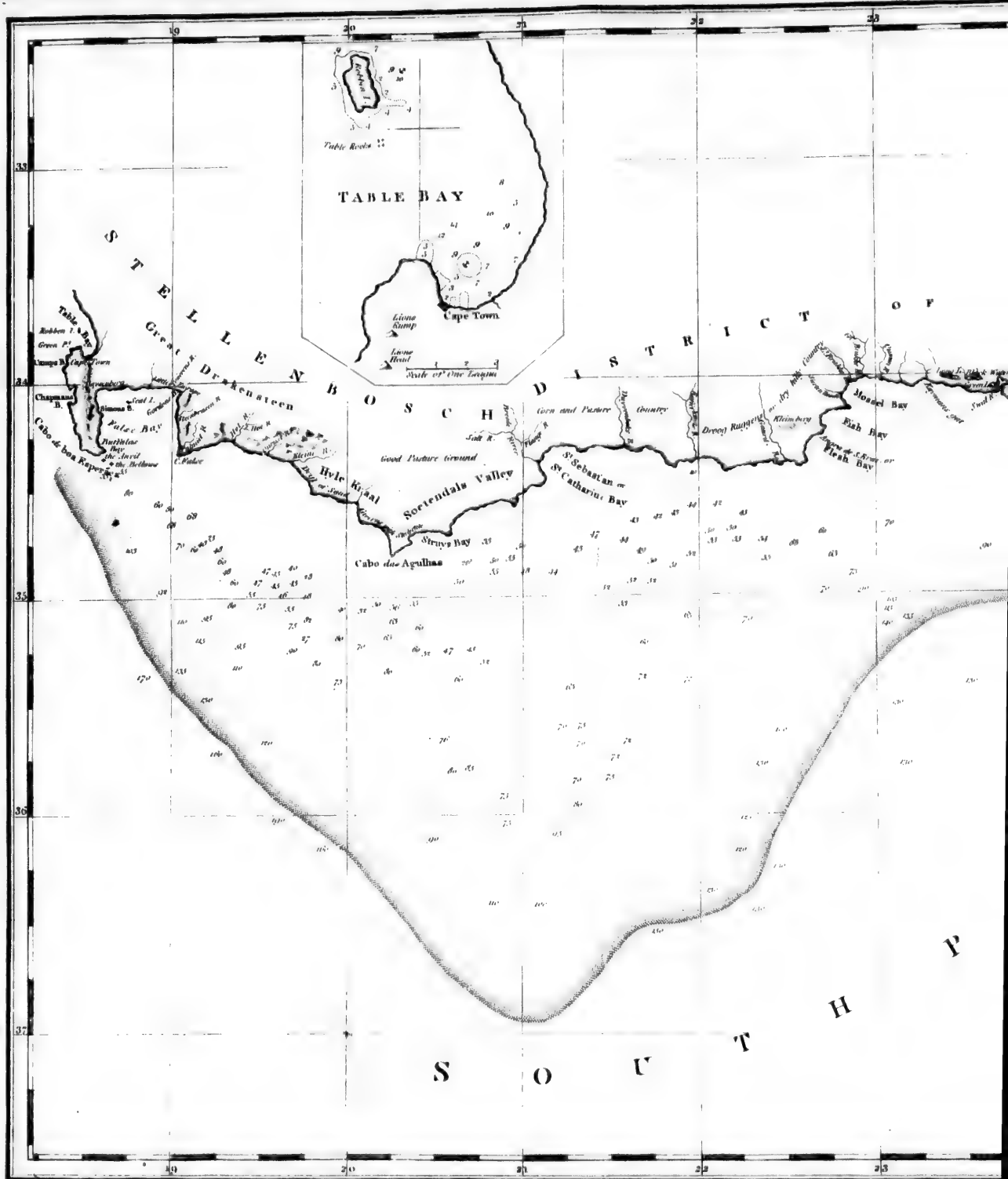
by A. Arrowsmith.

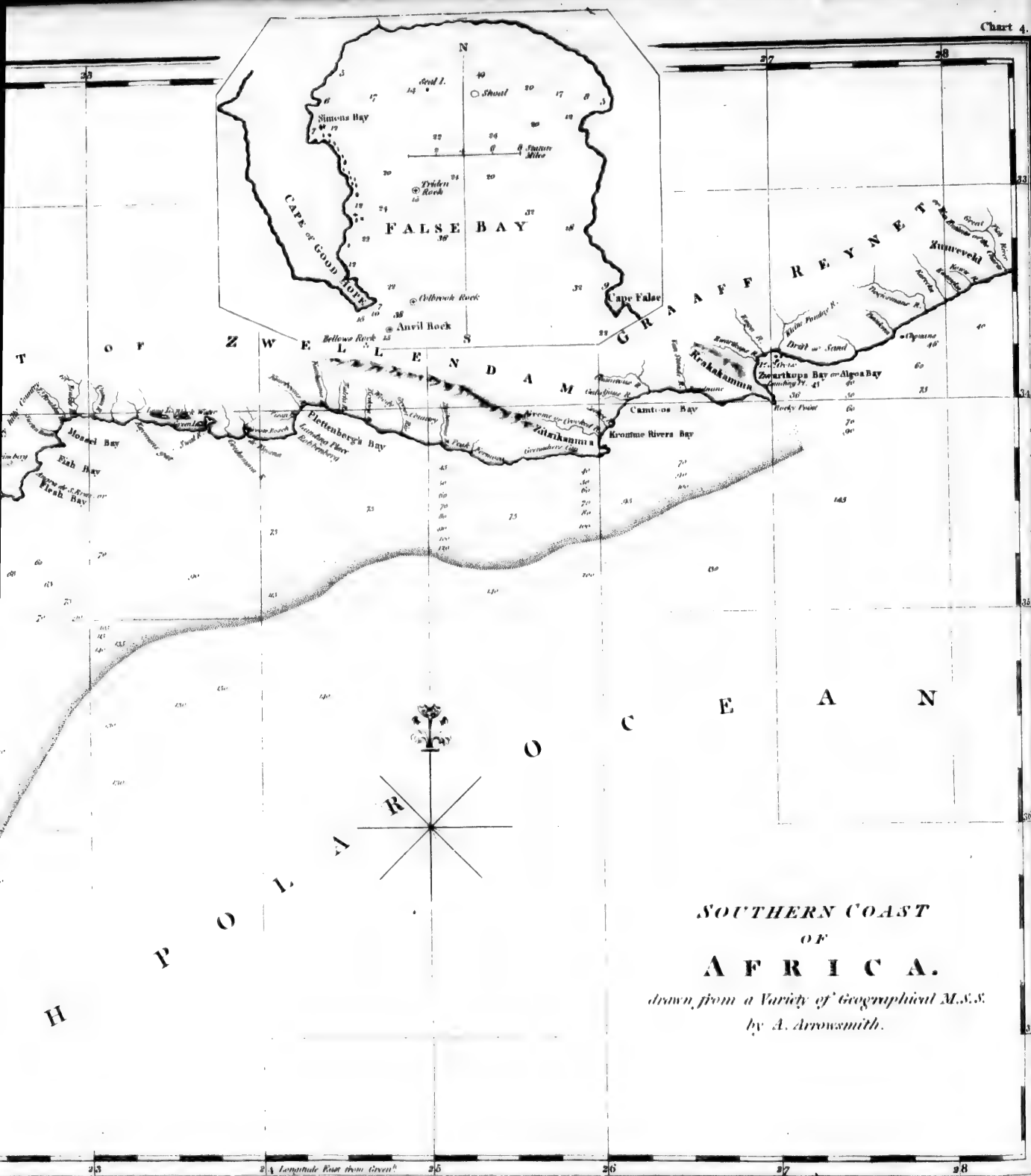
No Fresh Water on this Coast from Fish Bay to St. Helena Bay

Coast from Fish Bay to St. Helena Bay

Cabo de Boa Esperança

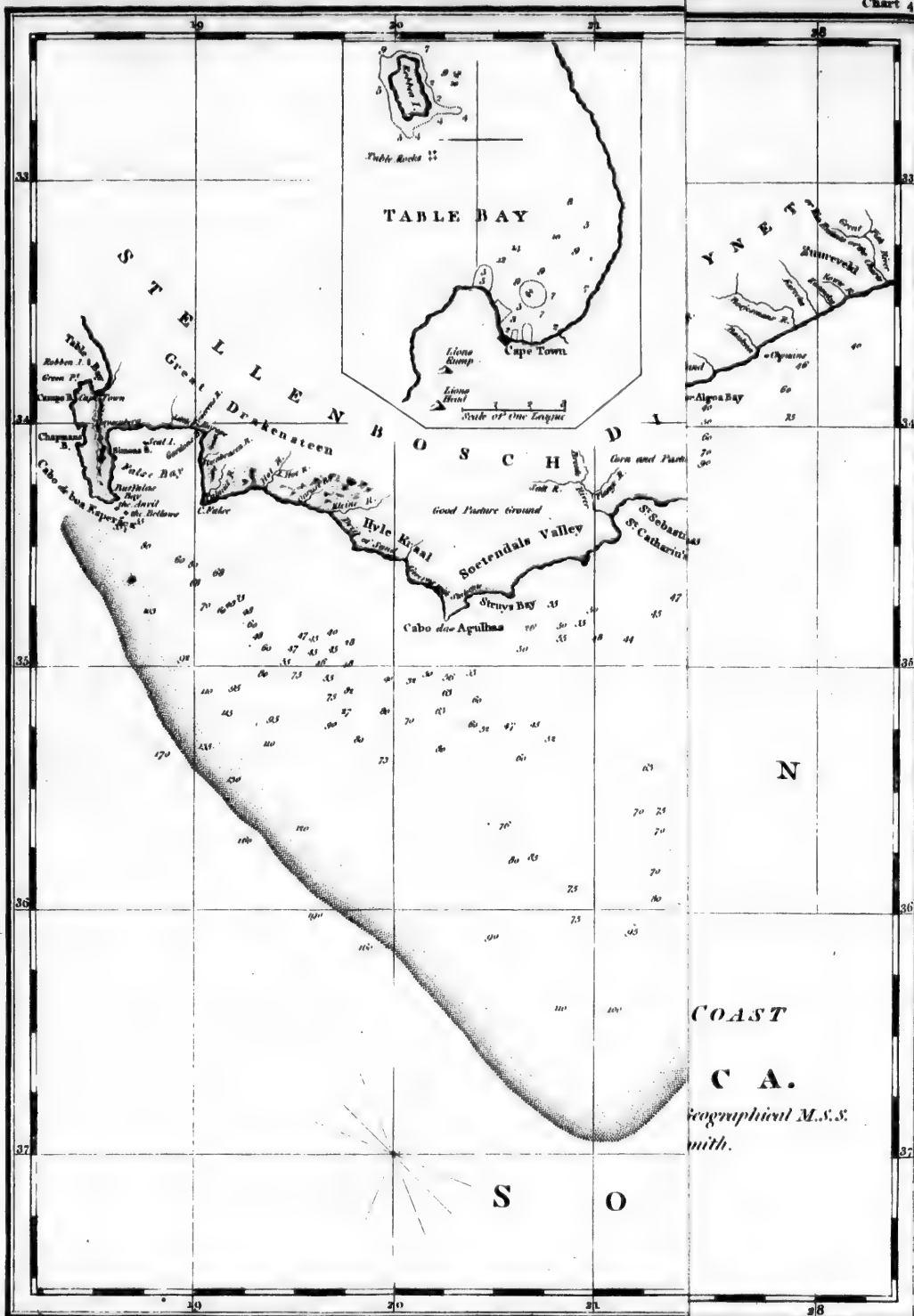






**SOUTHERN COAST
OF
AFRICA.**

*drawn from a Variety of Geographical M.S.S.
by A. Arrowsmith.*



HISTORICAL MEMOIR

OF

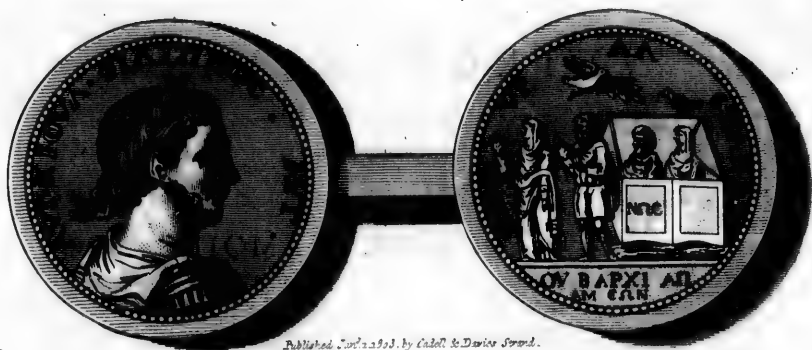
Ancient Maritime Discoveries.

AMMON, who first, o'er Ocean's Empire wide,
Didst bid the bold BARK stem the roaring Tide;
SESAC, who, from the East to farther West,
Didst rear thy PILLARS over realms subdued;
And THOU, whose bones do rest
In the huge pyramids' dim solitude.

Bowles's Song of the Battle of the Nile.

VOL. I.

B



SECTION THE FIRST.

Review of the earliest periods succeeding the Deluge, with some conjectures on the empire of Atlantis.

SECT. I. IMAGINATION has delighted to trace the Origin of Navigation from the instinct of boyant *Nautili**, or the appearance of a floating Oak, which amidst the sudden ravages of inundation supported the animal that

* *Bonani* observes, that this genus of shell fish is well named from the Greek *ναυτιλος*, which signifies both a ship and a sailor; for that the shells of all the *Nautili* carry the appearance of a ship with a very high poop. When this species intends to sail, it expands two of its arms; and between these supports a membrane, which it throws out on this occasion for its sail: its two other arms hang out of the shell, and serve occasionally either as oars, or as a steerage. When the sea is calm, numbers are seen diverting themselves in this manner; but as soon as a storm arises, or any thing interrupts them, they draw in their arms, and receive as much water as makes them specifically heavier than that in which they float, and then sink to the bottom. When they rise again, they get rid of this water through a number of holes.—There is an exact account of this singular animal in the *Gent. Mag.* (vol. xxii. p. 6—8, and 301.; and also vol. xxv. p. 128.)

that had reposed beneath its shade. The celebrated Fragment of *Sanebatbo the Phœnician**, which Eusebius has preserved, declares that *Ousfous* one of his countrymen, was the first that formed a *Cance* from a tree half consumed by fire: but the more enlightened Historian will desist from the accustomed repetition of Pagan fables, and refer his readers to more sublime and authentic records. He will recal to their attention that stupendous Act of Divine Mercy and immutable Justice, by which the human race was punished and preserved; by which the earth was purified throughout its most distant extent: he will affirm, and appeal to Heaven for the truth of his opinion, that the great archetype of Navigation was **THE ARK OF NOAH**, constructed by divine direction.

The Pagan Sage ignorant of that Sacred History, was urged by an unpardonable impulse of vanity, to augment the obscurity which time and apostasy had cast over the earliest ages: he therefore assigned with no sparing hand to his own nation, whatever tended to give an idea of high antiquity to its Annals; and employed the scattered events of *postdiluvian history*, as fair spoil, to enrich the splendid tissue of his own narration. Even the *insigne* of the *triads* of God, which Eastern superstition had distinguished as the **TRIDENT**† of the **INDIAN SEEVA**, was given by a strange infatuation to the Pagan *Neptune*; whose throne is described as placed in that abyss, which had been employed to destroy the impiety of preceding ages.

The plausible tale of Grecian Mythology being once fabricated, was continued and adorned by succeeding generations. The great masters of History even in our own times have confused themselves and their readers, by referring the important events of the earliest periods, to *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, to

* This curious fragment is noticed by the learned *Warburton*, who thus translates it from the Greek of *Philo-Byblius*: "Of the two first mortals, *Protonotus* and *Oeon*, (the latter of whom was the author of seeking and procuring food from forest trees) were begotten *Genos* and *Genea*. These, in the time of great droughts, stretched their hands upwards to the Sun, whom they regarded as a God, and sole ruler of the heavens. From these, after two or three generations, came *Upsouranias*, and his brother *Ousfous*. One of them invented the art of building cottages of reeds and rushes; the other the art of making garments of the skins of wild beasts. In their time, violent tempests of wind and rain having rubbed the large branches of the forest trees against one another, they took fire, and burnt up the woods. Of the bare trunks of trees, they first made Vessels to pass the waters; they consecrated two Pillars to Fire and Wind, and then offered bloody sacrifices to them as to gods."

† Placed on the ancient pagodas of *Deogur*. See the engraving prefixed to the fourth section, copied by permission from the Indian Antiquities of Mr. Maurice.

S E C T.
I.

to the *Argonauts* and *Hercules* : when at length a Sage appeared, who arrested the progress of fable, and vindicated the cause of truth.—The fame of the venerable BRYANT needs no eulogium, but enjoys an elevation which succeeding centuries will support. By pointing out a path which all preceding writers had neglected, he recalled his countrymen from the legends of that Mythology which had disgraced their writings. Admired and abused, imitated and blamed, Mr. Bryant has preserved the even tenour of his course, and given a new impulse to the literary world.—“ I shall be obliged,” says this great Writer *, “ to run counter to many received opinions, which length of time, and general assent, have in a manner rendered sacred. What is truly alarming, I shall be found to differ not only from some few historians, as is the case in common controversy, but in some degree from all ; and this in respect to many of the most essential points upon which historical precision has been thought to depend.—I shall be obliged to set aside many ancient lawgivers and princes, who were supposed to have formed republics, and to have founded kingdoms. I cannot acquiesce in the stale legends of *Deucalion* of Thessaly, of *Inachus* of Argos, and *Ægialeus* of Sicyon ; nor in the long line of princes, who are derived from them. No such conquests were ever achieved as are ascribed to *Osiris*, *Dionysus*, and *Sesostris* ; the histories of *Hercules* and *Perseus*, are equally void of truth. I am convinced, and hope I shall satisfactorily prove, that *Cadmus* never brought letters to Greece ; and that no such person existed as the Grecians have described.—I make as little account of the histories of *Saturn*, *Janus*, *Pelops*, *Atlas*, *Dardanus*, *Minos* of Crete, and *Zoroaster* of Bactria. In respect to Greece, I can afford credence to very few Events which were antecedent to the Olympiads. I cannot give the least assent to the story of *Phryxus*, and the *golden fleece*. It seems to me plain beyond doubt, that there were no such persons as the *Grecian Argonauts* ; and that the expedition of *Jason* to *Colchis* was a fable.”

To

* Vol. i. *Preface*, p. 8., of a *NEW SYSTEM, OR AN ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT MYTHOLOGY, wherein an attempt is made to digest Tradition of Fable, and to reduce the truth to its original purity*. The Whole contains an account of the principal Events in the first ages, from the DELUGE to the DISPERSION : also of the various migrations which ensued, and the settlements made afterwards in different parts. By JACOB BRYANT ; 3 vols. 4to. (Vol. i. and ii. 1774. Vol. iii. 1776.) A *Compendium* of this Work, together with some extracts from Mr. Bryant's *Observations upon the Ancient History of Egypt*, published in 1767, has been published in one octavo volume, by the Rev. William Holwell, (1793.)

To this judicious SCEPTIC my principal attention will be given in the following sections; if they contain either novelty or merit, the whole must be assigned to the pure spring whence I have drawn copiously, and without reserve. The scarcity of this valuable work will excuse long and frequent citations; for I have endeavoured, as far as the limits assigned me would admit, that the nervous language of Mr. *Bryant* should not be impaired by the interpolations of an inferior writer. I have also availed myself of the valuable publications by * Mr. *Maurice*, who has followed and extended the track of Mr. *Bryant*. The other authors referred to will be marked by an occasional reference.

M. BAILLI, in his history of Astronomy †, after describing its connection with Agriculture, Chronology, Geography, and Navigation, takes a general view of the Inventors and Origin of this science; and, in his third book, considers the state of Astronomy before the Flood. He scruples not to assign a knowledge of the *Mariner's Compass*, and of the *Clepsydra* ‡, to the Antediluvians; and also seems inclined to add the use of the *Pendulum*.—Mr. *Maurice*, with considerable ingenuity, supports the same opinion in his valuable History of § Hindostan; and after invalidating many of the extravagant and dogmatical assertions of M. *Bailli*, introduces a sketch of such Arts and Sciences as may reasonably, and without exaggeration, be presumed to have been cultivated by mankind before the Flood. Though Mr. *Maurice* does not

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* Principally, I. His “interesting Dissertation on the Commerce carried on in very remote ages by the *Phenicians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Greeks*, with the British Islands, for their ancient staple of tin; and on their extensive barter of that commodity for those of the Indian Continent; the whole confirmed by Extracts from the *Institutes of Menu*, and interspersed with Strictures on the Origin and Progress of Navigation, and Ship-Building in the East. (Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 250.) II. A Dissertation on the Wealth of the Ancient World. (Ibid. vol. vii.) These valuable *Treatises* far surpass *Monsieur Huet's* imperfect History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Antients, and seem to require a separate Volume.

† *Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne, depuis son origine jusqu'à l'Etablissement de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*. M. *Bailli's* conjecture respecting the first discovery of the form of the earth was new and ingenious. He imagined that it was made by some philosophical travellers, who pursued a southerly course, and observed unknown stars appearing above the horizon, which they again lost on their return.

‡ According to Dr. *Hutton*, a kind of *water clock* or *hour glass*, employed by the Egyptians to ascertain the divisions of time, and the course of the sun. By means of this simple, but erroneous instrument, *Tycho Brahe* measured the motion of the stars, and *Dudley* made his *Maritime Observations*.

§ Vol. i. p. 429.

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1.

not particularly contend for the existence of an *Antediluvian Sphere*, he expatiates on the probability of many invaluable astronomical records having been preserved by NOAH, among the remains of the wisdom of the antient world; and cites the few passages in profane history, from *Josephus*, *Manetho*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, that seem to illustrate this opinion*. But the most curious attestation of this occurs in the *Oriental Philosophy* of † Mr. Stanley, who gleaned it from the old Chaldean and Arabian authors. Kislæus, a Mahomedan writer, asserts that the *Sabians* possessed not only the books of *Seth* and *Edris*, but also others written by *Adam* himself; for *Abraham*, after his expulsion from Chaldea by the tyrant *Nimrod*, going into the country of the *Sabians*, opened the *Chest of Adam*; and, behold, in it were the books of *Adam*, as also those of *Seth* and *Edris*; and the names of all the Prophets that were to succeed *Abraham*.

JUBAL, the father of all such as handle the harp and organ, is introduced by Mr. Maurice, as the original Apollo of the East, and the Indian *Nereda*. JABAL, the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle, as the prototype of the rural *Pan*, the *Apollo Nonius* of the Greeks, and the *Creeshna* of India. In TUBAL CAIN we mark the ‡ first discoverer of a factitious metal, formed by a mixture of *lapis calaminaris* with copper in fusion; since this renowned antediluvian is mentioned as being the instructor of every artificer in BRASS and IRON. The origin of Fire § Arms is shadowed out in the

* Vol. i. p. 259.

† Lib. iii. c. 3. p. 36. edit. fol. 1701; cited by Mr. Maurice.

‡ Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi. p. 282.

§ History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 442. "The use of FIRE ARMS in the earliest, and consequently the antediluvian period of their empire, (for to the antediluvian hypothesis I must still adhere, as the only rational mode of explaining the extravagant, though in some instances the authenticated chronological details of the Indians,) opens a wide field for reflection; since it appears to prove that the natives of this country had immemorially the use of gunpowder, and the metallic Instruments of death which are employed in the offensive use of that destructive article. If the AGNI-ASTER of antient times bears any resemblance to the fire-rocket used in the modern wars of India, and which was also introduced with such success in the military school of the great *Timur*, it proves that they had the use of iron also; the extraction and fusion of which ore, and the preparation of it for use, are among the most complex and elaborate operations of chemistry. The FIRE ROCKET is described by a gentleman who personally examined them in India, to consist of a tube of iron about eight inches long, and an inch and an half in diameter, closed at one end. It is filled in the same manner as an ordinary sky-rocket, and fastened towards the end of a piece of bamboo, scarcely as thick

the account of the fiery Shafts of the deified *Rajahs* of India; which shafts were called *AGNI ASTRA*, and used in the *Satya*, or first age of the world. But I have principally alluded to these remarks of the learned historian of *Hindostan*, in order to introduce his observations on those principles of *Naval Architecture* and *Navigation*, which it is probable the *ANTEDILUVIANS* had acquired.

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"As the *ANTEDILUVIANS* had these ideas of *Masonry* and *Sculpture* intimately connected with *Architecture*, so must they also, in some degree, have been acquainted with the principles of *NAVAL ARCHITECTURE* and *NAVIGATION*; or the ark in which Noah was preserved, and the vessel in which the seventh *Menu*, or *Satyaurata*, sailed, under the guardian care of *Veshtnu*, could never have been built: for though in forming the proportions of these sacred Vessels, the fabricators confessedly followed the commands of the respective deities who enjoined the erection of them, yet it cannot reasonably be supposed that every plank was laid, and every joint fitted by immediate Inspiration. Romantic as the sentiment may appear, I am also inclined to think that the powers of the *MAGNET* were not wholly unknown to our antediluvian Ancestors; and probably by the use of it, as a secondary means under Divine Providence, *Noah* was enabled, his dreadful Voyage over, to regain the temperate Chaldean region which we have proved was the happy abode of the antediluvian Patriarchs. The Invention of the *LOADSTONE* has been thought a modern Discovery, and as such has been mentioned by me; but a recent perusal of *Dr. Hyde* enables me now to affirm, that the *Chaldeans* and *Arabians* had immemorially made use of it to guide them over the vast Deserts: that overspread their respective * Countries; and according

as a walking cane, and about four feet long, which is pointed with iron; at the opposite end of the tube from the iron point, or that towards the head of the shaft, is the match. The man who uses it points the head of the shaft, that is shod with iron, at the object to which he means to direct it; and setting fire to the match, it goes off with great velocity. By the irregularity of its motion, it is difficult to be avoided; and sometimes acts with considerable effect, especially among cavalry.' (*Mr. Crauford's Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 56. and consult the Engraving of it in the Frontispiece to his Book.) There is another proof of the early acquaintance of the Indians with the penetrating and destructive nature of Fire, exhibited in the *Chakra* or symbol of *Veshtnu*, with which he destroys the malignant *Affoors*. It is a circular mass of fire, which, instinct with life, like the thunderbolt of the Grecian Jove, when hurled from the hand of that deity, traverses the illimitable void, and exterminates his enemies wheresoever concealed." (*See Wilkins's Bhagvat Gesta*, p. 150.)

* Hyde *de Religione Veterum Persarum*, p. 189.

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according to the *Chinese* records, the emperor *Chingwang*, above a thousand years before Christ, presented the Ambassadors of the King of *Cochin-China* with a species of MAGNETIC INDEX, which, says Martinius, *certe monstrabat iter, sive terra illud, sive mari facientibus*. The Chinese, he adds, call this Instrument CHINAN; a name by which they at this day denominate the *Mariner's Compass* *. In respect to the *Indians*, there can be but little doubt of their having been as early acquainted with THE MAGNET, as the earliest of those nations, whom their GEMS and rich Manufactures allured to their coast, and whose shores they themselves visited in return: and that they were, in the remotest æras, engaged not less than the Phœnicians in projects of distant COMMERCE and NAVIGATION, which cannot be extensively carried on without a knowledge of the MAGNET's powers, I have this strong and curious evidence to produce; for in the most venerable of their sacred Law Tracts, *The Institutes of Menu*, that is the first, or *Swayambhuva Menu*, supposed by the *Indians* to have been revealed by that primeval Legislator many millions of years ago; and to which, in fact, after mature deliberation, *Sir William Jones* cannot assign a less ancient date than one thousand, or fifteen hundred years, before the Christian æra, but which is probably of a far superior traditional antiquity; there is a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, *with an exception in regard to adventures at sea*. At all events, I shall hereafter be able, by additional arguments, to prove the MAGNET to be of very ancient use in *Asia*; and the knowledge of it was probably the gift of *Noah* to his posterity, who settled on the Coast of *Phœnicia*; for without that gift it was impossible for them to have explored, as Tradition and History prove they did, in the earliest æras, the most distant quarters of the habitable globe. If, however, the first race of men should not even partially have been acquainted with the use of the *Compass*, that attention with which their prolonged lives enabled them to mark the periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies, would probably have led them to the invention of such a simple Instrument as the *Marine Astrolabe*; by which the altitude of the Pole, and the Stars most useful in Navigation, might have been taken at sea, and their course regulated accordingly †."

Though the Egyptian *Hermes* may be derived from the Patriarch ENOCH, who, according to *Manetho*, traced the principles of antediluvian Astronomy

* Martinius, Hist. Sin. p. 106.

† History of Hindostan, p. 435.

in sacred characters on columns in the land of Seriad; and though Mr. *Whiteburſt* may with reason * urge the poſſibility of the Newtonian doctrine reſpecting *Gravity*, *Fluidity*, and *Centrifugal Force*, having been known in remoteſt antiquity, but afterwards totally forgotten and loſt; yet I cannot believe, notwithſtanding the authority both of M. *Bailli* and Mr. *Maurice*, that the Magnet was diſcovered previous to the Flood. This would argue a ſkill in ſcience among the antediluvians, ſufficient to have counteracted, or oppoſed, the overwhelming chaſtiſement of the deluge; and it is rational to conjecture, that if mankind had then poſſeſſed a knowledge of the Magnet, or had attained to any perfection in the ſcience of Naval Architecture, the more powerful and pervading operation of Fire would have been called from its volcanic priſons, and poured forth upon the Globe. Beſides, as the ſacred writer has noticed the origin of many valuable arts, can we ſuppoſe that diſcoveries of ſuch importance as the Magnet †, or the ſcience of building Veſſels which in the ſmalleſt degree reſembled the awful and myſterious Ark, would be paſſed over in ſilence? In the divine THEBATH we firſt behold the origin of Naval Architecture: conſtructed without either Sails or Oars, Rudder or Anchor, its progreſs and preſervation were alike miraculous, and needed not the aſſiſtance of any inferior or ſecondary power. The ABYSS on which this THEBATH floated, like the *Deſert* through which the Children of Iſrael paſſed, offered no point to which a courſe might be directed by human ingenuity; in both inſtances, the immediate interſerence of Omnſcience was neceſſary and apparent.

The moſt minute circumſtances relative to the conſtruction of the ARK are, therefore, on every account worthy of attention; and though, as an Hiſtorian ‡ obſerves, *on a narrow baſis of acknowledged truth, an immenſe but rude ſuperſtructure of fable has been erected*, we muſt prefer this baſis however narrow to any other, ſince that alone is founded upon a Rock.

In

* Hiſtory of Indiaſtan, p. 459. *Whiteburſt's Inquiry*, p. 18.

† The MAGNET was probably an *Indian* or *Arabian* diſcovery, long before the period it was known to Europeans: though Dr. Vincent is inclined to think that the queſtion has been ſet at reſt by *Niebuhr*, *Mickle*, and Sir William Jones, who ſhew that the Arabian, Indian, and Chineſe Compaſs is formed from that of Europe. (*Periplus*, p. 177.) I am informed by a gentleman lately returned from the Eaſt, that conſiderable light will be thrown on this diſcovery in a treatiſe which *Profeſſor Aſſemani* is about to publiſh at *Padua*; who aſſigns it to the Arabians; and is of opinion that they were the firſt diſcoverers of *America*.

‡ *Gibbon*, vol. i. p. 350. ed. 8vo.

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In the year of the world 1656*, two thousand three hundred and forty-eight years before the Christian æra, the epocha of the General Deluge is allowed to be placed; the universality of which the Arabians to this day strikingly express by their appropriate term of *Al Tufan*. The † royal or patriarchal family of Noah, on account of their distinguished virtues, were alone

* Dr. Sharpe, in his Translation of *Baron Holberg's* valuable Introduction to Universal History, which certainly in many respects is superior to the famous work of *Bossuet*, seems to prefer this date of 1656, and adds: "Concerning the difference of these large numbers, as they are found in the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, and *Greek* copies, much has been said by many writers; and yet, after all, many doubts yet remain: and if they are not made subservient to the wicked purposes of infidelity, there is certainly no greater harm in modestly doubting where the best men have differed, than in being very positive and dogmatical about matters of such remote antiquity; and where the data are so few, and mistakes in numbers of all others the most likely to happen, especially in these languages."

† Mr. Maurice is of opinion, (*History of Indostan*, vol. i. p. 415.) that no absolute monarchy existed in the antediluvian world, till the mild primitive patriarchal government had been exterminated by the overbearing power and violence of some successful usurper; and that character is better suited to *Tubal Cain*, than any other antediluvian descendant of *Adam*.—*Vulcan* is by some learned etymologists thought to be only the corruption of the *Tubal Cain* of Scripture, who first taught mankind the use of the forge. Now, since the inventor of brass and iron instruments became probably the first tyrannical subjugator of his fellow creatures, we may fairly conclude that the character of *AGNI* (*an Indian Deity*, see p. 7) has reference to some renowned antediluvian sovereign, and most probably to this gigantic descendant of the vicious *Cain*. (*Ibid.* p. 414.) Mr. Maurice then proceeds to state the names of the Antediluvian Sovereigns in the *Chaldean* history; and adds the line of *SETH* from *Moses*.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. ALORUS. | 1. ADAM. |
| 2. ALASPARUS. | 2. SETH. |
| 3. AMELON. | 3. ENOS. |
| 4. AMENON. | 4. CAINAN. |
| 5. METALARUS. | 5. MAHALALEEL. |
| 6. DAONUS. | 6. JARED. |
| 7. EVEDORACHUS. | 7. ENOCH. |
| 8. AMPHIS. | 8. METHUSELAH. |
| 9. OTIARTES. | 9. LAMECH. |
| 10. XISUTHRUS. | 10. NOAH. |

SANCHONIATHO's Phœnician genealogy of Antediluvian Princes, consists also of ten generations; and is supposed to exhibit the succession of the Line of the impious *Cain*. *SANCHONIATHO*, according to *Cumberland*, wishing to establish a system of atheistical Cosmogony, conceals the event of the Flood; and derives Noah in a direct line from *Cain*, that he may carry on the genealogical descent to *HAM*, *MISOR*, and *TAUT*; the last of whom was the immediate founder of the *PHOENICIAN* empire. (*Ibid.* p. 419, 420.)

alone preserved; and to this antediluvian monarch God himself revealed the first principles of *Naval Architecture* and *Navigation*.—Prior to this memorable event, the WATERS *that were under the Heavens, had at the Creation been gathered together into one place*; and probably formed a regular and circumambient boundary to the Earth, or *dry land*, then consisting of one unbroken Continent. Such symmetry and regularity is apparent from the Mosaic History, and the wisdom of that God, “who saw every thing that he had made, and beheld it was very good.” But, after the Deluge, this regularity which had not been universally affected by the fall of Man was totally destroyed: the Earth, or *dry land*, was then first broken into separate Continents, and scattered Islands; and the sciences of *Naval Architecture* and *Navigation*, bequeathed by NOAH to his posterity, became so essential to their happiness and mutual necessities, that the Patriarch was soon worshipped as a superior being; whilst his real history was distorted and obscured under a cloud of fable.

Every particular relative to the construction of the ARK, that awful and mysterious origin of Navigation, is correctly recorded by Moses. NOAH was commanded to select *Gopher wood* for this purpose; respecting the identity of which a number of opinions has arisen. What in Hebrew is called *Gopher wood*, in the Septuagint is *Square Timbers*. The learned * *Nicholas Fuller* observes, in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, that the *Gopher* was what the Greeks called the Cypress tree; and that, omitting the termination of the latter, *Cupar* and *Gophar* are not very dissimilar. The great † *Bochart* confirmed this opinion, and offers many ingenious conjectures on the subject, in the fourth chapter of his *Phaleg*. According to *Vitruvius*, CYPRESS wood was the least subject to decay; the sap which pervades every part being so offensive, that no worm, or other corroding animal, will touch it. The particular form of the THEBATH, to use the Hebrew term for the Ark, was necessarily adapted to the service it was intended to perform; and probably carried an equal breadth throughout, as is now done in the west-

* Born at Southampton in 1557; died in 1622.—His *Miscellanea* four books were first published at Oxford in 1616, and at London in 1617; two more books were added in 1622: they are all printed in the ninth volume of the *Critici Sacri*.

† Styled by Mr. PRYANT, who could best appreciate such abilities, *that curious, indefatigable, and particularly learned man*. BOCHART was born in 1599, and died in 1667. His great work, to which further reference will be made, is entitled *Geographia Sacra*; divided into two parts, *Phaleg* and *Canaan*.

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west-country barges, the bottoms of which are flat yet somewhat narrower than the upper works. Without masts, sails, and rigging, Stability was not an object in the construction of the Ark, but Capacity. Its dimensions were; in *length* three hundred cubits, in *breadth* fifty cubits, and in *height* thirty cubits. If we reckon the Hebrew cubit at twenty-one inches, which *Arbutnot* * gives as the extent of the *sacred cubit*, the *length* of the Ark was 520 feet, its *breadth* 87 feet, its *height* 52 feet, and its internal capacity 357,600 cubical cubits: *Arbutnot* computes the tonnage at 81,062. If, on the contrary, we make the Cubit only eighteen inches, which *Arbutnot* gives as the dimensions of the *common cubit*, the *length* of the Ark would have been 450 feet, its *breadth* 75 feet, and its *height* 45. This astonishing Vessel was divided into three *stories*, or *decks*; a door, or *entering Port*, was cut in the side; and one large window, with probably many *scuttles*, were so placed as to give light and air with the greatest advantage and security: the whole was then paid both within and without with a thick coat of pitch, or Asiatic *bitumen*.—These dimensions have been considered attentively by the most able geometricians and ship-builders; and after an attentive review of the whole they have declared, as Wilkins observes, that if the ablest mathematicians had been consulted they could not have proportioned the sort of Vessel more accurately. In confirmation of this opinion it may not be irrelevant to add an account of Ships that were actually built after the same proportions, which proved the most complete and perfect models ever constructed for vessels of burthen.

Ships built
after the
proportions
of the Ark.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, *Peter Janfon*, a Dutch merchant, caused a ship to be built, answering in its respective proportions to those of Noah's Ark. At first this *Ark* was looked upon as a fanatical vision of *Janfon's*, who was by profession a *Menonist*; and whilst it was building, he and his Ship were made the sport of the seamen. But afterwards it was discovered, that Ships built in this manner were, in time of peace, beyond all others most commodious for Commerce, because they would hold a third part more, without requiring any addition of hands †. *Hornius* also, in his History of the several Empires, gives an account of two ships built about the same time with that by *Janfon*, after the model and proportions of the Ark, by *Peter Hans* of *Horne*. The attempt was at first ridiculed, but experience afterwards attested its success.

Consider-

* Tables of ancient coins, weights, and measures, p. 73.

† Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. i. *Occas Annot.* 13.

Considerable learning has been employed to ascertain the exact time * of year, when this tremendous THEBATH first appeared on that Abyfs which covered the ruins of the antient World. A scene more sublimely dreadful cannot be imagined; and the awful silence in which the sufferings of the Antediluvian race are shrouded by the sacred Historian, is more expressive than any description which language can convey: ALL FLESH DIED THAT MOVED ON THE EARTH!

For one hundred and fifty days the Waters prevailed; the Lord then remembered NOAH: a wind passed over the dreadful Abyfs, and first agitated the solemn calm that had continued. At the command of God the Waters † returned to their volcanic retreats, and the mysterious THEBATH resting

* *Jacques Bafnage*, who was born in 1653, and died in 1723, in his *Antiquités Judaïques*, (2 vols. 8vo.) gives the following *Calendar of the melancholy year of the world 1656*. (Vol. ii. p. 399.)

MONTH.

- I. *September*—*Methuselah* died.
- II. *October*—NOAH and his family entered the ark.
- III. *November*—The fountains of the GREAT DEEP broke open.
- IV. *December 26*—The rain began, and continued forty days and nights.
- V. *January*—The earth and its inhabitants entirely covered by the Deluge.
- VI. *February*—The Rain continued.
- VII. *March*—The Deluge continued at its height until the 27th, when the waters began to decrease.
- VIII. *April 17*—The Ark rested upon the Mountains of *Ararat*.
- IX. *May*—The Patriarch continued waiting until the Waters returned from off the earth.
- X. *June 1*—The tops of the mountains appeared.
- XI. *July 11*—NOAH sent forth a Raven.
— 18—To this succeeded a Dove, which returned.
— 25—The Dove sent forth a second time; returned in the evening with an olive leaf plucked off.
- XII. *August 2*—The Dove sent forth a third time; and did not return.
A. M. 1657.
- I. *September*—The dry land appeared.
- II. *October 27*—NOAH went out of the Ark.

† Among the different writers who have considered the *Ark of Noah* and the *Deluge*, the following are more particularly worthy of attention.

1. *Whitehurst's* Inquiry into the original state and formation of the Earth.
2. *Cockburn* upon the Deluge.
3. *Pelletier's* Dissert. sur l'Arche de Noé.

4. Dr.

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The regions
of the Indian
Caucasus first
inhabited.

resting upon the Mountains of ARARAT, the Patriarch removed its covering ; obeyed the sacred voice that issued from the dreary solitude, and went forth to offer the first duties of a devout and grateful family.

To ascertain the particular part of *Asia* where this memorable event of *the resting of the Ark* took place, is of the utmost importance ; since it not only enables us to trace with greater accuracy the subsequent colonization of the globe, but also furnishes a correct idea of that particular country, which, by first receiving from *Noah* the remains of Antediluvian science, became the deposit, or mine, whence future generations were destined to receive the invaluable

4. Dr. *T. Burnet's* admirable Theory of the Earth originally published in Latin, and translated into English with additions, on account of the uncommon approbation it received from Charles II.

5. Dr. *Woodward's* Essay towards a natural History of the Earth, &c. With an account of the *Universal Deluge*, and of the effects that it had upon the earth.

6. *Kircher's* Arca Noë.

7. Bishop Wilkins's Essay towards a real Character, and a Philosophical Language.

8. Bishop of Llandaff's Sermons, p. 122. ed. 1788.

9. CATCOTT on the Deluge, published at the end of that learned writer's remarks, on the second Part of the Lord Bishop of Clogher's Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament, chiefly with respect to his Lordship's interpretation of the Mosaic account of the Creation and Deluge.—Mr. Catcott exerts his abilities to prove that there is a great Abyss of water within the earth ; with which all seas, lakes, rivers, &c. communicate ; and that the eruption of its waters, was what *Moses* terms *the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep*. This interesting Theory is supported by the following ARGUMENTS. I. *That all the rivers run into the Sea, and yet the sea is not full*. II. *As the quantity of Water that is poured into the Ocean from the mouths of all the rivers upon the earth, proves the certainty of an Abyss beneath the ocean and the land ; so the quantity that is thrown out at the heads or sources of all the rivers, equally proves the same ; and especially that this Abyss lieth beneath the earth, as well as the sea*. III. Mr. Catcott's third proof of a subterranean abyss of water, is drawn from *whirlpools, under-currents, and gulphs in the ocean*. IV. A fourth proof of a subterranean reservoir of water is deduced from lakes. V. *From the consideration of some phenomena attending earthquakes*. VI. *From the quantity of water discovered within side of the earth, on opening its strata for stone or coal ; on digging wells ; on searching after minerals, and by other means*. This the Moors term *Bahar tábt el Erd*, or sea below ground. Mr. Catcott strengthens his idea by some striking passages from scripture : " He stretched out the Earth above the Waters" (Psalm xxxvi. 6.) " He gathered up the waters as in a Bag," as the best translators have it, " and laid up the deep as in a Storehouse," (Psalm xxxiii. 7.) This learned author then proceeds to prove that the whole earth was covered to an immense height by this SUBTERRANEAN WATER ; and that the Deluge in the time of Noah was *universal* ; the fountains of the GREAT ABYSS having been broken up, and the water thereof elevated above all the high hills under the whole heaven, (p. 159.)

invaluable treasure. On this subject I have ventured to dissent from general and received opinions, and have preferred the sentiments of BEN GORION, and SIR WALTER RALEGH, who place ARARAT at the sources of the river Indus; the SAMARITAN VERSION fixes it at Serendib, the name given by the eastern writers to the island of *Ceylon* *.

The first opinion is certainly worthy of more attention than it has received, and is approved by the learned *Patrick* in his Commentary. The great *Sir Walter Ralegh*, in his valuable *History of the World*, published in the year 1614, gives a variety of cogent reasons for believing, that the long ridge of mountains which runs through *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Sufiana*; that is, from *Cilicia* to *Paraponisus*; was called by *Moses*, ARARAT; and by *PLINY*, TAURUS. *Ralegh*, in the tenth section of his seventh chapter, supports this opinion with much ability †; and then leads the sons of *SHEM*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*, to the banks of the *Ganges*; and *Nimrod*, the son of *CHUS*, to *Babylon*. The following abstract ‡ from an History that is but little known, and less read, will enable the reader to judge for himself.

“ Lastly, we must blow up this Mountain ARARAT itself, or else we must dig it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or finde it elsewhere, and in a warmer country; and, withal, set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the truth itself with the weapons of our own vain imaginations. Therefore, to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand that ARARAT, named by *Moses*, is not any one hill so called: all that long ledge of mountains which *Plinie* calleth by one name, *Taurus*; and *Ptolomie*, both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, &c. until they cross the mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat*, or *Armenia*; because from thence, or thereabout, they seem to arise. So all these mountains of *Hyrkania*, *Armenia*, *Caspia*, *Sythici*, &c. thus diversly called by *Plinie* and others, *Ptolomie* calls by one name, *Caucasus*, lying between the seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*; and, as these mountains of *Ararat* run east and west, so do those marvellous mountains of *Imaus* stretch themselves north and south; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*.—All the Mountains of *Asia*, both the less and the greater,

* There is actually a province of this island named *Ararat*, or *Airarat*; which the authors of the Universal History (vol. i. p. 73.) rather refer to a battle, in which *Arac* the eighth king of *Ceylon* was slain.

† See *Ralegh's Map of Asia*, p. 109.

‡ Ibid p. 96—109.

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greater, have three general names, TAURUS, IMAUS, and CAUCASUS: drawing neer their waies end, they first make themselves the south border of *Bactria*, and are then honored with the title of *Paropanifus*, and lastly of *Caucasia*; even where the famous river of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspes* and *Zaradrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these mountains build themselves exceeding * high, to equal the strong hills called *Imaus of Scythia*.

“ Now in this part of the world, it is where the mountain and river *Janus*, and the mountain *Nyseus* (so called of *Bacchus Nyseus* or NOAH) are found; and on these highest mountains of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the ARK of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he has many good arguments; and as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the world are found the best VINES, so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34, 35, and 36 degrees of septentrional latitude, are the most delicate wines in the world.—If we † adde the consideration of this part of the text, that NOAH planted a vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the vine did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the arke was supposed; for if the vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder country.

“ For a final end of this ‡ question, we must appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the WORD of truth. The words then of *Moses*, which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode* §: which proveth, without controversie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Ark of Noah* rested, and tooke land, to the eastward thereof. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*;

* *Major Rennell*, when considering the elevated region of *Eastern Asia*, which he proves to be on an higher level than the *western*, observes, that “ the highest continuous Ridge of this part, appears to be that which passes by the south-east of the *Caspian Sea* and *Hyrcania*; between *Aria* on the north, and *Drangiana* on the south; and from thence between *Bactriana* and the *Indian provinces*; where, as it approaches towards *Imaus*, which (as has been said) forms a part of a yet more elevated region, it swells to a great bulk and height, and is covered with snow till the month of August. This is properly the *Indian Caucasus* of the Greeks; in modern language *Hindoo-Rho*. (*Geo. of Herodotus*, p. 179.)

† *Raleigh*, p. 163.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 168.

§ *Genesis*, c. xi. 2.

Moses ; for to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the *East*, nor so neer unto the *East* as the *North* ; for *Armenia* is to the west of the *North* itselfe.—But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth west from the place where the Ark of *Noah* rested after the Flood ; and therefore it first found ground in the *East*, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The *East* parts were first civill, which had *Noah* himself for an instructor ; and directly *East* from *Shinaar*, in the same degree of 35, are the greatest grapes, and the best wine. The great armies also, which overtopped in number those millions of *Semiramis*, prove that those parts were first planted. And therefore did the Ark rest on those *Eastern* mountains, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses*, the Mountains of *ARARAT* ; and not on those mountains of the *North-west*, as *Berosus* first feigned ; whom most part of the writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warm *EAST* where *Noah* rested, where he planted the *Vine*, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon.—

“ Now * another reason which moves me to beleve that *Noah* stayed in the *East*, far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah*, in all the story of the Hebrewes, or among any of those nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principall a person to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe, and rested apart ; giving himselfe to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions †.”

As I have ventured in this instance to differ from that excellent Mythologist, whom I have otherwise followed as my guide, and as the further elucidation of this subject is of great importance in a review of the *earliest periods* ; I cannot dismisse it, without introducing or recalling to the reader's attention, the powerful

* Ralegh, p. 101.

† These ideas of *Goropius Becanus*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, did not escape the attention of Mr. Maurice, in his History of Hindostan, (vol. ii. p. 4—13.)—They not only appear to me consistent with the general sense of the Sacred Writings, but as the only means by which the professed high antiquity of the *Indian Annals* can be rendered consistent with the INFALLIBILITY of the Mosaic records.

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Raleigh recently supported by Willford.

powerful support which these ideas lately received, from *Captain Francis Willford's* remarks on MOUNT CAUCASUS; inserted in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.

" This appellation (CAUCASUS), at least in its present state, is not *Sanferit*; and as it is not of Grecian origin, it is probable that the Greeks received it through their intercourse with the Persians. In this supposition, the real name of this famous mountain should be *Cafus*, or *Cas*; for *Cau*, or *Cob*, in Persian, signifies a *Mountain*.---The true Sanscrit name is C'HASAGIRI, or the Mountain of the C'HASAS, a most ancient and powerful tribe who inhabited this immense range. They are often mentioned in the sacred books of the *Hindus*: their descendants still inhabit the same regions, and are called to this day, *C'hasas*, and in some places, *C'hasyas* and *Cassais*. They belonged to the class of warriors, or *Cshettris*; but now they are considered as the lowest of the four Classes, and were thus degraded, according to the Institutes of MENU *, by their omission of the holy rites, and by seeing no *Bráhmens*. However, the vakeel of the Rajah of *Cómanb*, or *Almora*, who is a learned Pandit, informs me, that the greatest part of the Zemindars of that country are *C'hasas*; and that they are not considered or treated as outcasts. They are certainly a very ancient tribe; for they are mentioned as such in the Institutes of MENU; and their great ancestor C'HASA, or C'HASYA, is mentioned by *Sanchoniathon*, under the name of CASSIUS. He is supposed to have lived before the Flood, and to have given his name to the mountains he seized upon. The two countries of *Cashgar*, those of *Cash-mir*, *Cashwar*, and the famous peak *C'hasgar*, are acknowledged in India to derive their names from the *C'hasas*.---

" The denomination of *C'hasa giri*, or *C'hasa-ghar*, is now confined to a few spots; and is never used in any *Sanferit* book, at least that came to my knowledge. This immense range is constantly called in Sanscrit, *Himáchel*, or *Snowy Mountain*; and *Himálaya*, or the abode of snow: from *Hima* the Greeks made IMAUS.---

" Strabo and Arrian were certainly mistaken when they supposed, that the followers of *Alexander*, in order to flatter his vanity, had given out that the mountains to the north and north-west of *Cabul* were the real CAUCASUS. An extensive branch was called by the Greeks PARAPAMISUS: it is a part of the mountainous region called *Dévanica* in the *Puránas*. I believe there

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is no general name at present for the whole range; but that part which lies between *Cabul*, *Bámíyan*, and *Anderáb*, is called *Hindu-cash*, and *Hindu-kefb*; which last denomination has been distorted by Persian authors, and travellers, into *Hindu-Cob*; at least in the opinion of the natives. We find it called also *Sheybar-Tág* or *Sheybar-Tau*, or the mountains of *Sheybar* or *Shabar*, under which appellation *PROMETHEUS* is generally known in the sacred books of the *Hindus*. Be this as it may, the Greeks called it also *Parapanifus*, in the same manner, I suppose, that they called the river *Famifus* (in the Peloponnesus) *Panifus*. The name of this famous Mountain is variously written in different authors and manuscripts.—The word *Parapanifus*, or *Para-Famifus*, is obviously derived from the *Sanferit* *PARA-VAMI*, or the pure and excellent City of *Vámí*, commonly called *Bámíyan*. It is called in *Sanferit*, *VAMI-NAGARI*, *VAMI-GRAM*, and in a derivative form *VAMIYAN*, or the most beautiful and excellent City. It is a place of great antiquity, and was considered at a very early period as the Metropolis of the sect of *Buddha*: hence it was called emphatically *Buddha-Bámíyan*; but the Musulmans have maliciously distorted this venerable title into *Bút-Bámíyan*, or *Bámíyan* of the Evil Spirit, or of the Idols. *Para*, which signifies *pure* and *holy*, is also one of the thousand names of *VISHNU*. *Para*, or *Paras*, is obviously the same with the Latin *purus*; for the letter *a* here sounds exactly like *u* in *murmur* in English.

“ *Bámíyan* is represented in the books of the *Bauddhists*, as the source of holiness and purity. It is also called *Sharma-Bámíyan*, or *Sham-Bámíyan*; for in *Sanferit*, *Sharma* and *Shama* are synonymous. This is also one of the thousand names of *VISHNU*, and of the famous patriarch *SHEM*; by whom, according to the *Bauddhists*, *Bámíyan* was built: they say that he was an incarnation of *JINA*, or *VISHNU*, and the *Bráhmens* in general are of that opinion.

“ This famous City, the Thebes of the east, being hardly known in Europe, I beg leave to lay before the Society a short description of it, with an abstract of its history.

“ It is situated on the road between *Báblac* and *Cábul*.—The city of *Bámíyan* consists of a vast number of apartments and recesses cut out of the rock; some of which, on account of their extraordinary dimensions, are supposed to have been temples. They are called *Samach'b* in the language of the country, and *Samaj* in Persian. There are no pillars to be seen in any of them, according to the information I have received from travellers who had visited them. Some of them are adorned with niches and carved

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“ But what never fails to attract the notice of travellers, are two COLOS-SAL STATUES which are seen at a great distance. They are erect, and adhere to the mountain from which they were cut out; they are in a sort of niches, the depth of which is equal to the thickness of the Statues. It is said in the *Ayeen-Akbery*, that the largest is eighty ells high, and the other only fifty. These dimensions are greatly exaggerated, according to the opinion of all the travellers I have seen; and the disproportion is not so great between the two. According to the author of the *Pharangh-Jebangiri*, cited by TH. HYDE, they are said to be only fifty cubits high; which appears to be the true dimensions. At some distance from these two Statues, is another of a smaller size, being about fifteen cubits high: natives, and Persian authors, have mentioned them.—The few *Hindus*, who live in these countries, say that they represent BHR'M and his consort; the followers of BUDDHA, that they are the Statues of *Shábámá*, and his disciple *Sa'fsa'la*. The *Musulmans* insist, that they are the Statues of KEY UMURSH and his consort, that is to say, ADAM and EVE; and that the third is intended for SEISH or SETH their son; whose tomb, or at least the place where it stood formerly, is shewn near *Báblac*. This is in some measure confirmed by the author of the *Pharangh-Jebanghiri*, who says that these statues existed in the time of NOAH.—According to *Persian* authors, *Bámíyan* must have existed before the Flood; but the followers of BUDDHA insist, that it was built by a most religious man, called SHAMA, who appears from particular circumstances to be the same with the famous Patriarch SHEM; and that his posterity lived there for several generations. Hence *Báikb-Bámíyan* is said to have been originally the place

place of abode of *ABRAHAM, who, according to scripture, and the *Hindu* sacred books, removed with his father to distant countries to the westward.

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" According to DIODORUS the *Sicilian*, BAMİYAN existed before NINUS; for this historian, like the Persian authors we have mentioned, has mistaken *Báblac* for *Bámíyan*; which he describes as situated among steep hills; whilst *Báblac* is situated in a low, flat country, and at a great distance from the mountains.

" The natives look upon BAMİYAN and the adjacent Countries, as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind, both before and after the Flood. By *Bámíyan* and the adjacent countries, they understand all the country from *Sifbán* to *Samarchand*, reaching towards the east as far as the *Ganges*. This tradition is of great antiquity; for it is countenanced equally by *Persian* authors, and the sacred books of the *Hindus*. The first heroes of Persian history lived and performed there innumerable achievements. Their sacred history places also in that country their holy instructors, and the first temples that were ever erected. In the prefatory discourses, prefixed to the *PURANAS*, and which appear to have been added by a more modern hand, a general description of the whole world is inserted; which one would naturally suppose to be extracted from that *Purána*, to which it is annexed: but the reverse is actually the case; for it has no affinity whatever with such geographical notions as are to be found occasionally in that *Purána*.---*Bámíyan*, as well as *Cabul* and *Bálíkh*, were at an early period in the hands of the *Musulmans*. There were even Kings of *Bámíyan*; but this dynasty lasted but a few years, and ended in 1215. The Kings and governors resided at *Gbulghuleh*, called at that time the fort or palace of *Bámíyan*. It was destroyed by GENGHIZ-KHAN, in the year 1221; and because the inhabitants had presumed to resist him, he ordered them to be butchered without distinction either of age or sex.---

" According to the *Puránas* SWAYAMBHÚVA or *Adima*, SATYAVRATA or *Noah*, lived in the north-west parts of *India* about *Cashmir*.---From particular circumstances it appears, that SATYAVRATA before the Flood lived generally in the countries about the *Indus*, between *Cabal* and *Cashmir*; and if we find him in *Dravira* or the southern parts of the peninsula, it seems that it was accidentally, and that he went there only for some religious purposes. Even after the Flood, he resided for some time on the banks

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of the *Indus*. According to tradition, which my learned friends here inform me is countenanced by the *Puránas*, he lived and reigned a long time at *Beitoor*, on the banks of the *Ganges*, and to the south of *Canoge*. In the *Varaha-purána*, *VASU*, the father of *VIVASWATA*, is declared to have been king of *Cashmir*, and the adjacent countries. They shew to this day the tomb of his father *LAMECH*, as mentioned in the *Ayccen-Akbery*, at a place called *Naulakhi*, between *Alifbung* and *Munderar*, about twelve or thirteen miles to the north-west of *Jalálábád*, in the country of *Cabul*. The *Musulmans* called him *PEER MAITLAM*; and in the dialect of *Samarcand*, *MAITER*, or *MAITRI BUR-KHAN*.

“ The *Bauddhists* say, that it is *Budd’ha-Naráyana*, or *Buddha* dwelling in the waters; but the *Hindus*, who live in that country, call him *MACH’HODAR-NATH**, or the *Sovereign prince in the belly of the fish*. All these denominations are by no means applicable to *LAMECH*, but to *NOAH* alone. The tomb is about forty cubits in length, which was actually the stature of *LAMECH*, according to tradition; under it is a vault of the same dimensions, with a small door which is never opened, out of respect for the remains of this illustrious personage.---

“ The title of *MACH’HODAR-NAT’HA* is by no means applicable to *LAMECH*, but properly belongs to *NOAH*; for by the *belly of the fish* they understand the *cavity* or *inside* of the *Ark*. There is a place under ground at *Benares*, which they call *Mach’bodara*. The central and most elevated part of *Benares*, is also called *Mach’bodara*; because, when the lower parts of the city are laid under water by some unusual overflowing of the *Ganges*, this part remains free from water like the belly of a fish. The city also is sometimes thus called; because, during the general floods, the waters rise like a circular wall round the holy city. In short, any place in the middle of waters, either natural or artificial, which can afford shelter to living beings, is called *MACH’HODARA*.---

“ The famous Peak of *C’haifi-ghar*, which we mentioned before, is situated on the road between *Gazni* and *Derá-Isfábil*; the *Musulmans* call it *Tuct-Sulciman*, or the throne of *SOLOMON*; and to the adjacent mountains they have given the name of *Cob-Sulciman*. It is seen at the distance of one hundred *coss*, and begins to be visible near the extensive ruins of the famous city *Sáugalá*, about sixty miles west by north of *Labore*. *Sáugalá* is situated in a forest, and though desolate and uninhabited, it still preserves its ancient name.

* This word is spelt *macheb’bodara* in *San’crit*.

name. It was built by the famous PURU or PURUS, great grandson of S E C T. I. ATRI. It is called *Sinkol* in *Persian* romances, and its king, Raja SINKOL. I. It has been confounded by ARRIAN with Sālgalā or Sālgadā, which is now Introduction. Early Periods. called *Calanore*; close to which is still an ancient place called Salgedā to this day, and its situation answers most minutely to ARRIAN'S description. Sālgalā and Sāgdā, are two derivative forms; the first is *Sanscrit*, and the second is conformable to the idiom of the dialects of the *Pānjab*. The summit of C'haifā-ghar is always covered with snow; in the midst of which are seen several streaks of a reddish hue, supposed by pilgrims to be the mark or impression made by the feet of the dove which NOAH let out of the ark. For it is the general and uniform tradition of that country, that NOAH built the ark on the summit of this mountain, and there embarked: that when the Flood assuaged, the summit of it first appeared above the waters, and was the resting place of the dove. The Ark itself rested about half-way up the mountain, on a projecting plain of a very small extent; there a place of worship was erected.---The *Bbauddhists*, who were the first inhabitants of that country, are, I am told, of the same opinion as to the place where the ark rested; but hitherto I have been able to procure a single passage only from the *Buddha-dharma-chārya-sindhub*; in which it is declared, that SHAMA or SHEM, travelled first to the north-east, and then turning to the north-west, he arrived on the spot where he built afterwards the town of *Bāmīyan*. SHAMA, they say, having descended from the mountain of C'haifā-ghar, travelled north-east as far as the confluence of the *Attock* with the *Indus*, where he made *Tapasya*; he then proceeded north-west to *Bāmīyan*.

"The *Pauranics* insist, that as it is declared in their sacred books, that SATYAVRATA made fast the Ark to the famous peak, called from that circumstance *Nau-banda*, with a cable of a prodigious length; he must have built it in the adjacent country. *Nau* (a ship) and *bandha* (to make fast) is the name of a famous Peak, situated in *Cashmir*, three days journey to the north north-east of the purgana of *Lar*. This famous place is resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of *India*, who scramble up among the rocks to a cavern, beyond which they never go. A few doves frightened with the noise fly from rock to rock; these the pilgrims fancy to be their guides to the holy place, and believe that they are the genuine offspring of the dove, which NOAH let out of the ark.---The mountains of *Ceb-Sulciman* are sometimes called by the natives the *Mountains of the Dove*: the whole range as far as *Gazni* is called by PTOLEMY, the *Panctoi mountains*, probably from the

Pārvāta

S E C T. I. *Párváta* or *Páravát*, which signifies a Dove. The Peak of *C'haísa-ghar* is called also *Cálá-Rob*, or the *black mountain*; the summit alone being covered with snow, is not always seen at a great distance; but the body of the mountain, which looks black, is by far more obvious to the sight. *Persian* romances say, that there were seventy or seventy-two rulers, called *SULEIMAN*, before *ADAM*; this has an obvious relation to the seventy-one *Manwantaras* of the *Hindus*; and of course *NOAH* or *SATYAVRATA* was a *SULEIMAN*. The followers of *BÜDDHA* acknowledge that the ark might have been fastened to *Nau-bandha*, near *Cashmir*; but they say the ark rested on the mountain of *Aryavarta*, *Aryawart*, or *India*, an appellation which has no small affinity with the *ARARAT* of scripture. These mountains were a great way to the eastward of the plains of *Shinar* or *Mesopotamia*; for it is said in *Genesis*, that, some time after the Flood, they journeyed from the east, till they found a plain in the land of *Shinar*, in which they settled. This surely implies that they came from a very distant country to the eastward of *Shinar*. The region about *Tuckt Suleiman* is the native country of the olive-tree, and I believe the only one in the world. There are immense forests of it on the high grounds; for it does not grow in plains. From the saplings the inhabitants make walking sticks, and its wood is used for fuel all over the country; and, as *PLINY* justly observes, the *Olive-tree* in the western parts of *India* is sterile, as least its fruit is useless like that of the *Oleaster*. According to *FENESTALLA*, an ancient author cited by *PLINY**, there were no olive-trees in *Spain*, *Italy*, or *Africa*, in the time of *TARQUIN* the eldest. Before the time of *HESIOD* it had been introduced into *Greece*; but it took a long time until it was reconciled to the climate, and its cultivation properly understood; for *HESIOD* says, that whoever planted an olive-tree, never lived to eat of its fruit. The *Olive-tree* never was a native of *Armenia*; and the passage of *Strabo*, cited in support of this opinion, implies only, that it was cultivated with success in that country."

Pagan appellations of the Ark.

The subject of this Section may allow me still further to expatiate on an event so awful, as the sacred Origin of *Naval Architecture*, and *Navigation*. The *ARK* of *NOAH* was distinguished and worshipped by the ancients, under innumerable appellations; *Theba*, the † *Mundane Egg*, *Argo*, *Boutus*, *Cibotus*,

* *Pliny*, b. xii. c. 6.

† An Egg, which contained in it the elements of life, was thought no improper emblem of the *ARK*: it seems to have been a favourite Symbol, and very antient. It was said

Cibotus, * *Centaurus*, *Archaius*, *Amphiprurnais*, *Iaris*, *Isis*, *Rhea*, and *Atargatis*.—The principal † Heathen accounts of the Flood are given by Mr. *Catcott* of Bristol, in the treatise already noticed; and the curious reader may still gratify a laudable spirit of inquiry, by referring to the Oriental accounts of the general Deluge, as given by Mr. *Maurice* ‡ in his History of Hindostan. He will then perceive, to use the words of that writer, *that Moses was a far more skilful geographer than Homer, whom Strabo pronounces the first and greatest of Geographers; since he goes back to the very foundations of the most ancient kingdoms and cities of the world, and recounts the names and primitive history not of a few nations of Asia engaged in alliance to vanquish the Trojans, but of all that inhabit the earth: even from the Caspian and Persian seas*

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said by the Persians, that *Oromasdes* formed mankind, and inclosed them in an Egg. (*Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 323.)

* For this reason many of the Arkites had the name *CENTAURI*; and Mr. *Bryant* is inclined to think, that some of the earliest ships received this appellation. The *AMONIAN*s occupied all the upper part of the Adriatic Gulf; and the *Veneti* at this day call their principal galley the *BUCENTAUR*, which *Jysliniani* (L. 14.) styles *navigium maximum et ornatissimum*. This sort of Ships, and Ships in general, are supposed to have been first formed in *Cyprus*; and here *Nonnus* supposes the *CENTAURS* to have first existed. This notion arose from the original Ship, *THE ARK*, being built of *Cyper wood*; interpreted the wood of the island *Cyper*, which was the ancient name of *CYPRUS*. (Vol. ii. p. 441.)

† *Principal Heathen Accounts of the Flood.*

1. The *ROMAN*, as given by *Ovid*, (*Metam. lib. i.*)

2. The *GRECIAN*, *SYRIAN*, and *ARABIAN*, as recorded by *Lucian*, in his Treatise *de Dea Syria*. This narrative is noticed by Mr. *Bryant* (vol. ii. p. 882.): “*Lucian*, who was a native of *Samofata*, a city of *Comagene*, upon the *Euphrates*; a part of the world where memorials of the Deluge were particularly observed, gives the most particular relation of this Event, and the nearest to the Mosaic history: he describes *Noah* under the character of *Deucalion*” (*Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 215.)

3. The *EGYPTIAN*, as retained under the history of *Osiris* and *Typhon*, from *Plutarch*.

4. The *BABYLONIAN*, as preserved by *Josephus* and *Berosus*.

5. The *ASSYRIAN*, from *Abydenus*, as recorded by *Eusebius*, (*Prepar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 12*)

6. The *PERSIAN*, from Dr. *Hyde's Historia veterum Persarum*.

7. The accounts of The Flood, as retained by the inhabitants of the *EAST INDIES*. (*Lord's Discourse of the Banian Religion. Pere Bouchet.*)

8. As preserved among the *CHINESE*.

9. The descriptions of it, as given by the several nations of *AMERICA*, in general. (*Acosta's History. Hennepin's New Discovery. Herrera. Nicuboff. Moiss. Thuret.*)

‡ Vol. i. p. 505—591.

S E C T. I. *seas to the extreme Gades, and all this in one short Chapter; tracing them to their original, and recording at once the period and the occasion of their dispersion *.*—Continued evidence of the universality † of the Deluge is offered to

Fossil bodies. the attention of mankind, at repeated intervals, in the variety of *fossil bodies*, both animal and marine, which are dug up amidst inland countries far removed from the ocean. Two teeth of an Hippopotamus, and the entire tusk of an Elephant, nine feet in length, which is one of the largest ever known, together with other bones of the same animal, were found buried at the distance of thirty feet under ground, by some workmen of *Mr. Trimmer*, at *Brentford*, six miles from London; which *Mr. Maurice* ‡ personally examined: and in the *Philosophical Transactions* §, an account is given by *Mr. Baker* of the discovery of the remains of an Elephant; which fell, together with part of a rock, from an exceeding steep cliff undermined by the waves of the sea, at *Munsley* a village situated close to the sea shore in *East Norfolk*: which animal, as *Mr. Baker* remarks, could not have been buried by the Romans, since it was bedded in a rock that hung over the sea.

Though the Mosaic account therefore of the Deluge is concise, it abounds with the most valuable and correct information. The particulars of this astonishing event were long remembered with gratitude by the descendants of NOAH; but in process of time, as either enthusiasm or vanity perverted or obscured the truth, this *Patriarch* was worshipped as a Deity; and the *eight persons* who had been so highly favoured by Heaven, were adored in Egypt as THE SACRED OGDOAS. The subsequent Progress of the *Cuthite Colonies*, that great AMONIAN FAMILY, was marked by traces of this idolatry; until the genius or ignorance of the *Greeks* united to reduce it into a magnificent System, which obscured the history of mankind. This obscurity Mr. BRYANT has removed by his Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

Pagan titles
of Noah.

NOAH thus revered, was honoured by different Gentile nations under various titles: his name by the Greeks was interpreted *rest* or *comfort*; he

* Vol. i. p. 494.—See also Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*, PHALEG, lib. iii. iv.

† A learned follower of *Zerátusht* assured Sir William Jones, that, in the books which the *Behdins* hold sacred, mention is made of an UNIVERSAL INUNDATION, there named the Deluge of Time.—(*Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 240.)

‡ Ibid. p. 526.

§ *Abridged*, vol. iv. p. 272.

he was also styled *Prometheus*, *Deucalion*, *Atlas*, *Inachus*, and *Osiris*. When the worship of the sun was introduced by the posterity of HAM the *Amonians*, the title of *Helius* was added: he was also called *Deus Lunus*, and *Selene*. In this patriarch we* discover the original *Zeus*, and *Dios*, from *ZEUTH*, which signifies *ferment*; since he planted the vine, and introduced *fermented liquors*. Noah was also *DIONUSOS*; compounded from the eastern title of the patriarch, *Nusus*, by the Greeks, and improperly interpreted by the *Latins*, *BACCHUS*; a name which belonged to his grandson *CHUS*.

The ancients considered the first life of NOAH or OSIRIS, as terminating on his entrance into the *ARK*; the interval that elapsed during the Flood was looked on as a State of Death, and what followed, as a second life, or a renewed existence. The patriarch therefore was represented with two faces, and received, in reference to the antediluvian and postdiluvian world, the name of *JANUS BIFRONS*, who was reputed the same as *Apollo*, and had the title of the deity of the *door*, or passage: in memorial of his history every door among the *Latines* had the name of *Janua*; and the first month of the year was named *Januarius*, as an opening to a new æra. But not to dwell too long on this individual character; NOAH, as *Mr. Maurice* observes†, was the *Xisathrus* of Chaldea; the venerable *Kronos* of the Phœnicians; the ancient *Fohi* of China; and, above all, *Satyaurata*, or seventh *Menu*, of India.

The immediate children of the Patriarch were consecrated to posterity under the names of ‡ *Cabiri*, *Dioscuri*, and *Corybantes*. *Sanchoniatho* and *Damascius* represent them as the offspring of *Sadye* (*Saturn*) the *Just Man*, the very appellation given by *Moses* to Noah. The author of the *Orphic Argonautica* § mentions the noble gifts bequeathed to mankind by the *CABIRI*: they were represented as three in number, and are sometimes mentioned as sons of the great artist *Hephaistus*, the chief deity of Egypt, and

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* Refer principally to the following Treatises in the second volume of *Mr. Bryant's Analysis*.

1. Of the Deluge, and the memorials thereof in the Gentile world.—(Page 195—253.)
2. Of some particular titles and personages; *Janus*, *Saturnus*, *Phoroneus*, *Poseidon*, *Nereus*, *Proteus*, *Prometheus*. (Page 253—272.)
3. *Noah*, *Noas*, *NYE NOTZ*, *Nusus*, (p. 272—283.)
4. *JONAH, CHALDÆORUM: a Continuation of the Gentile History of the Deluge*, (p. 283—337.)

† Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 508.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 461.

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S E C T. ^{1.} and reputed father of the Gods. The **CABIRI** are often mentioned as *Heliadae*, or offspring of the sun; and also as descendants of *Proteus*, the great prophet and deity of the Sea: one of the most ancient temples of these deities was at *Memphis* *. From Egypt their worship was carried to *Canaan* and *Syria*, and thence to *Greece*: they are said to have been the first constructors of a Float or Ship; and are represented as Husbandmen, and at the same time *men of the Sea* †. The chief province of the Cabiri related to shipping, and their influence was particularly implored by Mariners for success in their Voyages. Similar to the CABIRI were the **TELCHINES** and **IGNETES**, the first who settled at *Rhodes*, and in like manner were esteemed *Heliadae*; they carried their origin upwards to the Deluge, and universally assumed the title of **SONS OF THE SEA**. Under the character of *Heliadae* they are noticed by *Diodorus* ‡, as celebrated for their skill in Navigation; and § *Nonnus*, from some emblematical representation, has described them as wasted over the Ocean upon sea-horses. The *Telchinian* and *Cabiritic* rites, consisting of *Arkite* memorials, were carried from *Greece* into the regions of the *Celtae*; and traces of them have been observed as high up as the *Suevi*. *Tacitus* takes notice that they worshipped *Isis*, and mentions, that the chief object was an **ARK** or **SHIP** ||. The like mysteries, according to *Artemidorus*, prevailed in one of the *British* islands; in which, he says, that the worship of *Damater* was carried on with the same Rites as in *Samothracia* **. I make no doubt, adds Mr. Bryant, but that this history was true; and that the *Arkite* rites prevailed in many parts of *Britain*, especially in the isle of *Mona*, where in aftertimes was the chief seat of the *Saronides*, or *Druids*: *Monai* signifies *insula Selenitis vel Arkitis*.

Pagan allusions to the Noachic Dove.

The history of the **DOVE** which *Noah* sent from the Ark, and also the circumstance of the *Rainbow*, may be traced throughout pagan history amidst other events of the *Deluge*: they were both recorded in Hieroglyphics; the latter was styled by the Egyptians *Thamuz*, and seems to have signified *the wonder*. From this original came the bows both of *Apollo* and *Diana*. *Hesiod* †† alludes to this **COVENANT**, and calls it the great oath. *Homer*, in two passages of the *Iliad*, makes a remarkable reference

* Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 37.

† Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 38.

‡ Lib. v. p. 328.

§ Lib. xxiv. p. 626.

|| *De Mor. Germ.* p. 603.

** *Strabo*, lib. iv. p. 304.

†† *Hesiod. Theog.* v. 790.—*Bryant's Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 347.

reference to this divine Sign in the heavens : in the first, he is describing
some emblazonry upon the cuirass of *Agamemnon* :

Like to *THE* Bow which Jove amid the clouds
Placed as a Token to desponding Man *.

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In another place he notices this beautiful phenomenon in a manner equally striking :

Just as when *Jove*, 'mid the high heavens displays,
His Bow *mysterious* for a LASTING Sign †.

The crescent shape of the sacred Ship *Amphiprumnais*, with no distinction of head and stern, which is represented in the form of the canoe, seems to have originated from this circumstance.

The DOVE, with its branch of *olive*, was by many nations considered as an emblem of peace, and the *raven* which never returned, as a bird of ill omen. The *olive-tree* was revered at Athens, and by them reputed to be of high antiquity. Among the AMONIANS, the name of the *Dove* was *Iōn* or *Iōnah*. It became a favourite hieroglyphic among the *Babylonians* and *Chaldees*; was selected as the national *insigne*, or arms, and appeared on their Standards. In hieroglyphical sculptures and paintings, where an history of the Noachic Dove was represented, the bird could only be described as hovering over the face of the Deep; hence *Dione*, or † *Venus*, was said to have risen from the Sea, to preside over the waters, to appease the troubled ocean, and to cause by her presence an universal calm. In like manner *Juno* the same as *Iōna*, was considered as presiding over the Seas, which she was supposed to agitate at her pleasure: she was also called *Inachis*, or *Inachia*, and was § described at *Samos* as standing in a *lunette*, with the lunar emblem on her head. It soon became the custom of ancient Mariners to let loose a *Dove* or *Pigeon* before they sailed; that, from its movements, an idea might be formed of the success of their intended Voyage. The rising of the || *Peleiades*, or *Doves*, was always esteemed a most ** favourable season for naval Expeditions, and a fortunate time for the accomplishment of any maritime project.

The sacred origin of NAVIGATION and SHIP-BUILDING, was long commemorated by different nations in their religious processions of the *Ship of Isis* *Biprora*, the *amphiprumnais* of the Greeks; revered at Rome, according

Ancient procession of the Ship.

to

* *Iliad* A. v. 27.

† *Iliad* P. v. 547.

‡ *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 317.

§ *Ibid.* p. 343.

|| *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 285.

** *Ovid. Fasti*, lib. v. v. 65.

S E C T. I. to their calendar during the month of March, and worshipped as a sacred object by the *Suevi*. Dr. Pocock * copied three curious representations of this procession, from some ruins at *Luxorein* near Carnac in the *Thebais*, but did not discover to what they alluded. Two of these representations are given by Mr. *Bryant* †; who observes, that the Originals are of the highest antiquity, and were probably the most early specimens of Sculpture in the world. In this **BARIS**, or *sacred Ship*, the Patriarch is represented as being placed in a sort of shrine or Ark; the vessel is itself supported by eighteen attendants, preceded by a person bearing a kind of sceptre, and followed by another with a rod or staff in his hand. The ancient Greeks styled these rites the procession of the *P'omphi*. The Egyptians, in their description of the *primary deities*, had always some reference to a Ship, or Float: § they oftentimes, says *Porphry*, describe the Sun in the character of a man sailing on a Float. The broad leaf of the *Lotus* was long an Egyptian emblem of the Ark; because, in the greatest inundations of the Nile, this leaf rose with the flood, and was not overwhelmed among the innumerable Egyptian aquatics that were esteemed sacred. The species of *bean*, styled *Colocasia*, deserves also in this place to be noticed: it was revered on account of its resemblance to the sacred ‡ Ship of *Isis*; and was also called *Cibotium*, from *Cibotus* a boat. A person in *Athenæus* speaking of some particular cups, says, that they were called *skiffi*; and adds that they probably derived this name from an Egyptian vegetable, whose fruit was like a boat.

Cedar Ship
of Sesostris.

The celebrated CEDAR SHIP built according to || *Diodorus Siculus* by **SESOSTRIS**, is described as having been two hundred and eighty cubits in length; its outside was plated with gold, inlaid with silver; and the whole, when finished, was dedicated to *Osiris* at *Thebes*. It is not credible, says Mr. ** *Bryant*, that there should have been a ship of this size, especially in an inland district, the most remote of any in Egypt: it was certainly a temple and a shrine. The former was framed upon this large scale; and it was the latter on which the gold and silver were expended: the whole was probably designed as an exact representation of the **ARK**: this temple was

* *Pocock's Egypt*, (vol. i. plate 41.) a work whose original value has increased since the researches which have lately been made in Egypt.

† Vol. i. p. 252. See also vol. ii. p. 230.

‡ *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 220.

§ *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 399. See also p. 403, for a Dissertation on the *Scyphus*, or sacred cup, in the form of a boat.

|| Lib. i. p. 52.

** Vol. ii. p. 221.

was called *Theba*, and was probably constructed after the model of a Ship: both the city, as well as the province, was undoubtedly denominated from it.

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Throughout the greater part of the world similar allusions to the sublime archetype of navigation, cherished the principles of this Science in the human mind; which archetype being thus made a religious Rite, and forming a leading part in the celebrated MYSTERIES of the Ancients, a proportionable degree of veneration was attached to those persons who dared to venture on maritime expeditions. The ancestors of the *Egyptians*, the *MISRAIM*, generally formed their shrines in the earliest periods under the resemblance of a Ship; and both *Ships* and *Temples*, in reference to the Patriarch *NOAH*, were styled *Naus**, and *Naos*, and mariners themselves, *Nautæ*. According to *Pausanias* †, at *Eruthra* in *Ionia* there was a Temple of great antiquity, dedicated to *HERCULES*, resembling those in *Egypt*; the Deity was represented on a Float, and was believed to have been conveyed in that manner from *Phœnicia*. *Aristides* ‡ informs us, that a Ship was carried in procession at *Smyrna*, on the feast called *Dionysia*. The sacred Ship was borne with great solemnity through the streets of Athens at the Panathenæa, to the temple of *Damater* of Eleusis: at *Phalerus*, near *Athens*, honours were paid to an unknown hero, who was represented in the stern of a Ship. At *Olympia*, the most sacred place in Greece, a building was constructed like the forepart of a Ship, with its front towards the end of the *Hippodromus*; and on the altar placed towards the centre of this temple, particular rites were performed at the renewal of each Olympiad. *Strabo* mentions the city of *Cibotus* in Egypt, under which term the Grecians represented the Ark, and describes it as a Dock furnished in every respect for the building of ships. But the uncommon construction of the great floating island § *CHEMMIS* in Upper Egypt, near the temple of *Boutus*, displayed the most astonishing memorial of the first Ship: according to || *Pomponius Mela*, it contained various altars dedicated to *Osiris*, together with a stately temple, and several groves of palm-trees: it was also designed as a repository for the Arkite rites and history. *Danaus* was reported to have come from this island to Greece, when he brought with him the *Amphiprumnon*, or sacred model of the Ark, which he lodged in the acropolis of *Argos*, called *Larissa*.

Our

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 227.

† Lib. vii. p. 534.

‡ Orat. Smyrn. vol. i. p. 402.

§ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 329.

|| Lib. i. c. ix. p. 55.

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I.

Our attention is, in the next place, directed to the progress of the NOACHIDÆ from the region of the *Indian CAUCASUS*; and more particularly to that great *Amonian* tribe, the * *Cuthites* or sons of *Cbus* the renowned offspring of † *HAM*, who journeyed towards the west; and were the first that ventured on the seas, and took long Voyages: having subdued many colonies, which the descendants of *Japheth* had formed, they established those powerful *Amonian* kingdoms, from whose early history the fables and mythology of Greece were derived.

Progress of
the Amoni-
ans.

Mr. Bryant is inclined to think, that the *first migration* took place prior to any arrival in the plains of † *Sbinar*: he marks two distinct events; the migration of several colonies according to the determination of God; and secondly, a dispersion of others who stood their ground, and would not obey the divine impulse. After elucidating this subject with his usual ability, he then proceeds to a third great event, THE *TITANIAN WAR*, or the contest between the sons of *Shem* and the rebellious *Cuthite* idolaters; who were styled *Heroes*, *Dæmons*, *Heliadæ*, or *Children of the Sun*, and also *Macarians*: the tribe which settled in Egypt were distinguished by the name of § *Aurite* or *Shepherds*, the first who reigned in that country which was originally settled by the *Mizraim*; and with them the Egyptian history must commence. The *SHEPHERDS* maintained themselves in this situation for five hundred and eleven years. Under the title of *Amonians*, the learned Mythologist comprehends all nations known as inhabitants of *Egypt*, of *Pbunicia*,
or

* The *SUN* being worshipped under the term of *Shem* and *Shamesh*, many of the descendants of *HAM* have been improperly referred to the Patriarch *Shem*, viz. the *Chaldeans* and the *Amalekites*: the worship of the *Sun* was very prevalent in Ancient *Syria*.—*Analysis*, vol. i. p. 64.

† *HAM* was deified by his posterity, and worshipped as the *sun*, under the appellation of *AMON*, *Ammon*, *Amanus*, and *Omanus*. He was the *HERMES* of *Egypt*; the *ZEUS* of *Greece*; the *JUPITER* of *Latium*; and the *APOLLO* of the *East*. He was also worshipped by his descendants, under the name of *BAL*, and *BAAL*; terms originally appropriated to *Noah*. The worship of *HAM*, or the *SUN*, was the prevailing religion of *Greece*, and extended throughout the sea-coast of *Europe*.—(*Analysis*, vol. i. p. 3. 284.) *HAM* was also styled *CHAM*, and his images and priests *Chamin*: his posterity esteemed themselves of the *solar race*. The great founder of the *Perfic* monarchy was styled *ACHAMIN*; and the first city that was built is called in *Genesis* (ch. x. 10.) *ACHAD*.—*Analysis*, vol. i. p. 84.

‡ Called also *Senaar*, and by *Ptolemy Singara*. (Vol. iii. p. 18.)

§ *ANALYSIS*, vol. i. p. 362. See also that interesting and valuable Dissertation of Mr. Bryant's, ON THE *SHEPHERD KINGS OF EGYPT*, in his *Observations on various Parts of Ancient History*, 4to. 1767.

or *Canaan*: distinguished by various denominations, they either settled, or traded, from *Babylonia* and *Egypt*, to beyond the *Ganges* eastward; and in the west, to the utmost bounds of the *Mediterranean*, which they soon passed. These * *Cuthites* were very enterprising, and commenced an extensive commerce in the earliest periods: upon the various headlands of the coast they frequented, pillars were raised as *sea marks* to direct them in their perilous expeditions. One of the principal and most ancient settlements of the *Amonians* on the ocean was at *Gader*, where *Geryon* reigned; its harbour was a very excellent one, and as several towers were built there, and also still higher on the coast of *Lusitania* to direct the shipping, by the *Herculeans*, who worshipped *NOAH* under that appellation; the honour of constructing these *Light-Houses* was assigned by the Greeks to *Hercules*, and thus taken to themselves †. The *Amonians* recorded the great events of their ancestors in hieroglyphics on pillars and obelisks; among these, therefore, we must search for the early history of their maritime exploits.

The mild and amiable character of the posterity of *SHEM*, is still to be witnessed in the submissive and humane disposition of the *Indians*. Mr. *Wilford* ‡ has been enabled to discover some traces of their history in the ancient books of the *HINDUS*; but these traces are faint and almost lost in the Maritime glory of the *Amonians*. A great part of the descendants of *SHEM* appear to have emigrated, in the earliest periods of the Indian history, from the southern provinces of that country to *Egypt*, under the name of a tribe called *Pallis*, who carried with them the *four Vedas*, or sacred books of *Indian scripture*. The character of the *Pallis* was that of distinguished herdsmen or shepherds, and the following passage seems to take from the *Cuthites* the fame of being the original *AURITÆ*.

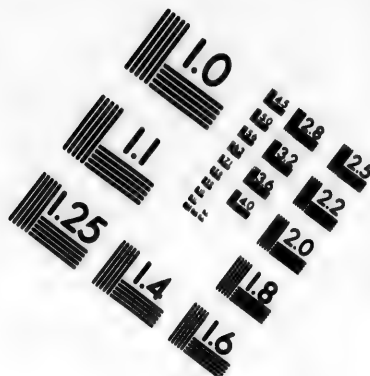
"*SHARMA-ST'HAN*," says Mr. *Wilford*, "of which we cannot exactly distinguish the boundaries, but which included *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, as it is generally called, with part of *Abyssinia* and *Azan*; received its name from *SHARMA*, of whom we shall presently speak. His descendants being obliged to

* As *HAM* was styled *Amon*, and *Ammon*, his son *CHUS* was called *Cuth*, *Cuthon*, and *Cobon*. *Chusistan*, to the east of *Tigris*, was the land of *Chus*. Several cities and temples in *India* were also dedicated to him. (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 364.)

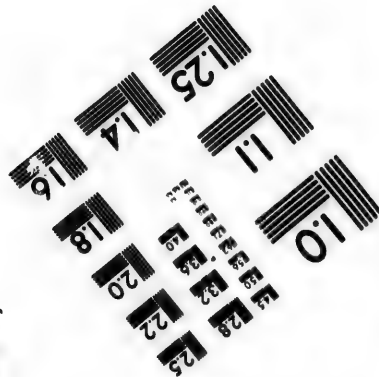
† *Analysis*, vol. i. p. 2. 262. and 399.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. "On *Egypt*, and other countries adjacent to the *CA'IR* river, or *Nile of Ethiopia*, from the ancient books of the *Hindus*."





6"



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S E C T I O N
I.

to leave Egypt, retired to the mountains of Ajäger, and settled near the lake of the gods. Many learned *Brâhmenis* are of opinion, that by the children of SHARMA we must understand that race of *Dravâdis* who were forced to emigrate from Egypt, during the reigns of SANI and RAHU, or Saturn and Typhon. They are said to have been a quiet and blameless people, and to have subsisted by hunting wild elephants, of which they sold or bartered the teeth, and even lived on the flesh: they built the town of *Râpavâsi*, or the beautiful, which the Greeks called *Rapta*.

It is related in the *Padma-purân*, that SATYAVRATA, whose miraculous preservation from a general Deluge is told at length in the *Mâtya*, had three sons; the eldest of whom was named JYAPETI, or Lord of the Earth; the others were C'HARMA and SHARMA, which last words are in the vulgar dialects usually pronounced C'HAM and SHAM. The Royal Patriarch (for such is his character in the *Purân*) was particularly fond of JYAPETI, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of *Himâlaya*, or the Snowy Mountains, which extend from sea to sea, and of which CAUCASUS is a part. To SHARMA he allotted the Countries to the south of those mountains; but he cursed C'HARMA, because, when the old Monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, C'HARMA laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.

The children of SHARMA travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the *Nîl* or *Câli*: and a *Brâhmen* informs me (but the original passage from the *Purân* is not yet in my possession) that their journey began after the building of the *Padmâ-mandira*, which appears to be the Tower of Babel, on the banks of the river *Cumudvâsi*, which can be no other than the *Euphrates*. On their arrival in Egypt, they found the country peopled by evil beings, and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitations: their leader therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelary divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the *Nile*, performing acts of austere devotion, and praising PADMA'-*dév*, or the goddess residing on the *Lotos*. PADMA' at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a pyramid in honour of her, on the very spot where he then stood. It does not clearly appear on what occasion the SHARMICAS left their first settlement, which had so auspicious a beginning.

“ Several

" Several other tribes, from India or Persia, settled afterwards in the land of SHARMA. The first and most powerful of them were the *Pālis*, or *SHIR-HERDS*, of whom the *Purānas* give the following account:

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Earliest Periods.

" IRSHU, surnamed *Pingāśha*, the son of UGRA, lived in India, to the south-west of *Cāśhi*, near the *Naravindhya* river, which flowed, as its name implies, from the *Vindhya* mountains. The place of his residence to the south of those hills was named *Palli*, a word now signifying a large town and its district; or *Pali*, which may be derived from *Pāla*, a herdsman or shepherd. He was a prince mighty and warlike, though very religious: but his brother TARACHVA, who reigned over the *Vindyhan* mountaineers, was impious and malignant; and the whole country was infested by his people, whom he supported in all their enormities. The good king always protected the pilgrims to *Cāśhi* or *Varānesi*, in their passage over the hills, and supplied them with necessities for their journey; which gave so great offence to his brother, that he waged war against *Irshu*, overpowered him, and obliged him to leave his kingdom; but Mahadedā (proceeds the legend) assisted the fugitive prince, and the faithful *Pallis* who accompanied him; conducting them to the banks of the *Calli* (the Nile), in *Sancha-Dwip*, where they found the *Sbarmicus*, or *Sbemis*, and settled among them. In that country they built the temple and town *Punyavati*, or *Punya-Nagari*; words implying holiness and purity, which it imparts (say the Hindus) to zealous pilgrims: it is believed at this day to stand near the *Calli*, on the low hills of *Mandara*, which are said, in the *Puranas*, to consist of red earth; and on those hills the *Palis*, under their virtuous leader, are supposed to live, like the *Gandharvas* on the summit of *Himalaya*, in the lawful enjoyment of pleasure; rich, innocent, and happy; though intermixed with some *Mlechhas*, or people who speak a barbarous dialect, and with some of a fair complexion. The low hills of *Mandara* include the tract called *Meroe* or *Merhoe*, by the Greeks; in the centre of which is a place named *Mandara* in the Jesuits' map, and *Mandera* by Mr. Bruce, who says, that of old it was the residence of the shepherds or *Palli* kings.

" This account of the *Palis* has been extracted from two of the eighteen *Puranas*, intitled *Scanda* or the God of War, and *Brahmanda* or the Mundane Egg. We must not omit, that they are said to have carried from India, not only the *Atharva-Veda*, which they had a right to possess, but even the three others, which (not being Brahmins) they acquired clandestinely; so that the four books of ancient Indian Scripture once existed in Egypt; and it is remarkable, that the books of Egyptian science were ex-

Several

S E C T.
I.The
Cuthites.

actly four, called the books of *Harmonia*, or *Hermes**, which are supposed to have contained subjects of the highest antiquity. Nonnus mentions the first of them, as believed to be co-eval with the world; and the Brahmens assert, that their three first *Vedas* existed before the creation."

To CHUS, the original leader of those who ventured on the seas, and to whom magic was in consequence attributed, succeeded the mighty NIMROD, whose history is concealed under that of *Alorus*, the first king of Chaldea, but more frequently under that of *Orion*; the Greeks styled him *Nebrod*, and this occasioned many allusions to a *fawn*, and a *fawn's skin*, in the *Dionysiacs*, and other † mysteries.—In the days of *Peleg*, when mankind had greatly increased, they removed to the different regions that were allotted them by God; but, as already observed, the sons of CHUS, represented under the character both of *Giants* and *Titanians*, would not obey. At length these rebels were dispersed, and some of them, after roving for a long time in an unsettled state, arrived under the command of the arch-rebel NIMROD in the plains of *Shinar*, already occupied by *Assur* and his sons. The indignant Cuthites immediately prepared for war, and overcame the sons of *Assur*: this dispersion of the sons of CHUS under the rebel Nimrod, is ‡ alluded to by the Greek poets in their description of the flight of *Bacchus*. Others of the dispersed *Cuthites* embarked, and settled on the *Erythrean Ocean*; which event Mr. Bryant thinks is referred to by the poet Nonnus §, when he speaks of the retreat of *Bacchus* and his associates:

" His wavering bands now fled in deep dismay
By different routes, uncertain where they passed.
Some sought the limits of the Eastern world;
Some, where the craggy Western Coast extends,
Sped to the regions of the setting sun.
Sore travel others felt, and wandered far
Southward; while many sought the distant North,
All in confusion.—

" BACCHUS all trembling, as he fled away,
Call'd on the mighty *Erythrean deep*
To yield him shelter. *Thetis* heard his cries,
And, as he plung'd beneath the turbid wave,
Receiv'd him in her arms: old *Nereas* too,
The Arabian god, stretched out his friendly hand,
And led him darkling through the vast abyss
Of sounding waters."

Although

* Bryant's Analysis, vol. ii. p. 150. † Ib. vol. i. p. 8.

‡ Ib. vol. iii. p. 40. § Nonni *Dionysiac.* lib. xxxiv. p. 864. Ibid. lib. xx. p. 552.

Although *Nimrod* performed so many exploits, and built the celebrated city of * *Babel* or *Babylon*, his actions were in a considerable degree lost in the superior reverence that was shewn to *Bacchus*.

This celebrated conqueror was no other than † *CHUS*, the first who instituted triumphs; he was often, adds Mr. Bryant, mistaken for *Dionysus* ‡: the Vine was esteemed sacred both to *Dionysus* and *Bacchus*; and though confounded by the Grecians, they were two different persons. The history of the former is in reality an account of the § *Dionysians*, who were the same as the *Osirians* and *Herculeans*. Sir William || Jones considered the sanctified *Rama* as the prototype of *Bacchus*; and informs us, that "the *Hindus* have an Epic Poem on the subject of *Rama's* achievements, written by their most ancient poet *Válmíc*, and called the *RAMAYAN*, which in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of *Nonnus*, entitled *Dionysiaca*; half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness when I was very young, and should have travelled to the conclusion of it, if other pursuits had not engaged me. I shall never have leisure to compare the *Dionysiacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident that an accurate comparison of the two Poems, would prove *Dionysus* and *Rama* to have been the same person; and I incline to think that he was *Rama*, the son of *CUSH*, who might have established the first regular government in this part of Asia."

The *Cuthites*, according to *Bryant*, only occupied some particular spots in the west; but from *Babylonia* eastward the greatest part of that extensive sea-coast seems to have been in their possession. Owing to the confusion of *Crusean* for *Cusean*, the Greeks formed a variety of fiction relative to the *Golden Age* and a *Golden Race*; and the country of the *Cuthim* was rendered the golden country. In like manner *Cal-Chus*, the hill or place of *CHUS*, was converted to *Chalcus* brass. *Colchis* was properly *Col-Chus*; but as *Colchian* was sometimes rendered *Chalcion*, it gave rise to the fable of the brazen Bulls**, which in reality were *Colchic Tor*, or *Towers*. There was according to †† *Arrian*, a region named *Colchis*, in India, near *Comar*: the *Pegadae* of the country were what we now call *Pagodas*. In this part of the world several cities and temples were dedicated to the memory of *Chus*;

some

* ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 45.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 257.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 273.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 77.

|| Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 258. On the gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

** ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 363.

†† Periplus Maris Erythraei, Geog. Vet. vol. i. p. 33.

S E C T.
I.

Introduction.

Earliest Periods.

Bacchus.

S E C T. some of which are famous to this day, though denominated after the Babylonish dialect *Cutha*, and *Cuta*; as for instance, *Calcutta*, and *Calecut*: the latter seems to have been the capital of the region called of old *Colchis*.

As a colony of the Amonians settled in *Thrace*, we there * also find memorials of the deluge. The river *Danube* was properly the river of Noah; expressed *Da-Nau*, and *Da-Nauos*. † Herodotus calls it plainly the river of *Noah*, but appropriates the term only to one branch, giving the name of *Ister* to the chief stream: it is also mentioned as such by ‡ *Valerius Flaccus*. But of all the places in which memorials of the *Deluge* have been preserved with the greatest care, Mr. Bryant § seems to give the preference to the city of *Apamea*, so called from the mother of *Antiochus Soter*; it was the same as *Celanea*, and originally named *Cisotus*, in memory of the Ark. *Apamea* was situated in *Phrygia*, far inland, at some distance from the *Meander* upon the fountains of the river *Marfyas*: the inhabitants were styled *Magnetes*. This city, according to *Strabo*, was the magazine for every article of commerce, and the greatest Asiatic staple, next to *Ephesus*. The representation of a coin of *Phillip the Elder*, and another of *Severus*, relative to the Noachic history, is copied by Mr. Bryant from *Falconerius* and *Seguinus*; the former of whom composed a curious dissertation on the coin assigned to *Phillip*. Its reverse displays a square machine floating upon the water; through an opening of which are seen two persons, a man and a woman; and upon the head of the woman is a veil. Over this Ark is a kind of triangular pediment, on which a dove is represented sitting; and below it another, which seems to flutter its wings, and holds in its mouth a small branch of a tree. Before the machine are two persons, who by their attitude seem to have just quitted it on reaching the dry land: upon the Ark itself, underneath the persons there inclosed, is to be read in distinct characters, *NØE* ||. The learned Editor of this account says, that it had fallen to his lot to meet with three of these Coins; they were of brass, and of the medaglion size: one of them he mentions to have seen in the collection of the *Duke of Tuscany*; the second in that of the *Cardinal Ottoboni*; and the third was the property of *Augustino Chigi*, nephew to *Pope Alexander the seventh*.

Apamean
medal.

Amidst

* *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 339.

† *Lib. iv. c. 49.*

‡ *Lib. iv. v. 719. and lib. vi. v. 100.*

§ *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 230.

|| See the engraving prefixed to the present section.

Amidst the innumerable colonies which branched into vast empires from the * royal Triad of *Noachide*, or as they were styled in Scripture *Baalim*; the ANAKIM, the TITANS, and the SCYTHÆ, in the first place claim the reader's attention. The Cuthites, by their address and superiority in the science of navigation, obtained a general ascendancy; in some places they mixed with the people they invaded, but in others they maintained themselves separate.

ANAC, a † title of high antiquity, was originally appropriated to persons Anakim. of great strength and stature; such in the plural are called in Scripture *Anakim*, and in the Book of ‡ Joshua are mentioned as the *Anakims of the mountains*; one particular tribe is § described as *Canaanites*, that dwell in *Hebron*; or *Kirjath-arba*: some of them were also found among the *Cappitorim*, who settled in *Palestina*. From a passage in Pausanias, which mentions the tomb of *Asterion*, a son of *Anac*, as being found in *Lydia*, Mr. Bryant observes; that the history of the *Anakim* was not totally obliterated among the Grecians. The || title of ANAC in ancient times was also given to gods, and their temples styled *Tor-Anac*: hence SICILY was denominated *Trinacis*, and *Trinacia*, and in process of time *Trinacria*.

Of the same race as the children of *Anac* were the fierce and ambitious Titans. TITANS, or ** TITANIANS, so named from their worship of the sun, and the places where it was celebrated. They are mentioned by some writers as being the builders of the tower of *Babel*; which Mr. Bryant is inclined to think was undoubtedly a *Tuphon*, or altar of the sun, though generally represented as a temple. The terms both of *Giants* and *Titanians* were given to the rebellious sons of CHUS: their dispersion, and the feuds which preceded, are recorded by †† *Hesiod*; but he has confounded this history, by supposing the *Giants* and *Titans* to have been different persons. *Hesiod's* fine description of this memorable event is translated by Mr. Bryant; the conclusion is the only part which the limit of this Memoir allows me to insert.

The Gods, victorious, seiz'd the rebel crew,
And sent them, bound in adamantine chains,
To earth's deep caverns, and the shades of night.
Here dwell th' apostate brotherhood, consign'd

To

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 278. † *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 72.

‡ Ch. xi. v. 21. § Judges, ch. i. v. 20.

|| ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 407. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 423.

** *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 48. †† Theogon, v. 676.

SECT.
I.

To everlasting durance : here they sit
Age after age in melancholy state ;
Still pining in eternal gloom ; and lost
To every comfort. Round them wide extend
The dreary bounds of Earth, and Sea, and Air ;
Of Heaven above, and Tartarus below. . . .
They placed the rebels, fast in fetters bound,
Deep in a gloomy gulf ; as far removed
From earth's fair regions, as the earth from heaven.

The real history of the *dispersion of the Titans* seems to have been as follows. A considerable body retreated to that part of *Scythia* which bordered on the *Palus Maeotis*, and was called *Keira* ; another, and a very numerous Colony, settled in *Mauritania*, which was the region styled by Hesiod *TARTARUS*. *Diodorus Siculus* * mentions the arrival of *Cronus* in that part of Africa, with other leaders, as *Oceanus*, *Caus*, *Iapetus*, *Crius*, *Hyperion*, and *Atlas* ; from this last general the inhabitants of that part of the continent were named *Atlantians* ; and owing to a confusion of a Greek word † which expressed the *west*, or *place of the setting sun*, and also *darkness*, the Titans of the west were consigned to the realms of night : they also gave the title of *Erebus* to the *Atlantic province* ; since *Ereb* signified both the *west*, and *darkness*. From the following passage in the Iow of Euripides ‡, Mr. Bryant is inclined to think that it was not uncommon for those who were oppressed, to migrate to these settlements. Creusa in great affliction exclaims,

O ! that I could be wafted through the yielding air,
Far, very far, from *Hellas*,
To the inhabitants of the *HESPERIAN REGION* :
So great is my load of grief.

The *Atlantic Ocean*, mentioned by the Nubian Geographer as the *Sea of Darkness*, was described by ancient poets as *the vast unfathomable abyss* ; upon the borders of which *Homer* places the gloomy mansions where the *TITANS* resided.

Scythæ.

Many regions in § different parts of the world were called *SCYTHIA* :
1. A province in Egypt ; 2. Another upon the *Thermodon*, above *Galatia* in
Asia.

* Lib. v. p. 334. † 800. ‡ V. 796.

§ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 135 and 143. "Account of the *Scythæ*, *Scythia*, *Scythismus*, and *Hellenismus* ; also of the *Ionæ* and *Hellenes* of *Babylonia* ; and of the *Hellenes* of *Egypt*."

Asia Minor; 3. One in *Syria*; 4. The country about *Colchis* and *Iberia*; 5. A great part of *Thrace* and *Mædia*, and all the *Tauric Chersonesus*; 6. A country far in the east, situated upon the great *Indic Ocean*, and called *Scythia Limyrica*. The genuine *Scythæ* were styled *Magog*, and were descended from *Magus*, or *CHUS*, the father of the *Magi*, worshippers of fire. *Timonax*, a writer of great antiquity, mentions fifty nations of *Scythians*. Before the dawn of learning in Greece, the *Scythians* of *Colchis* carried on a very extensive commerce; and, according to *Timosthenes*, no less than three hundred inland nations, each having their respective language, came to the *Colchian* marts. The *Scythians* went under the names of *Colchians*, *Iberians*, *Cimmerians*, *Hyperboreans*, and *Alani*. The *Scythic* colonies were widely dispersed; but all nations, that were styled * *Scythian*, were in reality *Cuthian*, or *Ethiopian*: they seized on the province of *Susiana* and *Chusistan*, were in possession of the navigation of the *Tigris* downwards; and having extended themselves beyond *Gedrosia* and *Carmania*, are thus noticed by the author of the *PERIPLUS* †. After the country of *Ora*, the continent now, by reason of the great depth of its gulfs and inlets, forming vast promontories, runs outward to a great degree from the east, and incloses the sea coast of *SCYTHIA*, which lies towards the north; that is, in the recess of one of these bays. It is low land, and lies upon the river *SINTHUS* (*Indus*), which is the largest river of any that run into the *Erythrean* sea, and affords the greatest quantity of water. The *Scythic* colonies also occupied the insular province, called in their language, from its situation, *Gixerette*, or the *Island*; and from their ancestor, *Cambaiar*, or the *Bay of Cham*, which it still retains. They also settled upon the promontory *Comar*, or *Comarin*; and were Lords of the great island *Pelæsimunda*, called afterwards *Seran-dive*, and now *Ceylon*. The principal names of the *Scythic* Indians were *Erythrai*, *Arabes*, *Orita*, *Æthiopes*, *Cathei*, and *Indi*.

These *Cuthites*, or *Scythic Colonies*, possessed in India a region named *Colchis*, already mentioned as being noticed by *Arrian*; where they had the advantage of a pearl fishery, which is thus described in the † *Periplus* of the *Erythrean* sea:—From *Elabacara* extends a mountain

* *ANALYSIS*, vol. iii. p. 192. "Cuthia Indica, or Scythia Limyrica."

† *Geogr. Vet.* vol. i. p. 21.

‡ *Geograph. Græc. Min.* vol. i. p. 33. *ANALYSIS*, vol. iii. p. 204: see also his Dissertation on the *Erythreans*, *ibid.* p. 185.

SECT. I. a mountain called *Purrhos*, and the Coast styled * *Paralia* (or the Pearl Coast), reaching down to the most southern point, where is the great fishery for pearl, which people dive for. It is under a king named *PANDION*; and the chief city is *COLCHI*. There are two places where they fish for this commodity, of which the first is called *Balita*: here is a fort, and an harbour.—The Coast, near which they fish for Pearl, lies all along from *Comari* to *Colchi*. It is performed by persons who have been guilty of some crime, and are compelled to this service. All this Coast to the southward is under the aforementioned King *PANDION*. After this there proceeds another tract of coast, which forms a gulf.

Mr. Bryant concludes his admirable Dissertation on the † *INDI*, with an extract and translation from the poet *Dionysius* ‡; who, after describing all the nations of the known world, in his valuable geographical poem the § *Periegesis*, concludes with a particular account of the *INDO-SCYTHÆ*. "If Homer had been engaged upon the same subject, adds the learned Analyst, he could not have exceeded, either in harmony of numbers or beauty of detail." But I can only indulge the reader with a short specimen of detached lines.

" Upon

* *Paralia* seems at first a Greek word; but is in reality a proper name in the language of the country. I make no doubt, adds Mr. Bryant, but what we call *Pearl* was the *Paral* of the *Amonians* and *Cuthites*. *PARALIA* is the land of *Pearls*. All the names of *GEMS*, as now in use, and of old, were from the *Amonians*: *ADAMANT*, *AMETHYST*, *OPAL*, *ACHATES* or *Agate*, *PYROPS*, *ONYX*, *SARDONYX*, *ÆGITES*, *ALABASTER*, *BERIL*, *CORAL*, *CORNELIAN*. As this was the Shore where these *Gems* were really found, we may conclude that *Paralia* signified the *Pearl Coast*. There was a *Pearl Fishery* in the *Red Sea*; and it continues to this day near the Island *Delagua*. (*Purchas*, vol. v. p. 778.) In these parts, the Author of the *Periplus* mentions *Islands*, which he styles *παραλαος*, or *Pearl Islands*. (See *Geogr. Gr. Minores*, *Periplus*, vol. i. p. 9.)

† *ANALYSIS*, vol. iii. p. 215.

‡ *Verf.* 1088.

§ A translation of this geographical Poem, which is composed in Greek hexameters, would be a most acceptable present to the English reader. Pliny owns that he was under the greatest obligations to *Dionysius*; and when speaking of the Persian *Alexandria*, afterwards called *Antioch*, and at last *Charran*, informs us that *Dionysius* was a native of that place; that he was sent by *AUGUSTUS* to survey the Eastern part of the world, and to make reports and observations about its state and condition, for the use of the emperor's eldest son, who was at that time preparing an expedition into *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Arabia*. The best editions of this Poem are those of Henry Stephens, 4to, 1577, with the *Scholia*; and by Hill, 8vo, London, 1688. A very neat edition was printed at Oxford in 1697.

" Upon the banks of the great River Ind,
 The southern SCUTIA dwell : which River pays
 Its watery tribute to that mighty Sea,
 Styled *Erythraea*. Far removed its source,
 Amid the stormy Cliffs of *Caucasus* :
 Descending hence through many a winding vale,
 It separates vast Nations. To the west
 The *Oritae* live, and *Aribae* : and then
 The *Araceni* famed for linen gear,
 Next the *Satraida* ; and those, who dwell
 Beneath the shade of *Mount Parpanisus*,
 Styled *Ariani*. No kind glebe they own,
 But a waste sandy soil, replete with thorn.
 Yet are they rich ; yet doth the land supply
 Wealth without measure. Here the *Coral* grows
 Ruddy and smooth : here too are veins of *Gold* ;
 And in the quarries deep the *Sapphire's* found,
 The *Sapphire*, vying with the empyreal blue.
 To the EAST a lovely country wide extends,
India, whose borders the wide Ocean bounds.
 On this the Sun new rising from the Main
 Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beam.—
 Not far from hence, but near the southern Main,
 The limits of the country *Colis* reach,
 By others *Colchis* named. Here towering steep,
 The rock *Aetna* rises high in view,
 E'en to the mid-air region ; not a bird
 Of boldest pinion wings this subtle clime.
 There is moreover, wonderful to tell !
 In the rich region which the *Ganges* laves,
 A Pass esteemed most sacred : this of old
 Bacchus is said, in wrathful mood, distress'd,
 To have travers'd, when he fled ; what time he chang'd
 The soft *Nebrides* for a shield of brass ;
 And for the *Thyrus*, bound with ivy round,
 He couched the pointed spear. Then first were seen
 The zones and fillets, which his comrades wore,
 And the soft pliant vine-twigs, moving round
 In serpentine direction, chang'd to asps.
 These facts lay long unheeded : but in time
 The natives quicken'd paid memorial due ;
 And call the road *Nusaia* to this day.
 Soon as the lovely region was subdued
 By the god's prowess, glorying down he came
 From *Mount Hemodus* to the circling Sea.

S E C T.
I.

There on the strand two Obelisks he rear'd,
High and conspicuous, at the world's extreme.—
To enumerate all, who rove this wide domain,
Surpasses human pow'r: the Gods can tell,
The Gods alone, for nothing's hid from heaven.
Let it suffice, if I their worth declare.
These were the first *GAZAR* FOUNDERS in the world,
Founders of cities and of mighty states:
Who shew'd a path through Seas, before unknown:
And when doubt reign'd and dark uncertainty,
Who rendered life more certain. They first view'd
The starry lights, and form'd them into Schemes.
In the first ages, when the sons of men
Knew not which way to turn them, they assign'd
To each his just department: they bestow'd
Of Land a portion, and of Sea a lot;
And sent each wandering Tribe far off to share
A different soil and climate. Hence arose
The great diversity so plainly seen
'Mid nations widely sever'd.—

Now farewell,
Ye Shores and sea-girt Isles; farewell the Surge
Of ancient *Nerous*, and old Ocean's stream.
Ye Fountains too, and Rivers, and ye Hills
That wave with shady Forests, all farewell.
My way I've sped through the wide pathless deep,
By the bluff Cape and winding Continent;
'Tis time to seek some respite and reward.

Origin of
Maps and
Charts.

As the overflowing of the Nile, whose ancient name was *Ogenus* or the *Ocean*, carried away the different boundaries by which the various divisions of landed property were ascertained, it is with reason conjectured, that in * *Egypt* we must look for the origin of *Geometry*, and the first invention of *Charts* †. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ‡ notices the early maps of the Egyptians, and their *Charts* of the Nile. *Sesysiris* (or rather the *Sethosians*)

* ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 385. 398.—“Dissertation on Temple Science.” See also, in vol. iii. p. 311.—“Dissertation on the Egyptian Kings and Dynasties.”

† Mr. *Bryant's Hypothesis* is supported by *HERODOTUS* (lib. ii.), *DIONORUS* (lib. i.), *STRABO* (lib. xvii.), and *PROCLUS*. *Josephus*, on the contrary, ascribes the invention of *Geometry* to the Hebrews.

‡ Strom. vi. p. 757.

Sethefians) gave the Egyptians, and Scythians, plans of the countries he had traversed delineated upon boards, which were held in great estimation *. Porphyry mentions the *Egyptian Almanack*, a kind of nautical ephemeris, and gives an account of its contents. They thus recorded the phases of the sun and moon, the rising and setting of the stars for the ensuing year, with the aspect and influences of the planets. The inhabitants of *Colchis*, who came from Egypt, constructed *Charts* that described the Seas, and Shores, where their extensive Commerce carried them; and according to the Scholiast upon Apollonius Rhodius †, in his poem on the Expedition of the Argonauts, the Colchians had square pillars of stone, on which *Maps* of the Continent, and *Charts* of the Ocean were engraved.

These remarks throw considerable light on the history of *Atlas*, feigned Atlantians to support the heavens upon his shoulders: the whole of this Fable arose from not understanding some verses in the *Odyssey*:

ATLAS her sire, to whose far-piercing eye
The wonders of The Deep expanded lye;
The Eternal COLUMNS which on earth he rears,
End in the starry Vault, and prop the Spheres. POPE †.

Homer is speaking of Calypso, who is said to be the daughter of *Atlas* a person of deep and recondite knowledge: now by *Atlas* the ancients described the *Atlantians*, already noticed as a branch of the *Titans*, who were skilful mariners; and according to the Greek Poet, knew all the soundings of the deep. They had also long pillars, or obelisks, which referred to the Sea; and upon which was delineated the whole system both of heaven and earth; (αὐγὰς) all around, both on the front of the obelisk, and on the other sides. Mr. Bryant then subjoins the following paraphrase of a passage in *Eusebius*, connected with this illustration:—The *Herculeans* were a people much given to divination, and to the study of nature. Great part of their knowledge they are thought to have had transmitted to them from those *Atlantians*, who settled in *Pbrygia*, especially the history of the earth and heavens; for all such knowledge the *Atlantians* had of old assigned to Pillars and Obelisks in that country; and from them it was derived to the *Herculeans*, or *Heraclidae*, of Greece. The chief ancestor of the *ATLANTIANS* was father of the *Pelidae*, or *Ionim*, the

* Euseb. *Pres. Epist. to Dionys.* p. 12.

† Lib. iv. v. 279.

† Pope's Translation, Book the First, vers. 67, or L. & v. 52.

S E C T. supposed brother of Saturn, and the *Hellenes* were of his race: they received their knowledge of astronomy, and geography, from these sacred pillars of the *Atlantes*; and this knowledge was carried from Phrygia into Hellas by *Anaximander*, the first person, according to * *Strabo*, who introduced a geographical chart, or as † *Laertius* expresses it *the circumference of the terraqueous globe delineated*.

Though the origin of *Maps* and *Charts* is thus ingeniously traced by Mr. Bryant ‡, he cautions his readers to beware of being led into an error, by imagining that this branch of science came from the Native Egyptians; since in fact it proceeded from the ingenuity of the *Cuthites*, or *SHEPHERDS*, who settled in that country. Among other titles they were called *Saitæ*, by whom Athens, and Thebes in Boeotia, were founded; and from them alone astronomy and geometry must be traced.

Nautical
Colleges
and Light-
Houses.

The MIZRAIM did not encourage commerce; yet it nevertheless was carried on by the *Cuthites*, who inhabited the lower provinces of Egypt towards the sea. The towers which they constructed as sea-marks by day, and light-houses by night, were at the same time *temples*, denominated from some title of the deity, *Caneph*, *Proteus*, *Phanes*, or *Canobus*: they were on both accounts much resorted to by Mariners, and consequently enriched by their votive offerings. Here were deposited *Charts* of the coast, and of the navigation of the Nile, engraved at first on Pillars, and in after times sketched upon the Nilotic *papyrus*; there is likewise reason to think that these charts were sometimes delineated upon the walls.

The celebrated, though misnamed column at Alexandria, called *Pompey's Pillar*, seems to have been originally constructed as a sacred *beacon*; which the lowness of the coast of Egypt particularly required. The oracle of HAM was styled *Omph*; and when particularly spoken of as *the Oracle*, it was expressed *p'omphi*, and *p'ompi*. The present pillar at Alexandria was constructed || on the ruins of a former one by *Softratus* of Cnidos, according to an inscription which has been preserved by *Strabo* **. Similar pillars ††, sacred to *HERCULES*, were placed near *Gades*; others still higher on

* L. i. p. 13.

† Diog. Laert. *Anaximander*.

‡ The learned *Analyst* is also inclined to think (vol. i. p. 353.) that the central part of the *shield of Achilles*, as described by Homer, represented a map of the earth, and a representation of the constellations.

|| *ANALYSIS*, vol. i. p. 262.

** Lib. xvii. p. 1141.

†† Dr. *White*, in the first part of his *EGYPTIACA* (1801), offers a new conjecture, and exerts his great abilities to prove, that the celebrated COLUMN called *Pompey's Pillar*, formed a part of the *Alexandrian temple of Serapis*.

on the coast of *Lusitania*: two of the most celebrated stood upon each side of the Mediterranean, at the noted passage *Fretum Gaditanum*; that on the Mauritanian side was called *Abyla*, from *Ab-El*, *parens Sol*; the other in Iberia had the name of *Calpe*, a compound of *Ca-Alpe*, the house or cavern of the same oracular god: for it was built near a cave, and all such recesses were esteemed oracular. At places of this sort mariners came on shore to make their offerings, and to inquire about the success of their voyage. There was of old hardly any headland but what had its *Temple* or *Altar*; and as these * *Colona* were sacred to the Apollo of Greece, he in consequence was often called the tutelar God of the Coast.

The *Amonians*, who first constructed these sacred Maritime Temples, gave them the name of *Tar*, or *Tor* †; which signified both an hill, and a tower: when compounded, they were styled *Tor-Is*, or Fire-Towers; and hence the Greeks derived their *τῦρρις*, and *τῦρρος*, which they at length changed to *ταυρος*, a bull: thus a new opening was made to indulge their fabulous propensity.

When the *Hetrurians* settled in ‡ Italy, they introduced the art of fortification, and built many strong-holds; and as they occupied an extensive tract of sea-coast, they erected towers and beacons for the sake of their navigation. Before the *Hetrurians* had invented trumpets to give warning from their towers to passing vessels, the maritime watchmen were obliged to use the *sea-conch*, which every strand afforded.

The manner § in which the *Amonians* constructed their maritime beacons, or *torain*, on the summit of these towers, is thus described. The *torain* consisted of an iron or brazen frame, wherein were three or four *Tines*, which stood upon a circular basis of the same metal. They were bound with an hoop; and had either the figures of dolphins, or else foliage, in the intervals between them. These filled up the vacant space between the *Tines*, and made them capable of holding the combustible matter with which they were at night filled. This instrument was put upon an high pole, and hung sloping *sea-ward* over the battlements of the tower, or from the stern of a ship: with this they could maintain either a smoke by day, or a blaze by night. These towers were also employed to form some judgment of the weather,

* Being sacred to the SUN, they were called, says Mr. Bryant, Col-On, or altars of that deity.

† Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*, lib. i. c. 218.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 403. & 408.

§ See the engraving prefixed to section the third.

S E C T. I. weather, and to observe the heavens; those built in cities or towns were placed on the greatest eminences, and were styled *bofrab* by the *Amonians*: the citadel of Carthage was thus denominated. The Greeks, according to their prevailing custom, confused this term, and changed *bofrab* into *bursa*, a skin.

When these Amonian lighthouses were situated upon eminences fashioned very round, they were called *Tith*. TITHONUS, so much celebrated for his longevity, was in reality one of these structures, a *pharos* sacred to the sun. THETIS, the ancient goddess of the sea, was only a fire-tower near the ocean, called *Tith-Is*; and the dreadful slaughter of the CYCLOPES by the arrows of Apollo, merely relates to the manner in which the beacons on the *Cyclopean* turrets in Sicily, facing due east, were extinguished by the rays of the rising Sun. CHIRON, a compound of Chir-On the tower of the sun, so celebrated for instructing youth, was a sacred college which probably stood at *Nephale* in Thessaly, and was inhabited by priests styled *Centaurs*, from their deity *Caben-Taur*: here young persons were instructed in the Sciences; both *Achilles* and *Jasen* received a *Chironian* education; and it was only in these places that the early navigators could be instructed. CASTOR, the tutelar god of Mariners, was in reality a *Chironian* edifice, which served both as a temple and a *pharos*. CHARON, the celebrated Ferryman of the Styx, was a name of the like import and etymology with *Chiron*: the most remarkable temple, with the former appellation, stood opposite to *Memphis*, on the western side of the Nile: near this spot persons of consequence were buried; and as the temple stood adjoining the catacombs, the region of which was called the *Acheronian Plain*, an offering was made at the *Charon*, or tower, when the body was landed †. CERBERUS was properly *Kir-Avor*, the place of the sun: this was called *Tor-Caph-El*, which being changed to *τρικεφαλός*, Cerberus was hence supposed to have three heads. That this fable took its rise from the name of a place ill expressed, may be proved from † *Palæphatus*, who in his learned work explains fabulous and mythological traditions by historical facts: *they say of Cerberus, that he was a dog with three heads: but it is plain that he was so called from a City named Tricaren, or Tricarenia.*

MINOS

* ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 417.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 439.

‡ *De Incredulis*, p. 96. M. Bryant thinks (vol. i. p. 411.) that *Palæphatus* was an assumed name, which the author chose to screen himself from persecution.

MINOS, so greatly celebrated, was in reality a pagan deity, the * *Menes* and *Menon* of Egypt; the *Manes* of Lydia, Persia, and other countries: the lunar god *Neus*, the same as *Noas* or NOAH, was styled in Crete *Minos*, *Min-noas*, whose city was *Min-Noa*. Diodorus mentions him as the first lawgiver, a man of a most exalted soul, and one that was a great promoter of civil society. A tower called *Men-Tor*, the tower of *Men* or *Menes*, was dedicated to this deity in the island of Crete; who, being worshipped under a particular hieroglyphic, they styled *Minotaurus*; and this Tower like the other light-houses, or naval colleges, was the scene of cruelty and injustice. Some of the principal youth of *Athens* were annually sacrificed in this building; in the same manner as the *Carthaginians* sent their children to be massacred at Tyre. SCYLLA, on the Coast of Rhegium, was another of these Towers, and therefore dreaded by Mariners: this Temple was a *Petra*, and the dogs with which the Greeks surrounded it, were *Caben*, or priests. It is believed that human flesh was eaten in these places; and accordingly Ulysses, when entering the dangerous Pass of *Rhegium*, had six of his companions seized by Scylla, and lost the same number in the cavern of the Cyclops.

Here then we discover one great and universal obstacle to NAVIGATION, during these early period., from the cruelty of pagan rites, and the treachery of those persons who were stationed in difficult passes, to warn mariners of their danger. The *LESTRYGONES*, the *LAMIAE*, and the *CYCLOPEANS*, the priests and priestesses of the *Leontini*, settled nearly in the same part of the Island of *Sicily*, and were also dispersed, with the like cruel disposition, throughout *Greece*, *Pontus*, and *Libya*. The *FURIES*, or *Furiae*, and the *Harpies*, were originally these *Priests of Fire*; whose Cruelties became so enormous, that they themselves were at length enrolled with *demons*. The chief place where the *Lamia* settled in Italy was about *Formia*, the inhabitants of which had their chief temple on the sea coast at *Caiete*; so called, not from the name of the nurse of *Aeneas* or *Ascanius*, but from being situated near a Cavern, sacred to the god *Ait*, who was also named *Attis*, and † *Attis*.

Mr.

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 8. and 418.

† One mode of sacrificing strangers, and the most plausible, was to oblige them to wrestle in the area before the Light-House, or temple, with an athletic priest, trained to the exercise and skilled in the work of death. Mr. Bryant adds, (*Analysis*, vol. ii. p. 59.) that when the *Spaniards* got access to the *Western World*, there were to be observed many *Rites* and many *Terms*, similar to those which were so common among the sons of HAM. Among others was this particular custom of making the person, who was designed for a victim, engage in fight with a priest of the temple. (See *Purchas*, vol. v. p. 872.)

S. E. C. T.
I.Ancient
Sphere.

Mr. * *Coffard* in his valuable *History of Astronomy*, and also in his four letters addressed to Martin Folkes, offers many interesting remarks relative to the subject of this memoir; some of which are considered by † Mr. Maurice in the discussion of the following Question; *Whether there were not, in the remotest ages, a more Ancient Sphere than that which has descended to us from the Greeks; a Sphere allusive to an earlier mythology, to the transactions of a more ancient race?* The former writer is of opinion that there might have been, at some remote period of time, a different SPHERE from what we at present possess; and he gives, in the course of his letters, the name of one, or two Constellations which possibly adorned it; but adds, that all this part of *eastern astronomy* has been long since, if not totally lost, at least greatly obscured by the prevalence in Asia of the *Arabian*, and in Europe of the *Grecian* systems of astronomy. He is inclined to assign the first invention of the terrestrial Zones, as Strabo had done, to ‡ *Parmenides*, the pupil of *Xenophanes* or *Anaximander*; and mentions *Thales* as the first person who used the word *Tropics*. It is uncertain at what time the earth began to be considered, or, adds our § author, rather suspected to be *spherical*, but hardly before the undertaking long Voyages; the first of which were probably down the *Arabian Gulf*, and out of the Straits of *Báb-Al-mandub*, by Europeans corruptly called *Babelmandel*.

The earliest division of the || horizon was simply into four cardinal points; and this should be particularly attended to in the perusal of scripture. Mr. *Coffard* notices the first mention of any planet, seven hundred and ten years before

* The fame of this scholar, distinguished both for *Oriental* and *Astronomical* learning, merits an higher elevation in this country. He was born in 1764, and died in 1782. His *History of Astronomy*, with its application to Geography, History, and Chronology, appeared in 1767. That part which treats of the *Astronomy of the Arabians* has been reprinted at Calcutta in the *Asiatic Miscellany*.—The first of Mr. *Coffard's* four letters to Martin Folkes was published at London in 1746; the three last at Oxford in 1748. He was also author of fifteen different literary productions, chiefly on astronomical subjects, which are enumerated in *Nichols's anecdotes of Bowyer*.

† *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. c. 5. p. 160.

‡ This philosopher flourished at *Eli* 505 years before Christ.

§ *History of Astronomy*, p. 195.

|| *Ibid.* p. 9. "The *east wind* is said to have brought the locusts into Egypt, but more properly, perhaps, the north-east wind; called, however, the *east*, because that

before Christ, in the Star which * *Ysaiah* described as *Helal-ben-Sabbar*, or *HELAL the son of the morning*; the same as the planet *Venus*, to which *Pythagoras* gave the name of *Phosphorus*.—Observations on the Fixed Stars as guides through the trackless waste, were first made by travellers on land, and being found of so much service, were afterwards adopted by navigators: that this practice was very ancient, appears from the following passage in the *Koran*. *He (that is God) hath given you the Stars to be your Guides in the dark, both by land and sea.*

The mode of dividing the day and night into † watches, was introduced at a very remote period; mention is made of it as early as the time when the Israelites left Egypt, 1531 years before Christ. These watches were probably ascertained by means of water, or sand running from one vessel into another; and also by marking the progress of the fixed Stars and afterwards the Constellations, as they rose, culminated, or set;

Whose is the Watch? What Star now passes
The dusky noon of † night?

The earliest allusion to the directive power of the MAGNET, if it can be admitted as an allusion, occurs in the life of *Pythagoras* by *Jamblichus*, who asserts, that *Pythagoras* took from *Abaris the Hyperborean* his GOLDEN DART, without which it was impossible for him to find his road; stiled golden, as *Mr. Costard* adds, on account of its usefulness as a magnetical needle: but yet nothing can be concluded from this with any certainty; and *Porphyrus*, in his life of *Pythagoras*, increases the improbability of the above fact, by saying that *Abaris* used to fly in the air.

Such are some of the principal facts, which appeared to elucidate the history of the earliest Periods, as connected with the Progress of ancient Maritime Discoveries. In the perusal of them the reader has beheld the light that has been thrown on the History of the Atlantian Navigators, and is therefore prepared to consider the celebrated passage in the § *Timæus* of *Plato*, which has given rise to so many conjectures.

CRITIAS,

was the nearest cardinal point. The like seems to have been the case, where it is said, that the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong East wind."

* Chap. xiv. † History of Astronomy, p. 110. ‡ Eurip. *Rhesus*, v. 527.

§ From the translation of the *Timæus* by Mr. Taylor, 8vo. 1793. p. 445.

S E C T.

I.

Plato's island
of Atlantis.

CRITIAS, the relater to *Socrates*, *Timæus*, and *Hermocrates*, confessed that he received the following account from his grandfather, of what the Egyptian priests told *Solon*, when studying under them, relative to the existence of the island ATLANTIS; and that his grandfather received it from *Solon* himself.—Upon his enquiring respecting past events of those priests who possessed a knowledge in such particulars superior to others, he perceived that neither himself, nor any one of the Greeks, as he himself declared, had any knowledge of very remote antiquity. Hence, when he once desired to excite them to the relation of former transactions, he, for this purpose, began to discourse about those most early events which formerly happened among us: but upon this one of those more ancient priests exclaimed, *O Solon! Solon! you Greeks are always children, nor is there any such thing as an aged Grecian among you. All your souls are juvenile; neither containing any ancient opinion derived from remote tradition, nor any discipline venerable from its existence in former periods of time.—Whatever has been transacted, either by us or by you, or in any other place, beautiful or great, or containing any thing uncommon of which we have heard the report, every thing of this kind is to be found described in our Temples, and preserved to the present day. While, on the contrary, you and other nations commit only recent transactions to writing, and to other inventions which society has employed for transmitting information to posterity.—The transactions, therefore, O Solon, which you relate from your antiquities, differ very little from puerile fables.—You are ignorant of a most illustrious and excellent race of men who once inhabited your country, from whence you and your whole City descended. I will, therefore, cursorily run over the laws and more illustrious actions of those cities which existed 9000 years ago.*

“ In the first place then, consider the laws of these people, and compare them with ours; for you will find many things which then subsisted in your City, similar to such as exist at present. For the *Priests* passed their life separated from all others. The *Artificers* also exercised their arts in such a manner, that each was engaged in his own employment, without being mingled with other artificers. The same method was also adopted with *Shepherds*, *Hunters*, and *Husbandmen*. The *Soldiers* too, you will find, were separated from other kind of men; and were commanded by the laws to engage in nothing but warlike affairs. A similar armour too, such as that of shields and darts, was employed by each: these we first used in *Asia*.—But though many and mighty deeds of your City are contained in our sacred writings, and are admired as they deserve, yet there is one transac-

tion which surpasses all of them in magnitude and virtue.—For these writings relate what prodigious strength your City formerly repressed, when a mighty warlike power, rushing from the *Atlantic sea*, spread itself with hostile fury over all *Europe* and *Asia*. For at that time the *Atlantic sea* was navigable, and had an * *Island* before that mouth which is called by you the *Pillars of Hercules*. But this *Island* was greater than both *Libya* and all *Asia* together, and afforded an easy passage to other neighbouring islands; as it was likewise easy to pass from those islands to all the Continent which borders on this *Atlantic sea*. For the waters which are beheld within the mouth, which we just now mentioned, have the form of a bay with a narrow entrance, but the mouth itself is a true sea. And lastly, the earth which surrounds it is in every respect denominated the Continent. In this *Atlantic Island* a combination of kings was formed, who with mighty and wonderful power subdued the whole *Island*, together with many other islands and parts of the Continent; and, besides this, subjected to their dominion all *Lybia*, as far as to *Egypt*; and *Europe*, as far as to the *Tyrrhene sea*. And when they were collected in a powerful league, they endeavoured to enslave all our regions, and yours, and besides this, all those places situated within the mouth of the *Atlantic sea*. Then it was, O *Solon*, that the power of your City was conspicuous to all men, for its virtue and strength. For as its armies surpassed all others, both in magnanimity and military skill, so with respect to its contests, whether it was assisted by the rest of the Greeks over whom it presided in warlike affairs, or whether it was deserted by them through the incursions of the enemies, and became situated in extreme danger, yet still it remained triumphant. In the mean time, those who were not yet enslaved it liberated from danger; and procured the most ample liberty for all those of us who dwell within the pillars of *Hercules*. But in

succeeding

S E C T.
I.

Introduction.
Earliest Period.

* Mr. Taylor, in his Introduction to the *Timæus*, observes (p. 397), "But that the reader may be convinced that Plato's account of the *Atlantic island* is not a fiction of his own devising, let him attend to the following Relation of one *Marcellus*, who wrote an history of Ethiopian affairs, according to *Proclus* (In *Tim.* p. 55) That such and so great an *Island* once existed, is evinced by those who have composed Histories of things relative to the external Sea. For they relate that in their times there were Seven *Islands* in the *Atlantic sea* sacred to *Proserpine*; and besides these, three others of an immense magnitude; one of which was sacred to *Pluto*, another to *Ammon*, and another, which is in the middle of these, and is of a thousand stadia, to *Neptune*. And besides this, that the inhabitants of this last *Island* preserved the memory of the prodigious magnitude of the *Atlantic island*; as related by their ancestors; and of its governing for many periods all the *Islands* in the *Atlantic sea*."

S E C T.
I.

succeeding time prodigious earthquakes and deluges taking place, and bringing with them desolation in the space of one day and night, all that warlike race of Athenians was at once merged under the earth; and the *Atlantic island* itself being absorbed in the sea, entirely disappeared. And hence that sea is at present innavigable, arising from the gradually impeding mud which the subsiding island produced.—And this, O *Socrates*, is the sum of what the elder *Critias* repeated from the narration of *Solon*."

Opinions of
Baillie, Rud-
beck, and
Whitehurst.

This passage contains a most important historical fact, somewhat heightened by the craft or ignorance of the original narrator. M. *Baillie* expatiated upon it in a series of letters addressed to *Voltaire*, which compose the second volume of the former's observations on the origin of science, and the Asiatic nations. Yet, deservedly high as M. *Baillie*'s name is placed, one page of Mr. *Bryant*, who preceded this lively writer in a notice of the * *ATLANTIANS*, is worth all the elegant verbosity of this ingenious foreigner. M. *Baillie* leaves his reader, after rather a long voyage, seeking for the *island of Atlantis* amidst the dreary regions of the north pole.—With a greater degree of patriotism, and with infinitely more learning, *Olavus Rudbeck* strove in his elaborate work called † *ATLANTICA*, to make *Sueden* the celebrated island of *Plato*; and scruples not to derive the *English, Danes, Greeks, Romans*, and all other nations, from the same country. Mr. ‡ *Maurice*, when considering this passage in the *Timæus*, cites the opinions of *Buffon* and *Whitehurst*, and seems inclined to think with the latter, that this *Atlantic island* was probably the portion of land, which stretching from *Ireland* reached to the *Azores*, and from

* See preceding page xlv.

† *Olavus Rudbeck* was born at *Arosen* in 1630; and was afterwards Professor at *Upsal*, where he died in September 1702. His great work is entitled, *Atlantica, sive Manheim, vera Japheti posterorum sedes ac patria*, 1679, 1689, 1698. 3 vols. folio. To have this complete, there should be a fourth volume in manuscript; which is frequently supplied by an atlas, containing forty-three maps, two chronological tables, and a portrait of *Rudbeck*. This work is extremely rare; a good copy cannot be procured under thirty guineas, and even this price will necessarily advance.—*Olavus Rudbeck* is thus noticed by *Gibbon*, (vol. i. p. 351.) "Whatever is celebrated either in History or Fable, this zealous patriot ascribes to his country. Of that delightful region, (for such it appeared to the eyes of a native) the *Atlantis of Plato*, the country of the *Hyperboreans*, the gardens of the *Hesperides*, the *fortunate Islands*, and even the *Elysian Fields*, were all but faint and imperfect transcripts. *Bayle* has given two most curious extracts from the *Atlantica*, (*Republique des Lettres*, Janvier et Fevrier, 1685.)" *Rudbeck* published many other works; the rarest of which is that entitled, *Leges Wast-Gothicae*, folio, *Upsal*.

‡ History of Hindostan, vol. i. c. 13. p. 540.

from the Azores extended to the Continent of *America*. "Whosoever," adds Mr. *Whitehurst*, attentively views and considers these romantic rocks (*Giants' Causeway, and the adjoining cliffs*) together with the exterior appearances of that mountainous Cliff, will, I presume, soon discover sufficient cause to conclude, that the *Crater* from whence that melted matter flowed, together with an immense tract of land towards the north, have been absolutely sunk and swallowed up into the earth, at some remote period of time, and became the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. A period indeed much beyond the reach of any historical monument, or even of tradition * itself."

Notwithstanding such † authorities to the contrary, may I presume to add, that I cannot change an opinion long indulged, that *AMERICA was the real Atlantis of Plato*. In support of this idea, a passage from *Ælian* may be cited, who relates from *Theopompus*, that in a conversation which *Silenus* held with king *Midas*, he informed him, that *Europe, Asia, and Africa, were islands; and that was alone THE CONTINENT, which lay beyond the world*. Another curious passage in support of this opinion, occurs in ‡ *Zarate's History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru*.

"Many doubts and objections have been formed concerning the first people who some ages since dwelt in *Peru*; and it has been often asked, how could they get thither? seeing this country is parted (as is really the fact) by such an extent of Ocean from that where the first inhabitants of this world lived. It seems to me that this difficulty may be solved by an account given by *Plato* in his *Timæus*, or *Dialogue on Nature*; and which he more fully discusses in the following (*Atlantis*) dialogue. There he relates what the *Egyptians* said in honour of the *Athenians*;" that after the defeat of some certain Kings, who came by sea with a numerous army, they had part of a vast ISLAND called *Atlantic*, just beyond the Pillars of *Hercules*. That this island

SECT. I.

Introduction.
Earliest Periods.

Plato's Atlantis, America.

Supported by D. Augustin Zarate

* *Whitehurst's Theory*, p. 97.

† The subject of the island *Atlantis* is discussed in the French *Encyclopédie (Géographie Ancienne)* tom. i. part 1. *Monf. Mentelle* does not, however, much perplex himself on this subject; and seems inclined to the opinion which *Buffon* entertained, (Ed. *Smellie*, vol. i. article 17 and 19.) that the islands in the Atlantic, are only the summits of mountains belonging to an Island, or Continent, submerged.

‡ *Don Augustin de Zarate*, a Spaniard, was sent to Peru in 1543, as Treasurer General of the Indies. The best edition of his work is that printed in Spanish at *Amers*, 8vo. 1555. It has been translated into French, and published both at Paris and Amsterdam, in two volumes 12mo. 1700.

S E C T.
I.

Island was larger than all *Asia* and *Africa* together; and that it was divided into ten kingdoms by *Neptune*, one of which he allotted to each of his ten sons, bestowing the largest and best on his eldest son *Atlas*! To this he adds divers particulars concerning the customs and the Wealth of this Isle; but above all, about a sumptuous Temple in the metropolis, *the walls of which were entirely decked and covered with gold and silver*, and the roof covered with copper, with many other particulars, too long to enumerate here, and which may be found in the original. It is certain that many of the Customs and Ceremonies mentioned by this author are yet to be seen in the Provinces of *Peru*. From this Isle one may pass to other large islands beyond, and which are not far from The Firm Land, near which is The True Sea. But hear the words of *Plato* in the beginning of his * *Timæus*.—Some deem this relation an allegory, as *Marfilus Ficinus* tells us in his notes on *Timæus*. Nevertheless, most commentators on *Plato*, even *Platinus* and *Ficinus* himself, look on this account, not as a fiction, but an *historical truth*. Besides, one can by no means think that the 9000 years which he mentions, is a proof of its being a fable, because, according to *Eudoxus*, one must count them, after the Egyptian manner, not as *solar*, but as *lunar years*; that is to say 9000 months, answering to 750 years. On this subject one may observe, that all historians and cosmographers, ancient and modern, call *that sea*, in which this island was engulfed the ATLANTIC OCEAN; retaining even the *very name* the Island bore, which seems a sufficient proof that there had been such an island. Admitting then the truth of this history, no one can deny this island (beginning near the Straits of *Gibraltar*) to have been of that extent, from the north southward and from the east westward, as to be more than as large as *Asia* and *Africa*. By the other neighbouring Islands are doubtless meant *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *St. John's*, and those on the coast: by the Continent or firm-land, (opposite to those isles) mentioned by *Plato*, is certainly meant *that land*, which is even to this day called *Terra Firma*, with the other provinces, which from *Magellan* northward comprise *Peru*, *Po-payan*, *Cas-del-oro*, *Paraguay*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatemala*, *New Spain*, *Seven-towns*, *Florida*, the *Bacallaos*, and north up to *Norway*. Without doubt this vast tract of land is larger than the three quarters of the then known world. And one must not be surprised at this new world's not having been discovered by the *Romans*, or any of those other nations, that at different times abode in Spain;

* See preceding page liii.

Spain: because one may reasonably imagine that the 'fore-mentioned supposed difficulty of navigating this sea then remained. This indeed I have heard said, and can see no difficulty in believing that it naturally prevented a discovery of the new world mentioned by Plato. The authority of that philosopher is enough to convince me of the truth of this circumstance, and I make no question but our *new found world* is the same as that *main-land* or *continent* of which he speaks, as whatever he has said of it perfectly corresponds with our modern discoveries; particularly in what he says of this land, that it is adjacent to the *true sea*, which is what we now call the *Great South Sea*; in comparison of the vast extent of which, the *Mediterranean Sea*, and *Northern Ocean*, are but as rivers. Having cleared up this difficulty thus far, it seems no way hard to suppose that men could easily pass from the *continent* or *terra firma*, and thence by land, or even by the *South Sea*, to *Peru*.

"Thus I have declared what seems to me most probable respecting a subject so perplexed on account of its antiquity, and also because no intelligence can be procured from the inhabitants of *Peru*; who are ignorant of any mode by which the memory of things past are preserved. In *New Spain* indeed they have certain pictures which serve them for letters and books, but in *Peru* they have nothing but *knotted strings* of various colours. In regard to the Discovery of these vast tracts of land, what *Seneca* says as it were in a prophetic sense in his *Medea*, appears to be not inapplicable:"

" Venient annis Sæcula feris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, novisque Tiphys detegat orbes.
Atque ingens pateat tellus,
Nec sit terris ultima *Thule*.

" In latest times our hardy sons shall brave
Stern Ocean's rage, and stem the distant wave;
In them reviv'd shall *Tiphys* wond'ring see
The *new-found* World emerging from the sea;
No more shall *Thule* be the utmost bound,
But earth from pole to pole be searched round."



SECTION THE SECOND.

Review of the sacred periods of History, as connected with the Progress of Maritime Discovery.—Conjectures on the Country of Ophir and the Tarshish of Solomon.—Voyage of the Phenician Navigators who sailed under the orders of Pharaoh Necho.

Upon the Syrian Sea the people live
Who style themselves PHENICIANS. These are sprung
From the true ancient Erythrean stock;
From that Sage race who first essayed the Deep,
And wafted Merchandise to Coasts unknown:
These too digested first the starry Choir,
Their motions marked, and called them by their names.

Translation of the Enriephe by Bryant.

SECT. II.

THE subject of this Section recalls us to the early periods of the Egyptian history, and particularly to that maritime people called *Phenicians*, who conducted the fleets of Solomon to *Ophir*, and regulated the commercial transactions of the world. These celebrated navigators must have discovered many countries, the existence of which, being carefully concealed, was afterwards obliterated;

obliterated; and there is every reason to suppose, but for this circumstance, some evidence would have remained that the ancients were not ignorant of so extensive a continent as America. The course of the trade winds was surely favourable both to the enterprise and skill of Phenicia; but the passage from the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantic* to a Phenician seaman was a secret of state, and consequently all their Discoveries in that ocean were religiously concealed: yet Mr. *Coffard** is inclined to give these navigators the fame of having first visited, and named, the *Canary Islands*. Mystery to a Phenician commander was the great principle of his profession, a principle he was obliged to support even at the risk of his own existence: for, according to *Strabo*†, when the captain of a Phenician vessel, who was on a voyage to the *Cassiterides* for tin, imagined that he was observed by a Roman; he immediately ran on a shoal and was shipwrecked, rather than forfeit the mystery of his voyage, by giving the smallest degree of information to another country. For this conduct he was rewarded by a policy worthy of the Dutch, and on his return to Tyre, the honours of that city were lavished upon him. Such were the people on whose early annals Mr. Bryant has thrown considerable light, and rescued from the obscurity which their illiberal policy had such a tendency to perpetuate.

The commercial intercourse with *India* antecedent to history, forms a part of Dr. *Vincent's* Preliminary Disquisitions‡ to his *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. This intercourse may occasionally be ascertained by different passages in Scripture, but the means by which it was supported will hardly admit of historical elucidation. *Thebes* and *Memphis*, in their respective ages, seem to have preceded *Alexandria* as the established marts of this commerce; and as neither the *Persians*, *Indians*, or *Egyptians*, ever appeared as navigators on the eastern seas, the ARABIANS are thought by Dr. *Vincent* to have opened the communication with *India* prior to the age of *Moses*, and by

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II.

Introduction.
Sacred Periods.

Commerce
with India
elucidated.

* He conjectures that "when the Phenicians first discovered the *Canary Islands*, they gave the group, from the richness and fertility of the soil and temperature of the air, the name of *Hen-ava*, or the beauty of land. Hence the Greeks, by softening the Phenician words, formed their *Canaria Nēfos*, and came to call these Islands *Eudalmones*; Νῆσος; and this we see gives a better reason why these islands are called the *Canary Islands*, than that given from *Can*, which in Spanish is said to signify a *Dog*, because the Spaniards found great numbers of dogs there when they discovered them afterwards."—(*Hist. of Astronomy*, p. 60.)

† Lib. iii. p. 109.

‡ Page 57.

regress of
the Tar-
ed under

Bryant.

Egyptian
who con-
l transac-
ted many
afterwards
literated;

S E C T. by their early monopoly of eastern stores at * Sabea (the modern *Yemen*) on the coast of the *Red Sea*, to have been acquainted with the *monsoons* even before the building of Thebes.

II.

The intercourse which *Sesostris* is said to have established between *Egypt* and *India* is so enveloped in fable, that the reality of his Indian expedition is denied by *Strabo*; and though *Herodotus* † dwells at length on the exploits of *Sesoftris*, his conquest of *India* is not noticed by that historian. In addition to what *Mr. Bryant* has said relative to the cedar ship ‡ of *Sesoftris*, he has also inserted a separate Dissertation § on that character, and gives the preference to *Diodorus Siculus* above all other writers for the fullest and most uniform account of this questionable personage. According to the historian, *Sesoftris* when young subdued the extensive tract of *Arabia*, and after his father's death, having formed a resolution to conquer all the nations upon earth, invaded the *Ethiopians* to the south, and made them tributary to *Egypt*; he then built a fleet of ships on the *Red Sea*, and is mentioned as the first person who constructed Vessels adapted for the purposes of distant navigation. By *Sir John Marsham* and *Sir Isaac Newton*, *Sesoftris* is supposed to have been the same with the *Sesac* of Scripture. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* mentions him as first of the line of *Ham* who reigned in *Egypt*; he is also represented under the names of *Sethas*, *Sethosis*, and *Sesonchosis*. *Apollonius Rhodius* notices the great actions of this prince, but omits his name, as if he did not know by which properly to distinguish him. In this instance, as in many others, adds *Mr. Bryant*, the ancients have given to a person what related to a people.

Assyrians of
Niniveh.

The irruption of the *Ninivites* into *India* under *SEMIRAMIS*, and their return by the route which *Alexander* afterwards followed, is an event of great importance in tracing the progress of ancient Maritime Discoveries; and must render every writer on the subject particularly anxious to glean some portion of truth, from the fictitious or real character of *Semiramis*. *Mr. Wilford* has published

* *PERIPLUS*, p. 61.—*Mr. Bruce* (vol. i. book ii.), in his *Account of the first Ages of the Indian and African Trade*, places the territory of *Saba* along the Coast of *Africa*, extending to the eastward of the Straits of *Babelmandib*, as far as *Cape Gardafan*. The subjects of the *Queen of Sheba*, or *Saba*, were, according to *Mr. Bruce*, a distinct people from the *Ethiopians*, or the *Sabeans*. (*Vol. i. p. 471.*) *Josephus* makes her the *Queen of Meroe*; but the greater part of his countrymen say she came from *Al-jemin*, THE SOUTH part of the *Red Sea*.

† *Euterpe*, cii.

‡ See preceding p. 30.

§ *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 85.

published a *Dissertation on Semiramis, from the Hindu sacred Books*, in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*; which Mr. Maurice, in his *History of Hindostan**, thinks abundantly demonstrates the existence of that character. This dissertation is however, as he confesses, almost inextricably blended with mythology; and though he has analysed the narrative, I still resort to the excellent conjectures of † Mr. Bryant, many of which have been confirmed by this Asiatic treatise: for, as Dr. Vincent ‡ remarks, *where history stops, an ingenious hypothesis is all that rational inquiry can demand*.

NINUS and SEMIRAMIS, according to the former writer, were ideal personages who represented the great exploits of the *Ninivites* and *Samarim*; for what credit can be given to the history of *Semiramis* as an individual, when the period of her having existed cannot be ascertained within 1535 years? The supposed marriage of Ninus and Semiramis alludes to the period when Niniveh was ruined, and the kingdom of *Assyria* became united with that of *Babylon*. The *Ninivites* and *Samarim* were powerful both by sea and land; they conquered the *Medes* and *Bactrians*, extended their dominions to the west as far as *Phrygia* and the *Tanais*, and to the south as far as *Egypt* and *Arabia*. The *insigne* of the Babylonian *Samarim* was a *dove*; and the very term SEMIRAMIS, which has occasioned so much confusion, was a compound of *Sama-Ramas*, or *Ramis*, the former of which signified a sign or token, and the latter something exalted and great. *Semiramis* was therefore an emblem of the dove, the token of the Most High, the type of Providence; and as a military ensign, it may with some latitude be interpreted THE STANDARD OF THE MOST HIGH: it consisted of the figure of a dove, probably encircled with the *Iris*, as those two emblems were often represented together.

Mr. Bryant § reduces the unwarrantable height to which the Egyptian Annals had been carried, by shewing that the number of years (36,525) which mislaid so many writers, belonged to an ancient *Ephemeris*, and that days were thus taken for years. *Plutarch* || was himself sensible of the difficulties which attend the history of Egypt, and says, *There are after all some slight and obscure traces of true history here and there to be found, as they lie scattered up and down in the ancient writings of Egypt; but it requires a person of uncommon address to find them out, one who can deduce great truths from scanty premises*.

UPPER EGYPT was early occupied by the *Mizraim*, who retired to their place of allotment before the Titanic war, and were attended by their brethren

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Sacred Periods.

Ancient
Egypt:
Mizraim.

* Vol. ii. p. 99. 303.

† ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 99. 303.

‡ Perip. of the Erythrean.

§ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 311—367.—*Dissertation on the Egyptian Kings and Dynasties*.

|| EGYPTICA, p. 762.

S E C T. II. thren the sons of *Phut*: this settlement was called Mezor, and the land of Cham, from their two chief ancestors, *Misor*, and his father *Ham* or *Amon*. *HAM*, worshipped as the sun, was styled *Ait*; and Egypt, or the land of Ham, was called *Ait*, and *Ai-Ait*, expressed by the Greeks *Actia*. Two of the most ancient names of Egypt, according to the scholiast on the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, were *Myfara* and *Eiria*; and as the front of the ancient Amonian temples were ornamented with figures of the eagle and vulture, the insignia of that country; it also obtained the name of *Ai-Gupt*, from *ait* and *gupt*, an eagle and a vulture.

The first series of Egyptian princes, according to the old chronicle preserved by *Syncellus*, was that of the *Aurita*, who were also called *Demigods*, *Phanices*, or *SHEPHERDS*; the second was that of the *MIZRAIM*; and the third that of the *EGYPTIANS*. The original list consisted only of fifteen * dynasties; the remainder are spurious, and have been a chief cause of the uncertainty that prevailed. The *Aurita* were expelled from Egypt a few years before the arrival of the Israelites; and settling in different parts of Greece, were styled *Pelaggi*, *Leleges*, *Inachidae*, *Danaidae*, *Heracleidae*, and *Cadmians* †. The following curious fragment from *Diodorus Siculus*, preserved by *Photius*, wonderfully elucidates both the sacred and profane history of mankind; though the latter event mentioned should have preceded the other: Upon this, as some writers tell us, the most eminent and enterprising of those foreigners who were in Egypt and obliged to leave the country, betook themselves to the Coast of Greece, and also to other regions; having put themselves under the command of proper leaders for that purpose. Some of them were conducted by *Danaus* and *Cadmus*; who were the most illustrious of the whole. There were besides these, a large, but less noble body of people, who retired into the province called now *JUDEA*, which was not far from Egypt, and in those times uninhabited: these emigrants were led by *MOSES*, who was superior to all in wisdom and prowess; he gave them laws, and ordained that they should have no images of the gods, because there was only one Deity, the Heaven which surrounds all things, and is Lord of all.

The very term *Okeanos*, by which the Grecians expressed the sea, in its most extensive sense, was borrowed from *Ogenus*, an ancient name of the Nile. *Ogenus*, originally written *Ogebonus*, was a compound of *Oc-Gebon*, and signified the noble *Gebon*, a name taken from one of the rivers in Paradise ‡. The Egyptians were never debtors to the Greeks §, whereas they on the contrary seem to have derived every thing from

* ANALYSIS, p. 315.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 391.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 407.

§ Herodotus, *Euterpe*, 49.

from a kingdom, which became an intellectual storehouse to Europe. Mr. Costard, in his *History of Astronomy* *, declares that the Greeks procured the first rudiments of that science from abroad, and quotes a passage from the *Epinomis* of Plato as his authority: *The first who observed these things was a barbarian who lived in an ancient country, where, on account of the clearness of the summer season, they could first discern them: such are Egypt and Syria, where the Stars are clearly seen, there being neither rains nor clouds to hinder their sight; and because we are more remote from this fine summer weather than the barbarians, we came later to the knowledge of these Stars.* In this passage, the Egyptians and Syrians are principally alluded to under the term barbarians; and by the Syrians, the Greeks comprehended the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, and the Arabians.

Sir Isaac Newton assigns the invention of the SPHERE to Chiron †, or Muses; others give it to Atlas (*the Atlantians*), or to Palemedes; but Mr. Bryant brings forward some strong arguments to prove, that the SPHERE was in reality of Egyptian origin, and was an invention of the Mizraim. The Zodiac, which Sir Isaac Newton thought had some relation to the *Argonautic expedition*, is shewn by this learned Mythologist to have been an assemblage of Egyptian hieroglyphics: *Aries*, of Amon; *Taurus*, of Apis; *Leo*, of Ares, the same as Mithras and Osiris; and *Virgo*, of Isis. The Egyptians in their sphere necessarily omitted constellations which could not be seen in their degrees of latitude, or in those which they frequented; hence many Asterisms near the southern pole, such as the *Crozier*, *Phœnicopter*, and *Toucan*, remained for a long time unnoticed; and have only been inserted since our voyages on the other side of the line.

Whoever is led to examine the progress of Maritime Discoveries by the Ancients, will find himself often bewildered with their strange accounts of men with *dogs' heads*, of others with *dogs' teeth*, and of some without any heads. The earliest travellers into Tartary †, and the eastern parts of Asia, found the same fables existing, and brought them back to Europe with other wonders of strange countries: for this confusion we are indebted to the Greeks, and for its elucidation to Mr. Bryant. *Caben*, and the Hebrew term *Coben* §, denoted a *priest*, or professor; but the Greeks and Romans, deceived from the sound of a word so nearly resembling *κυν* and *canis*, misconstrued it a dog.

S E C T. I.

Introduction.
Sacred Periods.

The Sphære.

Cunocephalis.

The

* Page 113. † ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 482. 484.—See preceding page 50.

‡ See *Carpini's Narrative*, Chap. i. sect. ii. p. 98.

§ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 329.; and *Observations*, &c. p. 162.

S E C T.
II.

The Egyptians founded their colleges for astronomy, in Upper Egypt, upon Rocks and Hills, and called them *Caph*: as they were sacred to the sun they were also denominated *Caph-El*, *Caph-Aur*, and *Caph-Arex*, this the Greeks uniformly changed to *Cephale*; and from *Caben-Caph-El*, the sacred Rock of *Orus*, the royal Seminary in Upper Egypt, they formed the term *Cunocephalus*, which they supposed must relate to an animal with the head of a dog. The *Cunocephali* were in fact members of a sacred college, whose professors were persons of great learning, particularly conversant in astronomical observations; they were not only established in Egypt, but likewise in India, and other parts of the world.

Near the *Cunocephali*, or men with dogs' heads, whom the earliest travellers speak of as being seen by the side of rivers, were generally found men *without heads*, or the *Acephali*, to whom Herodotus * out of humanity gave eyes in their breast: they were thus named from their place of residence, *Ac-Caph-El*, the sacred rock of the sun. The Men *with teeth like dogs*, mentioned by *Solinus* and *Isidorus*, were denominated like the rest from their deity *Chan-Adon*, whose votaries the Greeks called *CUNODONTES*. Nor does Mr. Bryant adduce this merely as the parade of a learned etymologist, or the illustration of a German Commentator; he by this means enables his reader to unravel some of the most perplexed and knotty parts of ancient history; and until some more perfect Clue can be formed to guide us through the labyrinth of Grecian Mythology and Fable, they surely prefer darkness to light who attempt to depreciate the labours of our learned Analyser.

Phenician
purple.

The strange story relative to the Dog of *Hercules*, who discovered the *purple dye*, is by this means brought within the limit of belief; and we no longer wonder that the animal should feed on shell-fish, or be insensible to the sharp and strong protuberances of the *murex*. *Hercules of Tyre*, like other † oriental divinities, was styled *Caben* and *Coben*; and we are told ‡, that *Hercules in the language of the Egyptians is called Chon*. *Johannes Antiochenus*, who gives the story of the dog at large, says that *purple* § was the discovery, *kunos poimenikou*,

* Herodotus, *Melpomene*, chap. exci. Mr. Bryant's conjecture is certainly fraught with erudition, though Mr. *Larscher* does not approve it.

† *ANALYSIS*, vol. i. p. 343.

‡ *Etymologicum Magnum*.

§ A learned paper by M. *Bischoff*, on the history of the art of dyeing, from the earliest ages, appeared in the *Versuche einer Geschichte der Färbekunst*; a translation of which was inserted by Mr. *Tilloch* in his *Philosophical Magazine* (vol. ix. p. 200.). M. *Bischoff* ob-

poimenikou, which in the original history was undoubtedly a *Shepherd* S E C T. II.

The CANAANITES, descended from *Canaan* the son of Ham, formed an extensive and maritime branch of the great Amonian Family *. Their national appellation was varied and confused by different people: by the Egyptians and Syrians it was pronounced *Cnaan*, by the Greeks *Cnas* and *Cna*. Their commercial and enterprising spirit appears from the extensive works they accomplished: one of their numerous colonies settled in *Liguria*, on the banks of the *Eridanus*, where they drained the river towards its mouth, and formed some vast canals, called by Pliny † *fossæ Philistina*. This river declares the original settlers by its name, which has no relation to the Celtic, but is apparently of Egyptian or Canaanitish etymology; it occurred in the ancient Sphere of Egypt, and was thence conveyed to Greece.

The *Canaanites* probably joined the Cuthite rebellion in *Babylonia* ‡, and afterwards formed one of the dispersed tribes; for when Abraham traversed the country, it is repeatedly said, that *the Canaanite was then in the § land*. The region which the Canaanite invaded was in great measure vacant, and had been reserved by divine appointment for the children of Israel; who afterwards only held it at will, as it was ever *the Lord's || portion*. The sons of CHUS first usurped the region allotted to *Asbur*, and afterwards transgressed still farther upon the property of their neighbours; but of all others the offence of *Canaan* was the most heinous, for he voluntarily invaded God's peculiar territory, and seized it for himself. *Eusebius* marks the daring character of the Canaanite: *Canaan the son of Ham was guilty of innovation, and trespassed upon the allotment of Shem, and took up his habitation therein contrary to the commandment of ** Noah*.

serves, that *Doc* and *Colour* are expressed in the Syrian language by the same word. (*Bochart de Animal. p. iv. lib. v. cap. xi.*) The purple shell-fish was styled by the Hebrews *argaman*. It is thus described by Pliny: *The purple shell-fish has a conical shell, surrounded with a seven-fold row of prickles which proceed to the mouth, through which the animal can project its tongue; the latter is as long as the finger, and so hard that it can penetrate the shells of other fish, and nourish itself on their substance.* (Lib. ix. ch. 38.) There were two kinds of this shell fish, and both employed in dyeing purple: one was termed *buccinum*, from its figure; the other was the shell-fish properly so called, *purpura*.

* ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 367; & vol. iii. p. 265.

† L. iii. p. 173.

‡ See preceding page 36.

§ Genesis, c. xii. v. 6; c. xiii. v. 7.

|| Leviticus, c. xxv. v. 23.

** Eusebius, Chron. p. 10.

S E C T.
II.

The land of *Canaan*, a term which signifies *merchant* or *trader*, was very advantageously situated for commerce; its inhabitants therefore soon appeared as navigators, and were among the first who visited the distant boundaries of the Mediterranean. They traded chiefly from *Sidon**, afterwards the metropolis of *Phenice*, before that city was taken by the king of Ascalon: when their commerce at this mart was interrupted, they removed it to the strong hold of Tyre, and the city, which had been previously founded, was soon greatly enlarged. A *swan* was the *insigne* of Canaan, as the *eagle* and *vulture* were of Egypt, and the *dove* of Babylonia: hence many idle legends were formed or heightened by the poets. In all places where the Canaanites settled they became famous for their music, and the sublime hymns which they chanted to the honour of their gods; this the Greeks transferred to *swans*, and at length believed that they were gifted with melody.

The affecting scene which the death-bed of *Jacob*† presents, when the patriarch is surrounded by his children, the future ancestors of great and powerful nations, offers some important facts relative to the early periods of history. *Zebulon*, said Jacob in his prophetic vision, *shall dwell at the Haven of the Sea; and he shall be for an haven of ships; and his border shall be unto Zidon*. The lot of *Zebulon* was accordingly placed near the lake of *Tiberias*, the Scripture sea of *Galilee*: by *Zidon*, Patrick thinks, the sacred historian intended no allusion to the city so called, since this tribe did not extend beyond Mount Carmel, which is at least forty miles distant, but that he meant *Phenice*, or a part of *Canaan* so called, which the *Zebulonites* touched.

As the *Red Sea* is necessarily mentioned in considering the commerce of *Phenice*, it may not perhaps be deemed irrelevant to remind the reader of that curious passage in *Strabo*‡, which Mr. Maurice§ has cited, respecting the miraculous *Exodus* of the Israelites: "There is an ancient tradition among the *ICHTHYOPHAGI*, who live on the borders of the *Red Sea*, which they had received from their ancestors who inhabited that shore, and was preserved to that time. Upon a great recess of the Sea, every part of that *GULPH* became quite dry; and the Sea falling to the opposite part, the bottom of it appeared green; but returning with a mighty force, regained its former place."

* *Trogus* derives *Sidon* from a Phenician word signifying a *fish*; and its modern appellation, *Seyn*, may be rendered a fishing place.

† *Genesis*, chap. xlix.

‡ *Lib. xvi. p. 760.*

§ *History of Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 204.

place." *The rude Ichthyophagi*, adds Mr. Maurice, remembered this calamity, but the Egyptians chose to erase the memory of it from their minds and their annals.

A correct knowledge of the early history of the Phenicians is of the utmost importance in tracing the progress of ancient Maritime Discoveries; yet few writers have attempted the task, and unless I apply to Mr. Bryant, who in his *Observations* * on various parts of ancient history, has published a distinct essay on these renowned Navigators, I must be compelled to repeat the confusion that has so long prevailed on this subject: either blending the *Phenicians*, as † *Bochart* does with the *Canaanites*, or confounding them with the various colonies that preserved this prevailing ‡ title.

The true *Phenicians* were the sons of *ESAU*, who was in Scripture § called *Edom*: their first settlement was at *Mount Seir*, on the coast of the *Red Sea*, which from them received its name; both *Phœnic* and *Edom* signify red, which the Greeks changed into a word of the same meaning, *Erythrus* ¶. No connected annals of this celebrated nation remain, yet as much as can be gleaned from the rapacious grasp of time serves to prove, that they were extremely rich and powerful, that they carried on a most extensive commerce, and by being masters of the adjacent gulf, and of all that was explored of the ocean that stretched beyond it, they engrossed the trade of the East. The dignity

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Phenicians.

* Page 222.

† *Geogr. Sacra, Pars Poster.* lib. i. cap. 43; & *Ibid. Pars Prior*, lib. iv. cap. 34.

‡ *Phœnician* was originally a title assumed by different people, but was used by the Greeks as a separate provincial name. (*Analysis*, vol. i. p. 324.) The learned reader will find many points discussed relative to the progress of Maritime Discovery by the *Phœnicians*, in *GESNER's Observations de Navigationibus extra Calumnias Herculis* (Præl. i.). Some observations respecting their acquirements in science occur in *M. Gosselin's Geo. des Grecs Analyt.* where he remarks (p. 43.) that they never attained to any perfection in the knowledge of *astronomical geography*; even two centuries after *Eratosthenes*, the principles which they had then acquired of this science were very erroneous.

§ *Genesis*, c. xxv. v. 30.

¶ *Dr. Vincent* considers the various tales relative to a king called *Erythras*, in his *Voyage of Nearchus* (p. 318.).—"The *Arabians* carried the name of the *Red Sea*, whence they commenced their course, to the utmost extent of their Discoveries; and hence the *INDIAN OCEAN* received the title of *RED*. The *Arabs*, or at least the *Orientals*, delight in appellations similar to that of the *Red Sea*; thus the *Euxine* is the *Black Sea*, the *Propontis* is the *White Sea*, the *Mediterranean* is the *Blue Sea*, and the *Indian Ocean* the *Green Sea*."

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II.

Dangerous
navigation
of the Red
Sea.

dignity of their national character survives in a page that cannot deceive : *The wise Men * out of Edom, and Understanding out of the Mount of Esau ; and thy mighty men, O Teman !*"—" Concerning Edom †, thus saith the Lord of Hosts ; *Is Wisdom no more in Teman ? is Counsel perished from the prudent ? is their Wisdom vanished ?*" and (adds Mr. Bryant) so truly noble and royal do they seem to have been, that the prophet *Isaiah* borrows his ideas from their supposed dignity and appearance, when he mystically describes our Saviour in his state of manhood, making his glorious advances upon earth : *Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bosrah ? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength ?*

In the time of the Greeks, the Arabians, whose early skill in navigation has been already mentioned, got possession of Edom ; and hence the Arabians have been mentioned as coming from Phenice, and are sometimes called Phenicians. The dangers and perils which the *Edomites* endured in navigating the Red Sea, or what with more propriety might be termed the *Phenician Gulf*, are still visible in the different names of its headlands, as explained by *Bruce*, from the Abyssinian language : " The strait of *Babel-mandeb* is the gate or Port of affliction ; the last cape on the Abyssinian shore, *Cape Dafui*, or *Defan*, the Cape of burial ; the point which stretches out before ships arrive at *Babel-mandeb*, *Cape Gardefui*, or *Gardefan*, signifies the Straits of burial ; a small port in the kingdom of *Adel*, called *Mete*, means in Abyssinian death, or he or they are dead ; a cluster of islands situated in the canal, after passing *Mocha*, is called *Jibbel Zekir*, or the islands of prayer for the remembrance of the dead ; and still in the same course, up the gulf, others are called *Sebaat Gzier*, or praise be to God, as we may suppose, for the navigators' return from so many dangers ‡."—Yet after all, these names might have been given by an artful people, to deter others from following the track which they originally had explored, and found so productive of commercial wealth.

The *Edomites* in process of time obtained possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon* cities of Canaan, and the adjacent country afterwards called *Phenicia* ; but how early they settled there is uncertain § ; we can only learn from an extract

* Obadiah, v. 8, 9.

† Jeremiah, xlix. v. 7.

‡ *Bruce's Travels*, vol. i. p. 443.

§ The *Phenicians*, says *Herodotus*, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea, but migrated from thence to the maritime parts of Syria ; all which district, as far as Egypt, is denominated Palestine. *Bele's translation*. (Polymnia, v. iii. ch. lxxxix.)

extract in *Eusebius* *; that *Phœnix and Cadmus, retiring from Thebes in Egypt towards the coast of Syria, settled at Tyre and Sidon, and reigned there.*

Judea, Palestine, Syria, and Idume, were all separate and distinct from Phenicia. A considerable part of Canaan long retained its original appellation, and as such is mentioned by the Apostles †, who seem industriously to distinguish the coast of *Tyre and Sidon* from it, which they call *Phenice*; and this word, though not generally received, is the most correct orthography of that national term. PHENICE, properly so called, was only a slip of the sea-coast of Canaan, situated within the jurisdiction of the Tyrians and Sidonians, between the 34 and 36 degrees of north latitude, and signified *Ora Regia*, or, according to the language of the country, the *coast of the Anakim* ‡. TYRE, anciently *Sor*, is commonly denominated the daughter of Sidon; and three different cities appear in order of time of this name: Tyre on the continent, or *Pale-Tyrus (Old Tyre)*; Tyre on the island; and Tyre on the peninsula, after the island was joined to the main land §. *Byblus*, the seat of the famous superstition in memory of *Adonis*, is thought to have been the city first built in Phenice. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the fine linen which they wove, soon became valuable articles of commerce. Their language of the country was a dialect of the Hebrew.

Bochart || is inclined to think that the *Phœnicians* must have been conversant with the west of *Africa*, before the time of *Joshua*; and Dr. Borlase ** adds, that it is probable they then came as far west as *Tingis (Tangier)*, if two pillars really existed with this Phenician inscription: "WE ARE THOSE WHO FLED FROM THE FACE OF JOSHUA THE SON OF NAWE." *Eusebius* †† mentions, that some Canaanites escaped from the avenging sword of the children of Israel, and inhabited *Tripoli* in Barbary. Of the numerous Phenician colonies, New and Old Carthage were the most distinguished; and according to Appian ‡‡, the latter was built fifty years before the taking of Troy. The exact date of the discovery of the BRITISH ISLES, by the *Phœnicians*, is not known: according to *Strabo*, they first passed the Straits soon after the Trojan war; but probably both the building of *Old Carthage*, and the latter event, are only referred to the above Expedition, from our possessing no certain chronology by which periods so remote can be regulated.

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* Chron. p. 27. † Acts, xi. v. 19; chap. xv. v. 3.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 323.

§ Universal History (Ancient), vol. ii. *History of the Phœnicians*.

|| Vol. i. p. 326.

** Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 26.

†† Græc. Chron. p. 11.

‡‡ P. 638.

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The PHENICIANS, from the greatness * of their national character, soon added a new and more exalted signification to the term *Phonic*, which, from their renown, came to denote any thing that was stately or noble: it was accordingly given to persons of great stature, or was conferred on people of eminence and power. The inhabitants of that part of *Canaan* which the *Phenicians* occupied on leaving the coast of *Edom*, were styled *Phenices* before the birth of Homer; but Mr. Bryant † thinks the term was never used by the natives, as a provincial appellation, until they were conquered by the Greeks, and even then but partially.

When the Phenicians, under the appellation of *Edomites*, first monopolized the Commerce of the East, they probably laid the foundations of the wealth of *Sabæa*, the modern *Temen*, on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, as an intermediate Mart for the commodities of *India*; but their maritime transactions in this respect seem to have been too much blended with the enterprize of the Arabians. The *Sabeans* are mentioned by *Job* ‡, by the prophets *Ezekiel* § and *Joel* ||, and above all by *Isaiah* **: *The labour of Egypt, and merchandise of Ethiopia †† and of the Sabeans, men of stature.* Agatharchides, president of the *Alexandrian* library, to whom *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and many others are so greatly indebted; in his work on the *Erythrean Sea* preserved in an extract of *Phocius*, gives the earliest account now extant of the commerce of the *Sabeans*. Dr. Vincent's *Periplus* pays due attention to this learned native of *Cnidus* in *Caria*, who flourished one hundred and seventy-seven years before the Christian æra; and from this work I have selected the following †† extract:

Sabea

* Should the reader be rather inclined to favour the opinion which traces the origin of the PHENICIANS from the savage *Ichthyophagi*, or *Fish Eaters*; and the *Acridophagi*, or *Locust-Eaters*; he may be gratified by referring to Dr. R. Forster's Account of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Phenicians, prefixed to his *History of Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*.

† ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 319, 324.

‡ Ch. i. v. 15.

§ Ch. xxiii. v. 42.

|| Ch. iii. v. 8.

** Ch. xlv. v. 14.

†† The sons of Chus were denominated *Ethiopians*, and *Athopians*, according to Mr Bryant (vol. i. p. 486.), from *Ath-Ope*, and *Ath-Opis*, the god which they worshipped. They established the serpent worship, which began in *Chaldea*, in the island *Eubœa*, or *Oub-Aia* (p. 480.), which signifies the *Serpent Island*. They settled under the title of *Heliade* at *RHODES*, which island is said to have received its name from *Rhod*, a Syriac word signifying a serpent. They also settled in *CRETE*, and at *ARGOS*. The whole continent of *AFRICA*, as well as the Islands, *Rhodes*, *Cyhnus*, *Bethicus*, and *Tenor*, was formerly called *OPHIUSA*, from the worship of the Serpent.

†† Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 31.

" Sabêa (says *Agatharcides*) abounds with every production to make life happy in the extreme; its very air is so perfumed with odours, that the natives are obliged to mitigate the fragrance, . . . *myrrh, frankincense, balsam, cinnamon, and casia*, are here produced from trees of extraordinary magnitude. The king, as he is on the one hand entitled to supreme honour, on the other is obliged to submit to confinement in his palace; but the people are robust, warlike, and able mariners, they sail in very large vessels to the Country where the odoriferous commodities are produced, they plant colonies there, and import from thence the *Carinna*, an odour no where else to be found. In fact there is no nation upon earth so wealthy as the *Gerrhêi* and *Sabêi*, as being in the centre of all the commerce which passes between *Asia* and *Europe*. These are the nations which have enriched the *SYRIA* of *Ptolemy**; these are the nations that furnish the most profitable agencies to the industry of the *Phenicians*, and a variety of advantages which are incalculable. They possess themselves every profusion of luxury, in articles of plate and sculpture, in furniture of beds, tripods, and other household embellishments, far superior in degree to any thing that is seen in *Europe*. Their expence of living rivals the magnificence of princes. Their houses are decorated with pillars glistening with *gold* and *silver*. Their doors are crowned with vases, and beset with jewels; the interior of their houses corresponds in the beauty of their outward appearance, and all the riches of other countries are here exhibited in a variety of profusion. Such a nation, and so abounding in superfluity, owes its independence to its distance from *Europe*; for their luxurious manners would soon render them a prey to the *European* sovereigns, who have always troops on foot prepared for any conquest; and who, if they could find the means of invasion, would soon reduce the *Sabêans* to the condition of their agents and factors, whereas they are now obliged to deal with them as principals."

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The island of *CYPRUS*, or *Cupher*, was first discovered; according to *Eratosthenes* †, by the *Phenicians*, about one thousand and six years before the Christian æra, it formed one of their earliest settlements; since, according to *Herodotus* ‡, *Cyprus* was in part peopled by them. When these navigators landed, they found the Island covered with trees; and although their own country furnished excellent timber, the durable wood of *Cyprus* proved of essential service for the purposes of ship-building, whilst the refuse provided fuel

Cyprus first
discovered.* It ought to be the kingdom of *Ptolemy*, and not the *Syria* of *Ptolemy*. (Dr. Vincent.)

† Apud Strabonem, lib. xiv. p. 684.

‡ *Polymnia*, cap. 9c.

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fuel to smelt the copper with which the island abounded. From the innumerable names* by which *Cyprus* was known to the ancients, the following may be selected: *Macaria*, from the fruitfulness of its soil, *Arosa*, from its copper mines, and *Ceraftis*, from its innumerable promontories. The more modern name of *Cyprus* is derived by some writers from the Greek *cryptus* (*hidden*), since the island is often concealed from mariners by the waves. If the islands of *Rhodes* and *Crete* were not first discovered by the Phenicians, they were at least visited and explored by them at a very remote period.

Amidst the *Phenician* idolatry, a curious circumstance occurs which illustrates a singularity in their vessels. They were accustomed to place some small statues, called *Pataei*, on the poops of their ships, as the tutelar gods of seafaring men; and to these images the unfortunate mariner was taught in that age of darkness to look for support. According to *Hesychius*, the *Baal* of *Sidon* was called *THALASSIUS*, or the *Sea Baal*.

Sacred record of Phenician commerce.

A consideration of the origin of *Phenice*, and its maritime character during the periods of Sacred History, naturally leads me to that memorable testimony; which the prophet *EZEKIEL*, who flourished two hundred and sixty years before the fall of *Tyre*, gave of this city and its most ancient commerce. The whole of that sublime record shall therefore be presented to the reader's attention, from the translation † by *Bishop Newcombe*, with a selection of his notes.

(CHAP. xxvii.)—"O Thou ‡ that art situated at the entering § in of the Sea, that art a merchant of the people to many isles, thus saith the Lord Jehovah: 'O *Tyrus*! thou hast said, I am perfect in beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the seas; thy builders have perfected

* Universal History, Ancient, vol. vii. p. 129.

† Printed at Dublin, 1788, in quarto.

‡ *Marshall* (Can. Chron. sect. 18. p. 537.) thus extols this description by *Ezekiel*: "Fuit Tyrus amporum totius orientis nobilissimum, ditius non tam terrestri quam per mare late sparsa, opibus copisque florentissimum. Alius splendorem, rem nauticam, vires conductitias, mercatumque uberrimum graphice descripsit *Ezekiel*!"

§ Which formed its harbour. *Newcombe* adds in a preceding note (p. 95.) ; Probably Old *Tyre*, or its suburbs, stood in the sea on a peninsula. *Purins* thinks it probable that insular *Tyre* served as a station for the ships of Old *Tyre*. *Alexander* employed the ruins and rubbish of the old city in making his causeway from the continent to the island, which henceforward were joined together. It is no wonder therefore, as *Bishop Pocock* observes (Travels, i. 6. 1. c. xx. p. 81, 82.), that there are no signs of the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is buried in the sand. (Newton's Diss. xi.) However, Dr. *Pocock* mentions a great Bay south of *Tyre*, and assigns some reasons for supposing that Old *Tyre* stood in a corner of this bay.

perfected thy beauty. Of fir trees from * *Smir* they have made thee all thy † ship-boards: they have taken Cedars from *Libanus* to make masts for thee; of the oaks from *Bysam* have they made thine oars: thy ‡ benches have they made of ivory, inlaid in box from the Isles of § *Gbitim*. ¶ The linen, with embroidered work from *Egypt*, was spread forth by thee to be thy standard: blue and purple from the Isles of || *Eliba* were thy ¶ covering. The inhabitants of *Sidon* and ** *Arvad* were thy rowers: thy wise men, O *Tyre*, that were in thee, were thy pilots: the ancients of †† *Gabal*, and the wise men thereof, were in thee thy calkers. All the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee to trade in thy market. They of *Perse*, of ‡‡ *Lud*, and of §§ *Phut*, were thy warriors in thine army: they hanged the shield and the helmet in thee; they set forth thy glory. The men of *Arvad*, and thine army, were upon thy walls round about, and the ||| *Gammadin* were in thy towers: they hanged their quivers upon thy walls round about; they made thy beauty perfect. ¶¶ *Tarshish* was thy trafficker, through the multitude of all thy substance; with silver, iron, and lead, they furnished thy fairs. (a) *Javan*, *Tubal*, and (b) *Meshech*, these were thy merchants in the persons of (c) men; and with vessels of brass they furnished thy market. They of the house of (d) *Tegarmab* furnished thy fairs with horses, and horsemen, and mules. The men of (e) *Dedan* were thy merchants: many Isles were the Mart of thy handy-work: they returned thee for thy price (f) horns, ivory, and ebony. *Syria* (g) was thy trafficker, through the multitude of thine handy works; with rubies, purple, and embroidered work, and fine flax,

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- and
- * A part of the ridge of Mount *Hermus*, in the eastern half-tribe of *Mongsh*.
- † Some account for the use of the dual number, by supposing the planks on each side of a ship to be meant. *Dolbin* understands the word, of the ornaments placed at the head and stern of a ship.
- ‡ Perhaps the seats in the cabins of the royal gallees.
- § *ITALY*—The islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. *Cassia* was famous for the box tree.
- || *Peloponnesus*, famous for its purple.
- ¶ Perhaps the awning. (*Harmer* II. 520.)
- ** The island *Arvad*, at the mouth of the river *Eleutherus*, on the coast of *Phœnicia*.
- †† Probably *Biblos* on the coast of *Phœnicia*.
- ‡‡ We read that *Lud* was a son of *Shem*. (*Gen* x. 25. 27.) *Bochart* thinks that *Lud* denotes African *Ethiopia*; but *Michaelis* places this people eastward in *Africa*: both think *Lud* an Egyptian colony.
- §§ The African *Nomades*.
- ||| Probably a people of *Phœnicia*, and perhaps the inhabitants of *Aucon*.
- ¶¶ *Michaelis* thinks that there was only the Spanish *Tarshish*, and that ships sailed to it from *Ezion-geber* round *Africa*. *Spain* was anciently remarkable for silver mines.
- (a) *Greece*.
- (b) The people called *Tibareni* and *Moschi*, situated towards Mount *Caucasus*.
- (c) *Bochart* observes that *Phutis*, to which the *Tibareni* extended themselves, was remarkable for SLAVES; and that the Greek Slaves were the most valuable of any.
- (d) Some think that the *Tuconnaui* are thus called. *Bochart* supposes that *Cappadocia* is meant. *Michaelis* prefers *Armenia*; which abounded in horses, and among the inhabitants of which a tradition prevailed, that they were descended from *Thorgom*.
- (e) A city in the Persian Gulph, now called *Dedan*. To this place the inhabitants of the eastern Isles, or sea coasts, brought their wares.
- (f) Some think that the long horns of the *Iber*, a kind of goat, are meant; of these, cups and bowls were formed.
- (g) The SYRIAN TRADE is mentioned afterwards, under the name of *Damascus*; and some merchandises are also mentioned, which are not proper for *Syria*: the *Syrians* could buy purple from *Tyre*, but sell none to *Tyre*. (*Michaelis*.)

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and coral; and * carbuncles, they furnished thy fairs. *Judab*, and the land of Israel were thy merchants; with wheat, myrrh, and † panice, and honey, and oil, and balm, they furnished thy market. *Damascus* was thy trafficker in the multitude of thine handy works, through the multitude of all thy substance; in the wine of ‡ *Helbon*, and in white wool. § *Dan* also, and *Javan* from ¶ *Uzal*, were in thy fairs; they furnished ¶ wrought iron: casta and Sweet Reed were in thy market. *Dedan* was thy merchant in gorgeous apparel for horsemen. ARABIA, and all the princes of *Kedar*, these were traffickers in thine handy-work: in lambs, and rams, and goats, in these they became thy traffickers. The merchants of ** *Sheba* and *Raamah*, these were thy merchants: with the chief of all Spices, and with all precious Stones, and with gold, they furnished thy fairs. †† *Haran* and ‡‡ *Caneb*, and §§ *Eden*, were thy merchants: ¶¶ *Sheba*, *Asbur*, and *Chilmad*, were in thy market. These were thy merchants in excellent wares; in mantles of blue, and of embroidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with (a) cords and made of cedar, among thy merchandise. The Ships of *Tarshish* were thy chief traders in thy market; and thou wast filled, and wast made very glorious, in the heart of the Seas.

* The Rowers have brought thee iato (b) great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the heart of the seas. Thy Substance, and thy Fairs, thy Markets, thy Sailors, and thy Pilots, thy Calkers, and the Traders in thy market, and all thy Warriors that are in thee, and all thy company that is in the midst of thee shall fall in the (c) heart of the seas, in the day of thy fall. At the (d) sound of the cry of thy Pilots the suburbs shall shake: and all that

* Some sparkling gem.

† Though, according to *Galen*, it is dry and affords not much nutriment; it might be useful in Voyages, because it could be preserved for a long time. Many suppose the word to mean *balsam*. Mr. Dimock conjectures, that the fig is intended.

‡ *Strabo* and *Hesychius* mention *Chalchonian* wine as the produce of *Syria*. It was so excellent that the Persian king drank no other, and *Possidanius* says, that it grew in *Damascus* of *Syria*. Mr. *Lewys* thinks that *Helbon* is the same part of *Syria* which is called *Chalchoni* by *Ptolemy*; and that it is now called *Aleppo*.

§ *Grævus* thinks that *DAN*, in the kingdom of *Israel*, can scarcely be meant here; and finds that a city named *Dana* is placed by *Ptolemy* in the island of *Ceilon*.

¶ Inhabitants of the district of *Javan*, or *Jeman* in *Arabia*, from *Uzal*, a city of that district.

¶ Or bright.

** A people of *Arabia Felix*. *Raamah* was son of *Cush*, and father of *Sheba*. (Gen. x. 7.) According to *Bochart*, *Raamah* is a city of *Arabia* on the Persian Gulph. But *Michælis* (*Spic. geogr.*) alleges authority for supposing that it may be a city of *Arabia Felix*.

†† Not *Charan* or *Cherra*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, but *Haran Alcarin* in *Arabia*. (*Michælis*.)

‡‡ This is the reading of *Grotius* and *Houbigant*. *Caneb* or *Clepphon* in *Babylonia*, is mentioned, (Gen. x. 10. 11. 9. Am. vi. 2.) But *Michælis* observes, that *Chald.* here understands *Caneb* of the city *Nesibis* in *Mesopotamia*. (*Spic. geogr.* 227. 9.) However, in his note on this verse, he says, that *Canna* is a cape and Port of *Arabia Felix* on the *Indian Sea*, in the country of *Hadramaut*.

§§ Mentioned with *Haran*, 2 Kings, xix. 12. *Michælis* understands it of *Aden*, a port of *Arabia Felix*.

¶¶ This is probably another *Sebe*, as it appears from (Gen. x. 7. 28.) that there were three nations of this name. (*Michælis*.)

(a) It is very difficult to propose a satisfactory sense: possibly it may denote cords of fine linen, purple or silk.

(b) *Allum urges*, *Hor.* Under these beautiful and expressive figures, *Tyre* is represented as brought into danger by her Statesmen, and destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Grotius* refers to *Hor. Od. l. i. xiv.*

(c) Shall fall, notwithstanding thy strong situation in the sea.

(d) Some of the *Tyrian* pilots endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted in the suburbs. (See ch. xxvi. 15.)

that handle the oar shall come down from their Ships, the mariners and all the pilots of the sea shall stand upon the shore, and shall cause their voice to be heard for thee, and shall cry out bitterly, and shall cast dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in ashes; and they shall make their head bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth; and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of soul, and bitter mourning: and in their wailing they shall take up for thee a lamentation, and shall lament over thee, saying, *What City is as Tyre, which is cut off in the midst of the sea?* When thy wares went † forth from the seas, thou didst satisfy many people; with the multitude of thy substance, and of thy merchandise, thou didst enrich the kings of the earth. Now art thou broken in the Seas, and thy merchandise in the midst of the waters; and all thy company in the midst of thee are fallen. All the inhabitants of the Isles are astonied at thee; and their kings are horribly afraid, they are troubled in their countenance. The Traffickers among the people hiss at thee; thou art become a terror, and thou shalt not be any more for ever.

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The Origin of the HEBREWS is illustrated by Mr. Bryant in his learned Hebrews. Dissertation on the † *Sparto-Hebraei*, where he thus paraphrases the accounts given of *Judea* by *Alexander* || *Polybistor*, and *Claudius Iolaus*. *Judea*, says *Alexander Polybistor*, was so denominated from one *Judah*; who, together with *Edom*, was looked upon as of the ancient stock of the *Semarin* in *Chaldea*; for their ancestors came from that country. But according to *Iolaus*, the region had its name from *Judaus*, styled *Sparton*; so named, because his ancestors were among those of the dispersion in *Babylonia*. They were of the family of those who came out of the ark with *Dionusius*; and who were confederate with the sons of *Chus* in some of their first enterprises. In respect to the HEBREWS and ISRAELITES, adds the learned analyser, whom *Claudius Iolaus* deduces from *Judaus Sparton*, they were, according to the scriptural account, the sons of *Heber*, by which name is signified, *one who passes over*; an appellation that was prophetically given: since it marked the Apostacy of his posterity, who passed over from the stock of their fathers, the descendants of *Shem*, and dwelt on forbidden ground among the sons of *Ham* and *Chus*, in *Shinar* and *Chaldea*, where they served other gods; from this land *Abraham* was called, who therefore did not give, but received the name of *Hebrew*.

The

* The Shore of the adjoining Island, from which they viewed the conflagration of their city. *Jfrom* says, from the ancient histories of the Assyrians, that, when the safety of the city was despaired of, great numbers of the *Tyrians* secured themselves and their riches in their ships.

† Were landed at the several marts.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. iii. p. 416.

|| Stephanus Byzant.

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The HOLY LAND, called originally the land of * *Chanaan*, from a grandson of Noah, and also *Palestine*, from the *Palestines* or *Philistines*, did not take the name of *Judea*, until after the return of the Jews from their Babylonish captivity. According to the latest and most accurate Maps, it extended near two hundred miles in length, and to about eighty in its greatest breadth; from $31^{\circ}, 30'$, to $33^{\circ}, 20'$, north latitude, and from $34^{\circ}, 50'$, to $37^{\circ}, 15'$, east longitude. *Judea*, in its largest sense, was divided into *maritime* and *inland*, as well as into *mountainous* and *champaign*; the country, properly called *Judca*, contained the tribes of *Benjamin*, *Judab*, *Dan*, and *Simeon*. This Canton was the most southern of any, having *Samaria* or *Ephraim* on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the west, *Idumea* and *Egypt* on the south, and *Jordan*, with the *Dead Sea*, or *Lake of Sodom* on the east. But of the twelve Tribes among whom the *Holy Land* was divided, the maritime tribe of *Zebulon* particularly claims our attention. It had the *Mediterranean* on the west, and the *Sea of Galilee* on the east, so that it was washed by two seas: on the north it was parted from *Asser* by the river *Jepthaël*, and on the south from *Issachar* by the river *Kisbon*. *Zebulon* was enriched with nineteen Cities, besides its capital; and in the number of its Ports, and the extent of its commerce, strikingly verified the blessings that were pronounced both by the Patriarch *Jacob*, and by *Moses*. The five *Philistine* Satrapies confined within very narrow limits along the coasts of the *Mediterranean*, consisted of *Gath* fourteen miles south of *Joppa*; *Ekron* or *Accaron*, ten miles south of *Gath*; *Azoth*, *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, a celebrated sea-port, about fifteen miles south of *Ekron*; *Ascalon*, a maritime town about nine miles south of *Ashdod*; and *Gaza*, situated at a small distance from the *Mediterranean* about fifteen miles south of *Ascalon*, surrounded with the most fertile valleys, through which the river *Bezor* directed its course.

Hebrew
Voyages.

Respecting the earliest Voyages of the *HEBREWS*, history is entirely silent; nor has conjecture been able to furnish any surmise to elucidate the subject previous to the reign of *David*. Probably, as the more enterprising spirit of *Phenice* supplied the ships of the Hebrews with mariners, the whole of their commerce had been blended with that of their neighbours, until the riches and fame of *David* and *Solomon* gave it a more distinct character than it had previously received: for it is difficult to suppose that the *Israelites*, who had so long resided in *Egypt*, and must have observed

* Universal History, *Ancient*, vol. ii. p. 50.

observed the commerce of the Red Sea; and who also, when established in *Canaan*, had, as * *Huet* remarks, a nearer view of the maritime industry of the *Phœnicians*, and the immense treasure it produced; it is difficult to suppose that the *Israelites*, thus situated, should not have been led to imitate so splendid an example. They were certainly thus incited to attempt the conquest of a small part of *Edom*, in order to secure the harbours of *Elath* and *Esfiongeber*, on the † Red Sea.

Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by *Eusebius*, affirms that David built a fleet at *Achamis*, (*Esfiongeber*) a city of Arabia; and ordered it to sail with several miners on board to *URPHEN*, an island that abounded in gold. The quantity of ballion imported during this reign was immense; since the gold and silver which David † bequeathed his son, amounted to three thousand talents of the gold of *Ophir*, and seven thousand talents of the purest silver. The sum thus amassed, if reckoned according to § *Prideaux* by the Mosaic talent, amounted to eight hundred millions sterling.

SOLOMON having succeeded his father, prepared without delay to encourage a voyage that had proved so lucrative. He ‖ visited the ports of *Elath* and ¶ *Esfiongeber*, superintended the construction of their fortifications, and ordered

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* Hist. of the Commerce of the Ancients, (p. 18.) Note.

† Dr. Vincent observes, (*Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 318. 88.) that what our translators have rendered *the Red Sea*, was, in the original, 1 Kings, ch. ix. 26. *The wordy sea*; and he refers to *Parkhurst* for a further elucidation of the propriety of this term.

‡ 1 Chron. ch. xxix. v. 4. § *Connection*, book the first. || 2 Chron. viii. 17.

¶ *Esfiongeber*, or *Afongaber*, is thus described by the editor of *Harris's Voyages* (vol. i. p. 378.). "The Arabian Gulph, running up between Arabia and Egypt, branches out into two lesser bays, with a track of country between them. The lesser bay on the Arabian side, is by ancient writers styled *Sinus Elaniticus*, from the port of *Elath* or *Elan*, as the Greeks called it, that stands upon it. The port of *Esfiongeber* stood on the point of land, that by running out into the Arabian Gulph produced these smaller gulphs." *Josephus*, as Bishop Patrick observes, makes *Esfiongeber* the same as *Berunice*, a city on the African shore, over against *Syene*; whereas the scripture expressly says, that it was a port of *Idumea*, not far from *Asa* upon the Red Sea. *Gosselin* considers the situation of *Esfiongeber*, in his Dissertation on the Arabian Gulf (*Recherches*, vol. ii. p. 99.). "The site of *Esfiongeber* presents some uncertainty, since the *Elanitic Gulph* is not precisely known: all that we can glean from antiquity is, that *Afongaber* was not far distant from *Elana*, (*Deuteronomy*, ch. ii. v. 8.—1 Kings, ix. 26.—2 Chron. viii. 17.) and that *Elana* is situated on the northern extremity of this gulf. The remains of the ancient *Elana*, are now called *Alah* or *Alaba-Ila*. I know not of any authority that will enable me to form an opinion on this subject, preferable to the report of the monks of Mount Sinai. They informed *Sicari*, *Shaw*, and

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ordered a considerable number of new ships to be built: thus making every exertion to establish that permanent foundation of a kingdom's welfare, which his great wisdom pointed out as being superior to all the vanities of military ambition.

In these commercial arrangements, Solomon received considerable assistance from his father's stedfast friend and ally, *Hiram* king of Tyre; who no sooner heard of the maritime spirit which pervaded the mind of this young monarch, than he ordered a considerable number of shipwrights, experienced pilots, and skilful mariners from *Phenice*, to hasten the equipment of the Jewish fleet, and to conduct it to the land of *OPHIR*. This Commerce, begun by David, and thus supported by his son, was afterwards encouraged by the kings of *Judah*; with whom the province of *Edom* or *Idumea* remained after the division of the kingdom. *JEHOSHAPHAT* and *AHAZIAH* fitted out a * joint fleet at *Esfongeber*, which consisted of ten sail, and was destined to visit *Ophir* for gold; but on leaving port, it was wrecked on the ridge of rocks, whence † *Esfongeber* received its name. *Jehoshaphat* afterwards separated himself from his commercial alliance with the king of Israel, and was induced to prefer, during the succeeding year, the port of *Elath* for the equipment of a second squadron. *JEHORAM* lost both Ports by the rebellion of the *Edomites*, and this occasioned a considerable chasm in the Commerce of the Jews, until at length the port of *Elath* was recovered and fortified by *UZZIAH*; which for a time restored the maritime } occupation of his subjects. But in the reign
of

Pocock, that at the distance of two or three days' journey to the north-east of their convent, there appeared a spacious harbour, called *Minab ed-Dabah*, or the *GOLDEN PORT*; and that, according to a tradition preserved among the Arabs, it received this name from gold being brought thither by the fleets of *Solomon*. It therefore follows, that *Afiongeber* is situated on the western side of the *Ælanitic Gulph*, and not on the eastern, as it is placed by *D'Anville*. This opinion is rendered more probable, because the latter coast was occupied by the *Midianites*, whom neither *David* nor *Solomon* could subdue."

* 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. 1 Kings, xxii. 48, 49.

† This ridge of rocks was covered by the sea at high water, but, when it was low, appeared at intervals in a line, and gave the name of *Esfongeber*, or the *Back-bone*, to the port.

‡ Among the innumerable articles of *Hebrew Commerce*, the following have been selected for the curious reader. Sir *William Jones* published two Dissertations on the *Spikenard* of the ancients, in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. ii. 405. and vol. iv. p. 108.). As a supplement to these interesting observations, Dr. *Roxburgh* printed (vol. iv. p. 451.) a botanical account of the same plant.—The best sort of *spikenard*, or *Nard of India*, grew,

of AHAZ, this source of wealth was finally diverted from the Jews; first to S E C T, II.
Rezin king of Damascus, and afterwards to Tilgath Pileser king of Assyria.—

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grew, according to Ptolemy, about *Rangamritica* or *Rangamati*, and on the borders of the country now called *Butan*. It is also mentioned by *Dioscorides*. It was thought by *Linnaeus* to be a species of *andropogon*. The word *Nard* occurs in the *Song of Solomon*, but the thing itself, and its name, were both exotic: the Hebrew lexicographers imagine both to be *Indian*, but the word is in truth *Persian*. Sir W. Jones traced the Indian spikenard, by the name of *jatamanfi*, to the mountains of Nepal. The following articles of *Hebrew commerce*, are noticed by Mr. Bruce, (Appendix, vol. v.) BALM, BALSAM, or *Balsam*, brought by the *Ismaelites* or Arabian merchants to *Egypt*. Strabo says, that its native soil is among the myrrh trees behind *Arab*, all along the Coast to the Straits of *Babelmandeb*: It grows to a tree about 14 feet high. Josephus says, (lib. v.) that a tree of this balsam was brought to Jerusalem by the queen of *Saba*. The *Opobalsamum*, or juice flowing from the balsam tree, is of an acrid, rough, pungent taste; is used by the Arabs in all complaints of the stomach and bowels; is reckoned a powerful antiseptic, and of use in preventing any infection of the plague. MYRRH, JASSA, and OPOCALPASUM, grows in the Troglodyte country of Mr. Bruce; who gives directions for knowing the Arabian myrrh from the *Abyssinian*: the tree grows to a great height, not inferior to an English elm.—It is hardly credible that the pearl fishery should have been entirely neglected during the time when the navigation of the Arabian Gulph was at its height. Pearls, according to Mr. Bruce, were found in every part of the Red Sea, and he particularly mentions three sorts of shell fish, which are regularly sought after as producing pearls. 1. A *Mussel*, which is the rarest; chiefly found in the north-end of the gulph, and on the Arabian side. 2. The Pearl called *Pinna*, found in a shell-fish that is broad and semicircular at the top; rough and figured on the outside; within, clothed with a most beautiful lining, called *nacre* or *mother of pearl*. I can have no doubt, adds Mr. Bruce, that this pearl is the *penim* or *peninim*, to which allusion is often made in scripture. 3. The third sort is what seems to have been called the *Oyster*, though it cannot be said in any way to resemble it. *Bochart* says these pearls were called *Darra* or *Dora* in Arabic, which seems to be the general word used in scripture for Pearls. (See more on this subject, ch. i. sect. 2. p. 83. note.)

Mr. Bruce also observes, that "the Egyptian ships in the time of *Sesostris*, were all made of the reed *papyrus*. The head of this plant was employed to make cables for ships. *Antigonus* made use of nothing else for ropes and cables to his fleet, before the use of *Spartum* or beat-grass was known. It was likewise used for caulking vessels. According to Pliny, (Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 11.) the whole plant together was used for making boats; a piece of the *acacia tree* being put in the bottom to serve as the keel, to which plants were joined, being sewed together, then gathered up at stem and stern, and the ends of the plant tied fast there. This is the only Boat they still have in *Abyssinia*, which they call *tancoa*: I imagine also, that the junks of the Red Sea, said to be of leather, were first built with *papyrus*, and covered with skins." This indefatigable traveller also describes the *rack tree*, which abounds in *Arabia*, the low part of *Abyssinia* and *Nubia*. Mr. Bruce first saw it at *Raback*, a port in the Red Sea, growing in the sea within low-water mark. The Arabians are said to make boats of its wood, which is so hardened by the sea, and so bitter in taste, that no worm will touch it.

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We now return to the more renowned reign of Solomon, in order to take a brief review of the different opinions that have prevailed respecting *Ophir* and *Tarshish*.

Ophir.

The first mention of *OPHIR* in scripture, occurs in the book of * *Genesis*; where *Moses*, recording the generations of the sons of *Noah*, informs us, that *Joktan* the brother of *Peleg*, had a son of that name, whose territory or place of abode, like that of his brother *Havilah*, was to the eastward. *Ophir* afterwards appears as the name of a distant country, in the † first book of *Kings*; when the ships fitted out by *Solomon* at *Esfongeber*, and conducted by Phenician pilots, are described as bringing four hundred and twenty talents of gold from *Ophir*, and *almug trees*, and *precious stones*.

PURCHAS † paid an early attention to this subject, and justly observes, (p. 25.) that "this golden Country is like gold, hard to find and much quarrelled, and needes a wise myner to bring it out of the labyrinths of darkness, and to try and purifie the myners themselues and their reports: and here our best *Athenians* seeme owles indeed, which dazzled with *Salomon's* splendour hide themselves assarfe off, and seeke for easterne *Ophir* in *Peru* and the *West Indies*.... The *Ophirian voyage*, it is probable, comprehended all the gulfe of *Bengala*, from *Zeilan* to *Sumatra*, on both sides: but the region of *Ophir* we make to be all from *Ganges* to *Menan*, and most properly the large kingdome of *Pegu*; from whence it is likely in process of time, the most southerly parts, euen to *Sumatra* inclusiuely were peopled before *Salomon's* time." (Page 32.) To the abilities of *Purchas*, if it were needful, ample testimony has been given by § *Boissard*, who styles him a man exquisitely skilled in languages, and all arts divine and human; a very great philosopher, historian, and divine. His opinion respecting *Ophir*, though rather too vague and extensive, seems to have directed the attention of learned men towards that part of the globe, where it is most probable *Ophir* was situated. This first volume of *Purchas* appeared in 1613; and in the year 1646, *Bochart* condensed and brought the above ideas of our countryman more to a point, in his valuable work on sacred geography, entitled *Phaleg* and *Canaan*. He there demonstrates with equal ability and reason, that *Ophir* was the great island *Taprobana*, since

* Chap. x. 29, 30.

† Ch. ix. 26, 27, 28. Ch. x. 11. See also 1 Chron. i. ch. 23. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 10.

‡ Vol. i. ch. 1. A large Treatise of King *Salomon's* navie, sent from *Esfongeber* to *Ophir*, and vol. v. p. 858.

§ In Biblioth. Joannis Boissardi.

since called *Zeilan* and *Ceylon*; which * produces gold, ivory, precious stones, and peacocks. Dr. *Castell* thinks that by the almug trees, the wood called † *Sanctulum* was alluded to, which is still found in *India*; but *Kimchi* on the contrary prefers the red wood called *brazil*, in which, adds *Patrick*, he was confused by the Hebrew word *Bargel*, which signifies iron; and a dark coloured wood resembling it is now found in the kingdom of ‡ *Java*. *Costard*, in his history of astronomy, notices some of the different opinions respecting *Ophir*; and observes, that the name of *TAPROBANE*, which the Greeks gave to *Ceylon*, agrees with the signification of the Arabic verb *waphar*, and the participle *waphir*, whence the Phenicians probably formed the word *Ophir*. For in the Hebrew the word *Eben* and in the *Chaldee Eben* and *Abana* signify a stone, and so might the last word in the Phenician; if then from *Aphar* or *Waphar* they formed, according to their dialect, *Thophar* or *Thaphar*, then *THAPHAR-ABANA*, or *Taprobana*, will be as much as to say, a land rich in, or abounding with stones that were precious. *Hadrian Reland* in his dissertation follows *Purchas* more closely than *Bochart*, and thinks that *Ophir* should be placed in the country where the city of *Oupara* or *Soupara*, *Ophir* or *Sophir*, was situated on the Indian Cherfonesus, within Ganges, between 112° and 113° of east longitude, and about 15° of south latitude.—Such have been the most plausible accounts of this celebrated and mysterious country; among which, after much consideration, I am inclined to give the preference to that distinguished scholar, *Samuel Bochart*; and have therefore prefixed a view of the coast of his *Ophir*, as a frontispiece to the present volume. But for those readers who cannot subscribe to his sentiments, it may be necessary to mention the opinions of other writers; and first those to whom venerable *Purchas* gave the appellation of *Owls*.

1. *Postellus*, *Coropius Becanus*, *Arias Montanus*, *Vatablus*, *Possevinus*, *Genebrad*, *Marinus Brixianus*, *Sa*, *Engubinus*, *Avenarius*, *Garcia*, and *Morney*, place *Ophir* in *Peru*.

2. *CALMET*,

* For a more minute account of the riches of *Ceylon*, refer to Professor's *Thunberg's Voyage*; and Dr. *Vincent's Periplus*, *Appendix*, (p. 21.) and *Knox's* history of the island *Spice*, according to Dr. *Vincent*, is not to be found nearer *Egypt* or *Palestine*, than *Ceylon*, and the coast of *Malabar* (*ibid.* p. 58.). *Varenus* observes, (vol. i. ed. 1734, p. 160.) that this island is still called by the Indians *Tenerafin*, or the land of delights, as represented by the ancients. It was probably discovered by the Phenicians, as their Seamen conducted the fleets of *Solomon* to *OPHIR*.

† *Patrick's Commentary*.

‡ *Gouffet*, from *Tibet*, and other authors, in his *Comment. Lingue Hebr.*

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2. CALMET, in his *Prolegomena* to the sacred history, has written a long dissertation to prove, that *Ophir* was in *Colchis* on the banks of the *Phasis*.

3. Cornelius a Lapide prefers the western coast of *Africa*.

4. Vatable, Gédébrad, and Robert Etienne, the island of *St Domingo*.

5. Juan dos Santos, Raphael de Volterre, Barros, Ortelius, Thomas Lepès, Le Grand, Huet, Pluche, Montesquieu, D'Anville, L'Abbe Mignot, and Bruce who is supported by Dr. Vincent, (*Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 280, n. 284.), are all inclined to place *Ophir* in the kingdom of *Sofala*, on the eastern coast of *Africa*.

6. The learned Jesuit *Jean Baptiste Riccioli*, who published his *Treatise of Geography and Hydography*, in twelve books, at *Boulogne* in 1661, assigns *Ophir* to *Sumatra*: but Mr. Marsden in his history of that island, does not subscribe to this opinion, (p. 2.) and informs us, that the mountain in *Sumatra*, called by the name of *Ophir*, has a modern appellation.

7. GOSSELIN, in his late publication, *Recherches sur la Géographie systématique et positive des anciens*, (2 vols. 4to, 1798,) after reciting the greater part of the above authors, favours an opinion, in some measure exploded by * Bochart: and wishes to place *Ophir* at *Deser* on the Arabian side of the *Red Sea*, below *Saba*, the capital of *Yemen*; in about 15° 30' of north latitude.

In the above account I have necessarily omitted many authors, such as *Josephus*, *St. Jerome*, and *Theodoret*, who place *Ophir* in the golden Chersonese of *India*; as well as *Rabanus Maurus*, *Lucas Holstenius*, and others who fix it higher up in the Continent. After all, the best and only mode of determining this historical question, is to follow the instructions of † *Grotius* to his brother; which may here be offered to our *Orientalists*, and the different members of the *Asiatic Society*: 'To consider what commodities were brought by *Solomon's* fleet from thence, and to enquire of merchants trading to the remote parts of the world, where gold, and silver, and precious stones, and ivory, are found in the greatest plenty.' Dr. Vincent, in his *Periplus of the Erythrean*, seems inclined to doubt the validity of his former opinion, that by *Ophir*, *Sofala* was intended; for in speaking of *Rhapta*, he adds, 'The articles of import here are nearly the same as an African invoice at the present moment; and in the exports it is some degree of disappointment not to find gold. For as the fleets of *Solomon* are said to have obtained gold on this Coast, as well as the Arabs of a later age, and the Portuguese, we naturally look for it in a commerce which is intermediate; and the nearer we approach to *Sofala*, the more reason there is to ‡ expect it.' Professor *Michaelis*, in one of his forty-nine learned works, entitled *Spicilegium Geographiae Hebræorum extera, post § Bochartum*, reprobates the idea of

* Phaleg, lib. ii. c. 27.

† Epistol. 483.

‡ Periplus, p. 156.

§ Two Vols. 4to. Goett. 1769. 1780. (Pars II. p. 199.)

of tracing any resemblance between the names of *Sofala* and *Ophir*, or *Sopfir* as it is written in the Septuagint, and by Josephus; and adds, that *Sofala* in Arabic signifies the *sea shore*.

These various and opposite opinions respecting *Ophir*, are nearly equalled by a similar diversity and confusion concerning *TARSHISH*. The first mention of *Tarshish* or *Tbarshish* in scripture, appears in that valuable historical document, preserved in * *Genesis*; as being the name of one of the four sons of *Javan*, amongst whom the *Isles*, or extensive regions of the *Gentiles*, were divided. It afterwards does not occur until the time of Solomon: *The † King had at sea a navy of THARSHISH with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the Navy of THARSHISH, bringing gold and silver, and ivory, (senhabim) and apes, (kephim) and peacocks (thuucijim).* The same term is afterwards used by the ‡ *Psalmist* and § *prophets*, and particularly occurs in the || *book of Jonah*: *But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord.* The following are the writers, cited by *Gosfelin*, who have considered *Tarshish* as a commercial mart; or who, like *Bochart*, have imagined there were *two* of the same name, situated in different quarters of the globe.

1. *Eusebius*, *Pinéda*, *Bochart*, *Riccioli*, *Pluche*, *Lowth*, and *Michaëlis*, all refer their readers to *Tartessus in Spain*. *Bishop Patrick* thinks, that the navy mentioned in the first book of *Kings* belonged to *Hiram*, and went out of his port of *Tyre*; and that *Solomon* had only liberty to trade in it to *Tarshish*, which was a very ancient commercial mart to the *Tyrrians*: *Hiram*, therefore, was the chief in this voyage, as *Solomon* was in that to *Ophir*. *Bochartus*, adds *Patrick*, hath made it very probable that this place was *Tartessus in Spain*, where gold and silver in ancient times, if we may believe *Strabo* and others whom he quotes, was plentiful; but I do not find any proof that *ivory*, *apes*, and *peacocks* were the commodities of that country. To this it may be added, that no mention is made in scripture, of either *iron*, *lead*, or *tin*, being ever brought home by the fleet from *Tarshish*.

2. The *Septuagint*, *St. Jérôme*, *Théodoret*, *Robert Etienne*, and *L'Abbé Belley*, place *Tarshish* at *Carthage*.

3. *L'Edrissi*, at *Tunis*.

4. *Bruce*, on the eastern coast of *Africa* at *Melinda*.

5. *Bishop Huet*, on the western coast of *Africa*.

6. *Le Grand*, on the southern coast of *Arabia*.

7. *Saint*

* *Ch. x. 4.*—1 *Chron. ch. i. v. 7.*

† 1 *Kings, x. 22.*—2 *Chron. ix. 21.*

‡ *Psalms xlvi. 7. and lxxii. 10.*

§ *Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel.*

|| *Ch. i. v. 3.*

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7. Saint Jérôme, Théodoret, Robert Etienne, Le Clerc, and L'Abbé Mignot, in *India*.
 8. Bochart, in *Ceylon*.
 9. Josephus, Saint Augustin, Vatable, Don Calmet, and L'Abbé Belley, at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*.
 10 Josephus, on the *shores of the Black Sea, and in Thrace*.

PURCHAS in his first * volume has given a dissertation on this subject, and cites the authors of a new and more rational opinion, that by *Tarshish* was meant the SEA in its most extensive signification, as opposed to the other Hebrew, or rather Syriac term, *Iam*; which was expressive of inland seas, like the *Red Sea* or the *Mediterranean*, or of lakes, like that of the *Dead Sea*, and the *Sea of Galilee*. This supposition first originated with the *Septuagint*, which is noticed by St. † Jerome in his learned Commentary, who was born about the year 340. The learned *Emmanuel Tremellius*, who was born at Ferrara in 1510, and died in 1580, in his latin translation of the Hebrew bible, followed the same idea: *Nam classis oceani pro rege cum classe Chirami erat: semel ternis annis veniebat classis ex oceano afferens aurum, &c.* (1 Kings, x. 22.). The devout *Matthew Beroaldus*, in his latin ‡ *Chronicon*, supported during the year 1575 the above conjecture; which was afterwards followed by many later writers, and has been recently illustrated in an able manner by M. § *Goffellin*, who confines the maritime commerce of Solomon to the Arabian gulf. Thus, when *Isaiah* styles Tyre the daughter of *Tarshish*, the epithet becomes intelligible and appropriate, if we translate it, *the daughter of the sea*. The expression of mariners, as Purchas observes, is sufficiently common, *that gold, silver, and ivory came from sea; that they brought this or that from sea; that shortly they are to go to sea, or have lately come from sea, without naming any Port*. It may also be added, that when *Jonah* attempted to fly from the presence of God, it is more natural to suppose that he went to *sea*, than that he could hope to conceal himself in any quarter of the globe, because it was distant from *Niniveh*. His punishment strikingly

* Page 44.

† Pro *Tarshis*, quod omnes similiter transtulerunt, sôli LXX mare interpretati sunt. Hebraei putant linguâ propriè suâ mare *Tarshis* appellari: quando autem dicitur *Iam*, non hebraico sermone appellari, sed syriaco. . . Melius autem est *Tarshis*, vel maté, vel pelâgus absolute accipere. (Commen. in *Esaïam*, vol. iii. p. 29, 30.)

‡ This work on chronology solely and wisely regarded the authority of scripture, as its title evinces. *Chronicon. scriptura sacre auctoritate constitutum*. Beroaldus died in 1584.

§ RECHERCHES (tom. ii. p. 226.) *Des Voyages de Tarshis*.

strikingly accords with this idea; when the *Tarshish*, or *ocean*, to which he had trusted for concealment, threatened his instant dissolution: for the Lord raised a mighty tempest, and declared unto the prophet, that, though he should take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, (*Tarshish*) he could not escape from the knowledge of his God.

In the retrospect subjoined to Harris's * Collection, a curious passage is extracted from a treatise on Trade and Commerce, relative to these Voyages that were made under the auspices of Solomon. The author's object is to prove, that the *Arabians* were the first traders by sea in the world; but in treating of this he seems, like other writers, to have greatly neglected the ancestors of the *Phenicians*, and to have lost the fame of the *Edomites* in the more general term of *Arabians*: the whole passage is too long for insertion. "By this adventurous Navigation he brought into his country, curiosities not only unseen, but unheard of before; and riches in such abundance, that as the scripture finely expresses it, *He made silver in Jerusalem as stones, and cedar trees as sycamores that grow in the plains*. The metaphor is very bold and emphatical; but when we consider it is recorded in this history, that the return of one Voyage only to *Ophir* produced 450 talents of gold, which make 51,328 lb. of our Troy weight, we cannot doubt of the immense profit that accrued from this Commerce. It is also observable, that the queen of *Sheba* or *Saba*, which lies in that part of Arabia before mentioned, surprised at the reports that were spread of the magnificence of this prince, made a journey to his court on purpose to satisfy herself, whether fame had not exaggerated the fact; and from the presents she made him of 120 talents of gold, of spices in great abundance, and precious stones; we may discern the true reason of her curiosity, which proceeded from an opinion that no Country could be so rich as her own. And there is another circumstance very remarkable, and which seems strongly to fortify what we have advanced in the beginning of this discourse; it is added, *neither was there any such Spices as the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon*; which seems to intimate, that the *Arabians* had penetrated farther into the *Indies* than even the fleets of this famous prince, and brought from thence other Spices, (perhaps Nutmegs and Cloves) than had ever been seen before."

The siege of OLD TYRE by *Nebuchadnezzar*, recalls our attention to the interesting country of *Phenice*. The *Edomites*, on their arrival in that part of the sea

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coast of Asia Minor, which had been occupied by the *Canaanites*, early established at * *Rhinocelura*, the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, an intermediate mart; to which the various articles of commerce brought by them from *India*, were conveyed across the isthmus of *Suez*, and reshipped for *Tyre*. Here they established their great magazine for the valuable goods of the East; and by keeping them at a distance from the Tyrian market, they were enabled to raise its price, as circumstances might prompt them. In this channel, for upwards of eight hundred years, the commerce of *Sidon* and of *Tyre*, and their extensive trade with *India*, was conducted; until the Assyrian tyrant, *Nebuchadnezzar*, came forward to chastise the monopolies and arrogance of the crowning city. This memorable event took place in the destruction of *Old Tyre*, after a siege of thirteen years, 572 years before Christ. Its suffering inhabitants having abandoned their city to the conqueror, transported their principal effects to an island, situated at the distance of about half a mile from their harbour; and as the Assyrian monarch was entirely ignorant of the rudest principles of Navigation, or Ship-building, the Phenicians commenced on this Island a new career of commercial splendour; which continued until their final overthrow by Alexander, who was destined to scourge their obduracy, and to complete the immutable ordinance of God.

Phenician
Periplus of
Africa.

Previous to this destruction of *Old Tyre*, and about two years after *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken and plundered the city of *Jerusalem*; some Phenician navigators are said by *Herodotus* to have sailed, according to the orders of *Pharaoh Necho*, from the Red Sea, and to have circumnavigated Africa. This monarch, who flourished 601 years before the Christian period, was the son and successor of *Psammetichus*, and the same who slew † *Josiah*, king of Judah. In the beginning of his reign *Necho* had in vain attempted to cut a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea; nor did he desist until an incredible number of his subjects had perished in the undertaking. His perseverance or vanity were equal to the most Herculean tasks; and after the failure of the above project, he fitted out some vessels for the purpose of making discoveries on the eastern coast of Africa. It is probable that a mortified spirit was prompted on their return to magnify what they had performed; and that

* The learned Editor of *Harris's Voyages*, (vol. i. p. 378.) has given a curious account from *Diodorus Siculus*, (lib. i.) and *Strabo*, (lib. xvi.) of the manner in which this port was originally founded by some banished Egyptian malefactors.

† 2 Kings, xxiii. 29.—2 Chron. xxxiv. 20.

that some ingenious geographer composed a fabulous report which *Pharaoh Necho* issued, as the public notice of this incredible voyage. How otherwise can we account for the origin of a tradition, which rests upon a single testimony; and is only thus noticed by one historian, who lived 160 years after the event is supposed to have * taken place: *When he (Necho) had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, he dispatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phoenicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the northern ocean to return to Egypt. These Phoenicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean: on the approach of autumn they landed in Lybia, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed, that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right † hand.*—No account is given of the capes which they passed, nor of the dangers they surmounted; no mention is made of the illustrious commander who achieved what surpasses all other events in history, nor did a single direction remain, by which other navigators might have been induced to follow the same track. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this subject, after the clear and decided ‡ verdict which one of the most liberal scholars of the present age has given, respecting the progress of ancient maritime discoveries. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF A FARTHER PROGRESS TO THE SOUTH, ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA, THAN THAT OF HANNO, NOR ON THE EASTERN, THAN THAT OF THE § PERIPLUS.

The following remarks therefore, extracted from the full and judicious opinion which Dr. Vincent has || delivered, are best adapted to close the present Section. “ It does not appear in the whole history of Ancient Navigation,

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* This Voyage is placed by Blair, 604. A. C.
Herodotus read his history, 445

† Melpomene, 42. Beloe's trans. vol. ii. p. 216.

‡ Dr. VINCENT, *Periplus of the Erythraean*, (p. 170.)

§ Whose last Harbour, *Rhapta*, on the coast of Azania, Dr. VINCENT is inclined to place at *Quiloa*, (p. 162.) and if he is allowed to fix the position of the *Prasum* of Ptolemy at *Mesambique*; the final limit of Ancient Discovery is still further advanced towards the south.

|| *Ibid.* p. 168.

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vigation, that any Voyage was performed either in the *Mediterranean*, or on the *Ocean*, by any other means than coasting, except the Voyages from *Arabia* and *Africa* to *India*, and back again by the *MONSOONS*. It does not appear that there was any sort of embarkation known in the world which was fit to encounter the mountainous billows of The stormy Cape. History speaks of no Vessels fit for the Ocean, but those which Cæsar describes on the Coast of *Bretagney*; and if the Phenicians came to our Island for tin, assuredly it was a summer voyage.

"It is with great reluctance that I controvert the testimony of * *Herodotus*, for it is no light offence to question historical facts upon evidence of mere speculation. It must be confessed likewise, that the facts he gives us of this Voyage, though few, are consistent. The Shadow falling to the South, the delay of stopping to sow Grain and reap an harvest, and the space of three years employed in the Circumnavigation, joined with the simplicity of the Narrative, are all points so strong and convincing, that if they are insisted upon by those who believe the possibility of effecting the Passage by the Ancients, no arguments to the contrary however founded upon a different opinion,

* (P. 173.) Dr. *Vincen's* opinion respecting the impossibility of *AFRICA's* having been circumnavigated by the ancients, corresponds with the sentiments of *Robertson*, and of *M. Goffellin*. (*Recherches sur la Geograph.* vol. i. p. 199.) *Examen des principales autorités d'après lesquelles on pense communément que les anciens ont fait le tour de l'Afrique*: he also cites the principal authors who have given credit to the report of *Herodotus*. 1. *HUET*. 2. *MONTESQUIEU*, (*Espr. des Loix*, l. 21. c. 10.) 3. *PLUCHE*, (*Concorde de la Geographie des différens âges*, p. 333. *Spéctacle de la Nature*, tom. iv. p. 331. 335.) 4. *DAPPER's Description of Africa*. 5. *L'ABBE PARIS*, *Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres*, tom. vii. p. 79. 6. *L'ABBE MIGNOT*, *Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres*, (tom. xxxi. p. 193. tom. xlii. p. 39. 54.) 7. *BOUGAINVILLE*, *Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres*, (tom. xxviii. p. 309.) 8. *SALMASIUS*, *Exercitationes Pliniana*, (p. 877.) 9. *MICHAELIS*, *Spicilegium Geo. Hebræorum entera*, (pars. I. p. 98.) 10. *Bruce's Travels*, (vol. i. p. 532.) To these may be added, 11. *MAJOR RENNEL*, *Geo. of Herodotus*, (p. 672.) "Relying on so many authorities, I was induced, adds *M. Goffellin*, in my work intitled *Geographie des Grecs analysée*, (p. 108.) to affirm that the ancients had circumnavigated *Africa*; but a more minute investigation of the subject has made me sensible of the impossibility of making such an opinion correspond with the knowledge they possessed." This ingenious geographer then enters into a long discussion of every particular relative to the Voyage under the directions of *Pharaoh Necho*; and afterwards pays an equal attention to the supposed voyage of *Eudæmus of Cynicus*, from the *Arabian Gulf* to *Cádiz*, which he esteems the most imposing narrative of any that remain. It is preserved in a fragment which *Pomponius Mela* (lib. iii. c. 9. p. 294.) extracted from a work of *Cornelius Nepos*, since lost.—See in APPENDIX, *Galvano's Progress of Maritime Discovery*, (p. 29.)

opinion, can leave the mind without a doubt upon the question. *That different opinion I confess is mine*, but I wish to state it with all deference to the Father of History, and with the profession that I am still open to conviction, whenever the weight of evidence shall preponderate against the reasons I have to offer.

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"I allow with *Montesquieu*, that the attempt, commenced from the eastern side of the Continent, presents a much greater facility of performance than a similar attempt from the west; for we now know that both the winds and currents are favourable for keeping near the coast from the *Mosambique channel* to the Cape; and that after passing the Cape from the east*, the current still holds to the northward up the western coast of Africa. But the prodigious sea, raised by the junction of the two oceans, almost perpetually, and at every season of the year, is such, that few of the Fleets of *Portugal*, in their early attempts, passed without loss; and the danger is now avoided only by standing to the † south. The latter means of safety could not have been adopted by the *Phenicians*, they could not stand out to sea; and if they adhered to the coast, by all that we can now judge from the construction of their ancient vessels, shipwreck must have been inevitable. Had this fleet no difficulties to encounter, because we read of none but the want of provisions? Can we suppose the *Phenicians* so superior to the *Greeks* in the Art of Navigation, as to have no dread of passing the greatest promontory in the world, when *Nearchus* and his officers shuddered at *Mussendon*, and dare not attempt *Raf-el-had*?—Were all these, which the *Portuguese* surmounted only by repeated attempts, and by a persevering spirit exerted for almost an hundred years, to be passed by *Phenicians* on their first expedition, and in the course of a few months? Raise them as we please above *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Arabians* in science, they were doubtless inferior in courage to them all. And whatever science we allot them, the smallest bark could have been conducted by the knowledge of a *Portuguese* pilot in greater safety, than the largest vessel ever fitted out of *Egypt*.—

"But as it is not in our power to prove a negative, let us now examine the positive testimony of other authors in opposition to that of *Herodotus*. The author of the *Periplus* says directly, *that the ocean never was explored on the Eastern side to the point of Africa*.—The last author we shall adduce is

Ptolemy,

* Forest on the monsoons, (p. 10. 13.)

† In attempting which, several ships have fallen in with the ice islands so graphically described by the illustrious Cook.

S E C T. II. *Ptolemy*, who certainly must have been acquainted with *Herodotus*, however ignorant we may suppose *Hanno*, *Scylan*, or the author of the *Periplus*. And *Ptolemy* is so far from believing the report of *Neco* or the Egyptians, that he not only supposes the Voyage never performed, but declares it impossible; that is, he brings round the Continent of Africa unbroken with a sweep to the East, till he makes it join the continent of Asia to the eastward of the golden Chersonese.---*D'Anville* supposes that *Ptolemy* assumed this System from the prevailing idea among the ancients, that there ought to be *Antipodes* in the south, correspondent to those of the northern hemisphere. Perhaps also a counterbalance of Continents was as favourite a notion in the early ages as in modern. But however this error originated, the conclusion of * *D'Anville* is remarkable: Nothing, says he, was less ascertained among the ancients, if we may judge from *Ptolemy*, than the account of some Voyages which were said to have been effected round the continent of Africa by the south. And parallel to this is the opinion of † *Vossius*.—Certain it is, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the ancients were so far from passing the Cape of Good Hope, that they never approached it. Both these opinions are likewise supported by ‡ *Strabo*."

It is however highly probable that the assertion of such a fact, as the possibility of sailing round Africa, must have had its due weight on those early Portuguese navigators, who were formed in the maritime school of *Sagres*. Such an idea is favoured by *Dr. Vincent* in his § voyage of *Nearchus*; where he observes that a remarkable coincidence exists, between the date of the first edition of *Herodotus*, and the voyage of *de Gama*. This coincidence is still more apparent, if, instead of noticing *de Gama's* voyage, we subjoin the year when the Cape was first doubled by *Bartholemew Diaz*.

First edition of <i>Herodotus</i> ,	—	1474
The Cape first discovered by <i>Diaz</i> ,	—	1486

* *Geog. Ancien. tom. iii. p. 68.*

† *Vossius ad Melam. p. 303.*

‡ *Lib. i. p. 32.*

§ Page 276. Note 270. * It is not impossible,' adds *Dr. Vincent*, 'that all these assertions of Circumnavigation arose from the idea of the ancients, that the ocean surrounded the earth like an island,' (p. 281. n. 286.)



SECTION THE THIRD.

Prevailing errors in the Grecian History. Progress of the Maritime Colonies from Egypt. Examination of the fabulous Navigators of Greece.—Perseus.—Danaus.—Argonautic expedition. Sataspes. Cyclopes. Sirens. Grecian Navy, and character of their Seamen. Voyage of Nearchus.

Les différens systêmes de Géographie Astronomique des Grecs, avoient tous pour base une ANCIENNE CARTE dont ils ont méconnu la construction : et tout paroît annoncer que cette Carte, qu'ils ont sans cesse altérée, offroit dans son origine les résultats d'une longue suite d'observations aussi exactes que celles que nous possédons aujourd'hui.

Goffin's Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens, vol. ii. p. 68.

THE above assertion, which *M. Goffelin* endeavours to support throughout his learned and valuable, though in some measure erroneous work, corresponds with the researches of *Mr. Bryant*; and must induce every writer to consider with increased distrust the vague opinions, and lying vanities of the Greeks. The ancient Chart, alluded to by *M. Goffelin*, was

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S E C T. probably composed by the Egyptians, Atlantians, Edomites, or some other branch of the numerous AMONIAN navigators; he * is inclined to think that this Chart was a *carte plate*, or plain chart, on which the meridians and parallels were marked by straight lines at an uniform distance; and that *Marinus of Tyre*, who lived towards the close of the first century of the christian æra, was thus led into an error which continued, according to Ptolemy, for seventeen centuries. *Marinus* had perused the greater part of the writings of the ancients, and thus formed a complete body of geography from the voyages or travels that had appeared. The works of this philosopher have long since perished; it is however to these that *M. Casselin* ascribes all the merit which Ptolemy has surreptitiously enjoyed: but on so important a subject this learned foreigner must speak for himself:

C'est en s'appropriant l'ouvrage de cet auteur, en le présentant sous une forme mieux ordonnée, plus rapide et plus imposante, que Ptolémée a usurpé une partie de cette grande célébrité qu'il a conservée jusqu'à nous. C'est ce Larcin qui a fait croire, pendant plus de quinze siècles, qu'on lui devoit toutes les connaissances accumulées dans son livre; tandis qu'elles ne sont dûes qu'aux recherches de Marin. Il est donc juste de détruire une erreur trop long-temps accréditée, et de rendre à la mémoire de cet homme laborieux la portion de gloire qu'il s'est acquise par ses utiles et pénibles travaux.

The confined nature of an Introduction will not allow me to enter at large on this, and other various discussions, connected with the navigation or hydrography of the ancients, and for some of these omitted particulars, the reader is necessarily referred to the † Dissertations subjoined in the Appendix. To reflect light, borrowed from *Mr. Bryant*, on the fables of Greece; to describe, with his assistance, the establishment of its maritime powers; to consider their skill in navigation and ship-building, and to mark the most authentic of their voyages; such are the leading subjects of the present Section.

The

* Géographie des Grecs analysée, (p. 39.) and *Recherches sur la Geograp.* (vol. ii. p. 65.)

† *Recherches sur la Geog.* vol. ii. p. 63.

‡ *Galvano's Progress of Maritime Discovery*; *Locke's History of Navigation*; (p. 75.) and other similar Tracts of equal merit, by which these will be succeeded. It has been my anxious endeavour, not to introduce the subject matter of such Dissertations in the present memoir; in order that the four Sections, which compose it, might furnish observations that should not be again repeated in the course of the present work: and in consequence of this, many things relative to the navigation, or maritime commerce of the ancients, omitted in this Introduction, will hereafter appear in the Appendix.

The first inhabitants of the country called HELLAS, were descendants from **S E C T.**
 * *Japheth*; by these were the *Iles of the Gentiles*, the regions of Greece and **III.**
 Europe, divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their fam-
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* ANALYSIS, (vol. i. p. 182, and *Ibid.* p. 143.) *Dissertation upon the Helladian and other Grecian writers.* As Mr. Bryant follows a path unbeaten by preceding historians, he thus informs his reader of the authorities he has preferred, and his reasons for doing so. 'All knowledge of Gentile antiquity must be derived to us through the hands of the Grecians: the Helladians however, from whom we might expect most light, are to be admitted with the greatest caution. They were a bigotted people, highly prejudiced in their own favour; and so devoted to idle tradition, that no arguments could wean them from their folly. Hence the surest resources are from Greeks of other countries. Among the poets, *Lygobron*, *Callimachus*, and *Apollonius Rhodius* are principally to be esteemed. *Homer* likewise abounds with a deal of mysterious lore, borrowed from the ancient Amonian theology; with which his commentators have been often embarrassed.---Much light may also be obtained from those learned men, by whom the *Scholia* were written. *Nonnus* too, who wrote the *Dionysiaca* is not to be omitted. He was a native of Panopolis in *Egypt*, and had opportunity of collecting many ancient traditions, and fragments of mysterious history, which never were known in *Greece*. To these may be added, *Porphyrus*, *Proclus*, and *Jamblichus*, who professedly treat of Egyptian learning. The *Isti* and *Osiri* of *Plutarch* may be admitted with proper circumspection.---But the great resource of all is to be found among the later antiquaries and historians. Many of these are writers of high rank; particularly *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pausanias*, on the Gentile part; and of the fathers, *Theophilus*, *Tatianus*, *Athenagoras*, *Clement*, *Origenes*, *Eusebius*, *Theodoretus*, *Syncellus*; and the compiler of the *Fasti Siculi*, otherwise called *Chronicon Paschale*. Most of these were either of *Egypt* or *Asia*. They had a real taste for antiquity; and lived at a time when some insight could be obtained.---The native Helladians were very limited in their knowledge. They had taken in the gross whatever was handed down by tradition; and assumed to themselves every history, which was imported.---The writers to whom I chiefly appeal, lived in parts of the world, which gave them great advantages. The whole theology of Greece was derived from the East. We cannot therefore but in reason suppose, that *Clement of Alexandria*, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, *Tatianus of Assyria*, *Lucianus of Samosata*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Porphyrus of Syria*, *Proclus of Lydia*, *Philo of Biblus*, *Strabo of Amasa*, *Pausanias of Cappadocia*, *Erastobenes of Cyrene*, must know more upon this subject than any native Helladian. The like may be said of *Diodorus*, *Josephus*, *Cedrenus*, *Syncellus*, *Zonaras*, *Eustathius*, and numberless more. These had the archives of ancient temples, to which they could apply, (*Philo Biblus* mentions many authors in *Phenicia* to which he applied;) and had traditions more genuine than ever reached *Greece*. And though they were posterior themselves, they appeal to authors far prior to any Helladians; and their works are crowded with extracts from the most curious, and the most ancient histories. Such were the writings of *Sanchoniathon*, *Berosus*, *Nicholaus Damascenus*, *Mosis*, *Mnaseas*, *Hieronymus Aegyptius*, *Apion*, *Manethon*; from whom *Hydennus*, *Apollodorus*, *Asclepiades*, *Artapanus*, *Philastrius*, borrowed largely. We are beholden to *Clement*, and *Eusebius*, for many evidences from writers, long since lost; even *Eustathius*, and *Tzetzes* have resources, which are now no more.'

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*lies, in their * nations.* Whence these descendants of *Japheth* originally came, is no where exactly ascertained; they however soon degenerated into barbarians, and became a rude uncivilized people. According to † *Thucydides*, Greece was not formerly possessed by any fixed inhabitants, but was subject to frequent transigrations, as constantly every distinct people easily yielded up their seats to the violence of a larger supervening number. Commerce there was none, and mutual fear prevented intercourse both by sea and land,

Helladians.

The **HELLADIANS**, properly so called, were ‡ colonies of an Amonian family distinct from that of *Japheth*; they introduced themselves later from *Egypt* and *Syria*, but originally from *Babylonia*, for though by family *Ionians*, the **HELLADIANS** were not of that race. A long interval of darkness succeeded their first settlement, and even when they emerged from it, few attempts were made to retrieve any knowledge of past events.—*What history, exclaims Mr. Bryant, was there of Corinth, or of Sparta? What annals were there of Argos, or Messena; of Elis, or the cities of Achaia? None: not even of Athens.* So true is this, that when in process of time the Greeks came to be sensible of their ignorance, their philosophers, as Larcher observes, sought for improvement in other regions; and *Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Plato, and Pythagoras* visited *Egypt* their mother country, to obtain § information.

Ionians.

The most considerable of the other Amonian colonies that settled to the westward, were found in || *Ionis*, and *Hellas*, about *Cuma*, and *Liguria* in Italy, on the coast of *Iberia* in Spain; in *Cyrene*; in *Mauritania*, and the adjacent islands. The coast of the *Capthorim*, a Cuthite colony who brought the symbolical marks of the Deluge into Palestine, was at one time called the coast of the *Iönim*, and the sea by which it was bounded received the name of the *Iönian* sea, quite to the Nile. Under the fable of the flight of *Io*, the poets represented the progress of the *Iönim* on their dispersion from the plain of *Shinar*: the *Iönim*, called afterwards *Ionians*, were in fact colonies from *Egypt*, and are sometimes mentioned under the name of ¶ *Atlantians*. Besides the above colonies, the Amonians also possessed many of the best islands in the *Aegean Sea* **, particularly *Lesbos, Lemnos, Samos, Chios,*

* Genesis, x. 5.

† Smith's Translation, vol. i. p. 4. book i.

‡ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 150.

§ See Larcher. *Extræp.* c. 49.

¶ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 353.

¶ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 369. *Progress of the IONIC WORSHIP; and of the IONIAN-HELENIC COLONIES.*

** Ibid. vol. iii. p. 429.

Chios, and *Cos*, which latter island is often expressed *Caius*, from the Grecian name of *CHUS*. *Stephanus* besides informs us, that *Cos* was formerly named *Meropis* from *Merops*, one of the earth-born giant brood. The sons of *Chus* may be traced by their worship of the serpent to the island *Eubœa*, which signifies the serpent island (*oub-aia*); they also settled under the title of *Heliadae* at *Rhodes*, and this island is said to have received its name from *Rhod*, the Syriac term for a serpent; they moreover established themselves in *Crete*, and at *Argos*: from all these places the *Cuthites* expelled the sons of *Japheth*. The whole continent of Africa, as well as the islands of *Rhodes*, *Cythnus*, *Besbicus*, and *Tenos*, formerly received the title *Ophiusa*, from this worship of the serpent.

HELLEN was originally a sacred term, confined to those priests who migrated from Egypt, and introduced the rites of the ark and dove at *Dodona*; which country was the first *Hellas*, and here were the primitive *Hellenes*. This opinion is supported by † *Aristotle*, who affirms that ancient *Hellas* was the country which lies about *Dodona*, and upon the river *Achelous*.

The *DORIANS*, a branch of the *Hellenes*, came originally from † Egypt, and received a name from their deity *Adorus*. Their early history, and contests with the original inhabitants of the region they afterwards occupied, may be traced in the account of the *Heraclidæ*, for the *Dorians* were the same as the *Herculeans*. They not only settled in Greece, but like other branches of the *Amonian* family, in various parts of the world: their chief resort was on the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, where they possessed many excellent ports. In Greece, they at first occupied the country adjoining *Parnassus*, called *Tithorea*, and afterwards the Thessalian *Pthiotis*. The *Dorians* also penetrated by force into *Laconia* and *Messenia*, and were besides found in *Phœnicia*, *Caria*, *Crete*, and *Hebruria*. Even the *Persians* were in great measure of the same family. The Dorian language was the true Hellenic, and according to *Pausanias*, all the ancient hymns of Greece in every province, were composed in their dialect.

Amidst

* *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 487.

† *Aristot.* *Meteorol.* l. i. c. 14. p. 772.

‡ For a general view of the Migrations from Egypt, see *Analysis*, (vol. ii. p. 189.) where among other writers Mr. Bryant mentions an ancient historian *Istrus*, who composed a curious treatise respecting these colonies, long since lost; and cites the following short passage from *Zonaras*, (vol. i. p. 21.) as the best account of the progress of Science from the East. All these things came from *Chaldea* to *Egypt*; and from thence were derived to the Greeks.

§ *ANALYSIS*, vol. iii. p. 385. Of the *Dorians*, *Pelagi*, *Caucanes*, *Myrmidones*, and *Aræadians*.

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Myrmidons.

Amidst these various branches of the Dorian race, or Heracidae, one of the most renowned yet least understood in history was that of the MYRMIDONS who settled in Thessaly, and were supposed to be descended from Myrmidon a king of the country. This term in the ancient *Doric* was expressed Mur-medon, which *Mur-Medon* denotes *Maris Dominum*, the great Lord of the Ocean; and clearly related to *Noah*, who was said to have first constructed a ship, and to have escaped from the abyss. The *Myrmidons* are accordingly thus distinguished by Hesiod:

These first composed the manageable Float,

They accordingly obtained the name of *Mur-Medons*, or sea Captains.

Pelasgi.

Another and a very ancient appellation of these colonies, before the terms of *Ionians* and *Dorians*, or that still more universal one of *HELLENES* grew so predominant, was that of PELASGI. Strabo speaks of them as a mighty nation; and says, that according to *Menecrates Elaites*, the whole coast of *Ionia*, from Mycale, and all the neighbouring islands, was once occupied by them: they also possessed the entire region of *Hetruria*, and extended through such a space, that it is now impossible for the historian to ascertain their utmost limit.—The country about *Dodona*, at the same time that it was styled *Hellas*, was also called *Pelasgia*: this name was in fact the oldest and most general, of any; it included the ancient *Hellenes*, *Iones*, and *Dores*. *Inachus*, *Pelasgus*, and *Danaus*, are titles of the same person. Mr. Bryant cites a passage from the Greek poet * *Asius*, of Samos, who wrote respecting the genealogy of ancient heroes and heroines; in which a manifest allusion is made to the Patriarch NOAH, under the character of *Pelasgus*,

On a high mountain's brow
The gloomy cave gave back again to light
Godlike PELASGUS, that the race of man
Through him might be renewed.

Perseus.

Among the renowned demigods of Greece, the *Murmedons* or illustrious navigators of antiquity, the name of PERSEUS often occurs to perplex and astonish the reader: he is spoken of by *Natalis Comes* as a great astronomer, a person of uncommon knowledge. *Perseus* instructed mariners to direct their way in the sea by the lights of heaven, and particularly by the polar constellation;

constellation, which he is said to have first observed, and to have then given it the name of *Helice*: he also subdued the Gorgons, defeated the Ethiopians upon the Western ocean, and was famed to have been the only person besides *Hercules*, that had passed *Mount Atlas*. *PERSEUS*, was in reality a * title of the Amonian deity the SUN, chief god of the Gentiles; and Herodotus informs us that † *Chemmis*, a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, was remarkable for a temple of *Perseus*: "They informed me, adds the historian, that *Perseus* was a native of their country, as were also *Danaus* and *Lynceus*, who made a Voyage into Greece." There was also a temple at Memphis dedicated to *Perseus*, beside others in different parts of Egypt; and upon the Heracleotic branch of the Nile, near the sea, a celebrated Watch Tower was named from him. The ancient history of the exploits of *Perseus*, relates to the *Perefsians*, *Parrhasians*, and *Perezites*, the same people with the *Heliada* and *Osirians*: their great progenitor is described as having enjoyed a renewal of life; as having been inclosed in an ark, and exposed when a child upon the ‡ waters.

The characters of *ORPHEUS* and *ZOROASTER* in some respects correspond with each other. The former travelled over the most distant regions of the globe, and in all places where he came, was esteemed both under the character of a priest and a prophet. He was not only celebrated for his skill in music, and in various other branches of science, but was also famed for calming the Winds, and appeasing the rage of the Sea. The name of *Orpheus* occurs in the lists of the *ARGONAUTS*, and he is mentioned in the two principal poems upon that subject: yet some writers place him ten generations before the period assigned the *Argonauts*, and *Pherecydes Syrus* declares he had no share in that expedition. The truth, as unveiled by Mr. Bryant, seems to have been, that under the appellation of *Orpheus*, a people called *Orpheans* or *Orphites* were designated; who, according to *Vossius*, were the same as the *Cadmians*: they obtained their name from *Orphi*, by which is meant the oracular temple of *Orus*, or the God of Light. They were celebrated for their skill in astronomy, music, and medicine, and were revered by the

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Graecian Periods.* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 62.—*Dissertation on Perseus*.† *Euterpe*, Beloe's Transf. ch. 91. vol. i.‡ Mr. Bryant cites as his authorities, *Schol. in Lycophr.* v. 838.—*Chron. Pasch.* p. 38. from *Euripides*.§ ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 126. *Dissertation on Orpheus*.

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the barbarous natives of Thrace with whom they settled : among other places they founded a college of science on mount Hæmus, but the greater part of the professors, or priests, were at length destroyed for their cruelty.

Dionusus.

DIONUSUS *, the Fingal of the Grecian bards, was multiplied into as many persons as *Hercules*, in whose exploits an history of the † *Hereuleans* is recorded; and the history of *Dionusus* is closely connected with that of *Bacchus*, though they were in fact different characters. It is said, that the expedition of *Dionusus* into Lybia as far as the *Atlantic*, was celebrated by *Thymates* in an ancient Phrygian poem. His *Indian* expedition took up three years. During a Voyage in the Mediterranean he visited many places, particularly Campania, and the coast of Italy, where he was taken prisoner by Hetrurian pirates. *Dionusus* was in reality the same as *Osiris*, and acknowledged as such by the later mythologists.

Cadmus.

CADMUS, like the other fabled heroes of Greece, is recorded to have been a great ‡ traveller, and by birth a Phenician; but his Voyages or Expeditions, like those of *Perseus* and others, relate to Colonies which at various periods left *Egypt* or *Syria*, and settled in different regions. Thus *Cadmus* is said to have sailed first to *Phenicia* and *Cyprus*, and afterwards to *Rhodes*; he then visited *Ionia*, and all the coast upwards to the *Helleſpont*, and *Propontis*. He was also at *Lesbos*, and at *Anaphe*, one of the *Sporades*: he resided for some time in *Thrace*, where he discovered a mine of gold, as he had before one of copper at *Cyprus*. The progress of his maritime discoveries afterwards extend to *Euboea*; he remained a considerable time in *Attica*, then visited *Boeotia*, and built *Thebes*: he was likewise at *Sparta*; and having crossed the Mediterranean, he founded many cities in *Africa*, and, according to § *Silius Italicus*, was ranked among the founders of the city of *Carthage*. But these were not the achievements of an individual, nor of a single age. *Cadmus* was one of the names of *Osiris*, chief deity of *Egypt*; and this title was accordingly assumed by those colonies that sailed from thence to the above places, where they settled.

Mr.

* ANALYSIS, vol. ii. p. 77. *Dissertation on the character of Dionusus*, who was celebrated by the bards, *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Panopides*, *Thymates*, and *Dionysius Milesius*.

† The Sardinians, Corsicans, Iberians, Celts, Galatz, and Scythæ, were all *Hereuleans*.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 138. *Dissertation on Cadmus*.—Bochart supposes that *Cadmus* was a Canaanite, who fled with others from the face of *Josbua*.

§ Sacri cum perfida pagani

Gens Cadmeæ super regno certamina movit. L. i. v. 5.

Mr. Bryant is of * opinion that the name DANAUS does not relate to an individual, but was originally *da Naus*, THE SHIP, and that therefore the era of Danaus is the *era of the ship*; or the exact period when some model of the sacred † ship of Isis, was brought from Egypt to Greece. The fifty daughters of Danaus were the fifty priestesses of the Argo, who bore the sacred vessel on solemn festivals. Plutarch ‡ informs us, that the object in the celestial sphere, called by the Grecians *The Argo*, is a representation of the ship of *Osiris*, which out of reverence has been placed in the heavens. Argo, or *Argus* †, as Mr. Bryant would express it, signified an *ark*, and was synonymous to *Theba*.

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III.Introduction.
Grecian Period.
Danaus.

Of the innumerable Fables, which the ingenuity or ignorance of the Greeks conspired to form, none has experienced greater success in deluding posterity, than their celebrated ARGONAUTIC VOYAGE. It gratified and increased at a very early period that love of the marvellous, which pervades their writings; and it allowed their predominant vanity to attribute a merit to their ancestors, they would not otherwise have received. JASON therefore appears as a luminary amidst the darkness of the Grecian annals; he was not only an expert and daring navigator, but also the illustrious founder of the empire of the Medes §; and in like manner *Armenus* his companion was accounted the father of the *Armenians*. Nor was this sufficient: the *Pelusium* of Egypt could only derive its name from a Grecian original; *Sais* must receive its buildings from a Greek; the foundation of *Heliopolis* was claimed by the Athenians; *Canebus* was named from a pilot of *Menelaus*; and even the walls of MEMPHIS could not be constructed without bringing *Epaphos* from *Argos* as the architect.

Argonautic
Expedition.

It is not perhaps so astonishing that a vain people, who accounted all other nations *Barbarians*, should have been induced to forge these, and other similar falsehoods, as that some of the most eminent and learned of modern histo-

rians

* Vol. ii. p. 247.

† Isis et Osiris, vol. ii. p. 359.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 238. 'It is made use of,' adds Mr. Bryant, 'in that sense by the priests and he diviners of the *Philistim*; who, when the ark of God was to be restored to the *Israelites*, put the presents of atonement, which were to accompany it, into an *Argus*, or sacred receptacle. (1 Samuel, vi. 8. 11. 15.) The word occurs only in the history of this Philistine transaction.'

§ ANALYSIS, vol. i. p. 155.

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rians, should so long have been the dupes of impostors, to whom, as * *Jamblichus* observes, *the investigation of TRUTH was always too fatiguing*. In the examination of this celebrated Voyage, as well as in the illustration of other facts, Mr. Bryant always learned, always ingenious, may sometimes expatiate with too much freedom amidst the regions of conjecture: but surely we ought not too severely to reprehend or mark the false steps of a commendable zeal; when, in attempting to let in light on apartments that have been long haunted by ideal, and visionary monsters, it occasionally stumbles over the rubbish with which the edifice had been lumbered.

It is in vain to follow our great mythologist, through his excellent Dissertation *On the Argo, and Argonautic* † expedition: some scattered rays may however serve to direct my readers to the original. *Sir Isaac* ‡ *Newton* who endeavoured to ascertain the date by the place of the *Colures* then, and the degrees, which they have since gone back, argues on a supposition, that there really had been such an astronomer as *Chiron*, and that he, or *Musæus*, formed a Sphere for the Argonauts. This argument has been combated by *Rutherford* § in a manner tending to prove, that if either *Chiron* or *Musæus*, or any other Grecian astronomer had delineated such a Sphere, they must have comprehended under a figure, and given the name of *Argo* to a collection of stars, with many of which they were unacquainted; consequently their longitude, latitude, and reciprocal distances, could not be known.

The ancients themselves were equally in doubt, as to the æra of this expedition, the architect who built the ship, or the place to which its course was directed; whether to *Colchis*, or the *Ganges*. The Greeks, by taking the merit of this Voyage to themselves, were plunged in difficulties. What can be more ridiculous than to hear that the first constructed ship was pursued by the fleet of *Oetes*, which was prior to it: besides *Danaus*, many ages before, was said to have come into Greece in a long ship; and we are also informed that

* *Jamblichus de Myster.* (sect. 7. c. 5.) quoted by Mr. *Bryant*.—The most eminent of the ancient authors who admitted the *Argonautic expedition*, as an historical fact, were *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*. Among the fathers, *Clemens*, *Eusebius*, and *Synellus*; among the moderns, *Scaliger* and *Petavius*; and of our own countrymen, *Archbishop Usher*, *Cumberland*, *Dr. Jackson*, and *Sir Isaac Newton* take the lead.

† Vol. ii. p. 475.

‡ *Chronology*, p. 83, 84.

§ *System of Natural Philosophy*, (vol. ii. p. 849.) See also preceding p. lxiii. (sect. 2.)

that *Minos*, if such a person ever existed, had a fleet constructed in the same form. In the course of this expedition, which is said to have occupied from two to four months, these fifty navigators performed feats that would have required ten times their number. They built temples, founded cities, passed over vast continents, and through unknown seas; and this in an open boat which was dragged over mountains, and occasionally carried on their shoulders.

Whence then could this Nautical Romance arise, similar in point of credit with the circumnavigation of Africa by the * Phenicians? The question is thus answered: *the preservation of the family of Noah, and the subsequent dispersion of the Arkite colonies, gave birth to this tradition; which the Greeks assigned to the Arcades, Argai, and Argonautæ of their own Country. Jason was in reality a title of the arkite god, the same as Arcas, Argus, Inachus, and Prometheus. Many temples built in the east, and also on the coast of the Great Atlantic, and all along the coast of Hetruria, were styled Jasonæ. It is even said of Jason, that he underwent a similar fate during childhood with Osiris, Perseus, and Dionusus, and like them was concealed and enclosed in an ark, as if he had been † dead. Some parts of this Voyage, like the history of Danaus already mentioned, had a reference to the sacred ship of Isis.*

AN

* Mr. Maurice, in his Dissertation on Ancient Commerce, (Indian Antiq. v. 6. p. 427-) takes a different view of the subject. "Eratosthenes in Strabo informs us, (lib. ii. p. 87.) that the merchandize of India passed by the *Onus* through the *Caspian*, which the ancients, with inflexible obstinacy, persevered in supposing to have a communication with the northern, and some even with the *Indian Ocean*, into the sea of *Pontus*. We also learn from *Pliny*, that it was but a journey of seven days from the frontiers of *India*, through the country of the *Bactrians*, to the river *Icarus*, which falls into the *Onus*, down which stream the commodities of *India* were transported into the *Caspian Sea*. Thence, he adds, they were carried up the river *Cyrus* to a place within five days' journey over land to *Phasis*, the capital of *Cochis*, in Grecian fable renowned for its golden fleece; which, in all probability, was nothing more than the golden produce of *India*, which the *Argonauts* secured by opening the Commerce of the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*. At this day, the *Onus* no longer flows into the *Caspian*, the miserable policy of the modern Tartars having induced them to divert its Course, as well as that of the *Ianartes*; and these two noble rivers are now lost and swallowed up in the sands of that boundless desert. *Cochis* itself is now only a vast forest, and its few inhabitants are not only slaves themselves, but carry on the horrid traffic in human flesh to a vast extent."

† Natalis Comes, lib. vi. p. 315.

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III.

Sataſpes.

An Expedition of greater plauſibility, and to the truth of which no objections ariſe, occurs in the Voyage that was made along the weſtern coaſt of Africa, during the reign of XERXES, by *Sataſpes* the Perſian. This nobleman, who was of royal deſcent, having been guilty of a flagrant act of violence, was condemned to die: through the importunities of his mother, ſiſter of Darius, his ſentence of crucifixion was changed; and *Sataſpes* haſtened to attempt the perilous taſk which his parent had ſuggeſted to XERXES *of ſailing round Africa, until he ſhould arrive at the Arabian Gulf.* “ To this, adds * *Herodotus*, XERXES aſſented, and *Sataſpes* accordingly departed for *Egypt*, where he embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the Columns of *Hercules*; paſſing theſe, he doubled the promontory which is called *Syloe*, keeping a ſouthern Courſe. Continuing his Voyage for ſeveral months, in which he paſſed over an immense tract of Sea, he ſaw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore failed back to *Egypt*. Returning to the court of XERXES, he amongſt other things related, that in the moſt remote places he had viſited he had ſeen a people of diminutive appearance, cloathed in red garments; who on the approach of his veſſel to the ſhore, had deſerted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, ſatiſfied with taking a ſupply of proviſions, offered them no violence. He denied the poſſibility of his making the circuit of Africa, as his veſſel was totally unable to proceed. XERXES gave no credit to his aſſertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms impoſed upon him, he was executed according to his former Sentence.”

Cyclopes.

The hiſtory of a maritime nation ſtyled † *CYCLOPES*, has been particularly obſcured by the Greeks. Theſe *Cyclopes* were of the ſame family as the *Phoenices* and *Cadmians*, and alſo as the *Hivites* or *Ophites* who came from *Egypt* that African mother of many European nations. The *Cyclopes*, with the *Galatæ*, *Illyrii*, and *Celtæ*, appear to have belonged to an *Amonian* tribe ſtyled *Anakim*; they ſettled among other places in *Sicily*, but memorials of them remained in many parts of Greece, where their ſkill in various branches of ſcience was known and encouraged.—It is the obſervation of one well verſed in maritime hiſtory, that liberty and ſcience, and that independent character which can alone diſplay or encourage the originality of mind which promotes diſcoveries, have always appeared either in iſlands, or on peninſular

* *Herodotus*, *Melpomene*, 43. Beloe's Transl. (vol. ii. p. 217.)† *ANALYSIS*, vol. i. p. 491. *Difſertation on the Cyclopes, or Cyclopes.*

lar * situations. The noble and stupendous efforts of the *Cyclopes* in architecture, are visible in history, by the general acceptance of *Æolian* for any thing magnificent or great; an epithet originally given to edifices sacred to the Cyclopiian deity *Pælorus* or the *sun*. The *Idæi Dactyli*, who are generally said to have been the first that forged metals, and brought them into general use, were † *Cyclopiians*. An Insular situation, joined to their celebrity in science, and the high estimation in which their works were held, may allow me to conjecture, that the *Cyclopiians* paid a very early attention to the improvement of naval architecture. Their forges near mount *Ætna*, which afforded such a scope to the imagination of ancient poets, enabled these islanders to render iron subservient to the purposes of navigation; and if they were not the first to introduce the use of iron anchors, they at least supplied the *Phœnicians* with some of the most valuable materials, and tools, for the construction of their ships.

The Cyclopes are also mentioned as being employed to form the maritime cities of ancient *Mycene* and *Tiryns*. Euripides says, that they built the walls of the first after the *Phœnician* rule; and Strabo ‡ observes, *Prætorius seems to have been the first, who made use of Tiryns as an Harbour; which place he walled round by the assistance of the Cyclopiians. They were seven in number, styled Gastrocheirs, and lived by their § labour.* These seven Cyclopes, adds Mr. Bryant, were, I make no doubt, seven Cyclopiian towers built by the people of whom I have been treating. Some of them stood towards the harbour to afford light to ships, when they approached in the night.

The description which the ancient poets gave of the *Cyclopiians* was founded on truth; the dreadful eye, that glared in the centre of their forehead, was in reality the circular casement that was placed at the top of their light-houses, as a direction to mariners; and what confirmed the mistake, into which the Grecians were led respecting this circumstance, proceeded from an eye which the Cyclopiian artists represented over the entrance of their sacred temples. The *Arimaspiians* were *Hyperborean Cyclopiians*, and had temples named *Charis* or *Charisia*, on the top of which a perpetual fire was preserved. The great architects *Trophonius*, and *Agamedes*, seem to claim an affinity with this celebrated

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* Sir John Macpherson, who will, I trust, collect the various MS. remarks on this subject, at present in his possession. This idea is also encouraged by Major Rennell in his geography of Herodotus, (p. 292. note).

† Apollonius Rhod. L. i. v. 1129.

‡ Eurip. Herc. Furens. v. 944.

§ L. viii. p. 572.

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III.Obstacles to
Maritime
Enterprise.

brated people, who not only built the cities of *Hermione* and *Argos*, but also enjoyed the fame of sending forth a colony styled *Academians*, who settled in Attica, where they founded the *Academia* and *Ceramicus*. There was however a savage and terrible character, which history seems to have assigned with reason to those Cyclopians who possessed the Sicilian province of *Leontina*, called *Xuthia*, and of whom *Polyphemus* is imagined to have been chief. I was their horrid custom to sacrifice all strangers who were driven on their Coast; and perhaps the * poet is correct, when he makes *Silenus* declare, *that the flesh of the unfortunate sufferers was looked on as a delicious repast.*

Notwithstanding therefore the skill, or enterprise, of the various *Cuthite* colonies we have now considered, the progress of Maritime Discovery, and the improvement of navigation, must have been considerably impeded by those inhuman cruelties, which formed an essential part of the *Amonian*† religion. Nor is it easy to imagine, even if the ingenuity or perseverance of ancient navigators had attained that perfection which many learned writers are inclined, or wish to believe; that the immense continent of Africa could have been circumnavigated, and have afforded a place sufficiently secure for the purposes of sowing and reaping corn, when its coast was occupied at intervals, by the savage descendants of the *Titans*, the † *Amazons*, and the *Hyperboreans*. But notwithstanding this obstacle to Discovery, another, and a very powerful one, existed in that strange union of the character of merchant and pirate, which the early navigators displayed; and even when separate, the profession of the latter was not considered as dishonourable. Accordingly Nestor, after he had given a noble repast to *Telemachus* and *Mentor* at *Pylus*, asks the following question of Strangers whom he meant to treat with respect: *It is now time, said the aged prince, to ask our guests who they are, as they have finished their meal. Pray Sirs whence come you, and what business has brought you over the seas? Are you merchants destined to any port? Or are you mere adventurers and pirates, who roam the seas without any place of destination; and live by rapine and ruin?* § *Thucydides* also informs us, in the beginning of his first book, that Piracy was by no means an employment of reproach, but was rather an instrument of glory. So also in
the

* Euripid. *Cyclops*. v. 426.

† See also preceding page xlix.

‡ See Mr. Bryant's *Dissertations*, (vol. iii. p. 457. and 487.). The fabulous history of the *Amazons* is among the most interesting of those events which this great mythologist has developed.§ *Homæ's Odysseia*. l. v. 69.

the ancient poets, those that sail along the coasts are every where equally accosted with this question, *Whether they are pirates?* as if, neither they to whom the question is put would disown their employment, nor they, who are desirous to be informed, would reproach them with it. And to this very day many people of Greece are supported by the same practices; for instance the Ozolian Locrians, and Etolians, and Acarnanians, and their neighbours on the continent: and the custom of wearing their weapons, introduced by this old life of rapine, is still retained amongst them.

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These Piratical depredations gave rise to innumerable *Sea Monsters*, which disgrace and obscure the history of Greece: they were in reality mariners and pirates, styled † *Cetei*, *Ceteni*, and *Cetones*, from *Cetus* which signified a sea monster or Whale, and also a large ship; but they were more generally mentioned under the term of *Ceteans* or *Cetonians*.

In the † *SIRENS*, when their real history is considered, another and a tremendous obstacle, was opposed to the enterprise of ancient mariners. Like the cruel *Lamii*, these *Sirens* were Cuthite, or Canaanitish priests and priestesses, who lived chiefly in their temples on the coast of Campania, and particularly near three small Islands, that were called after them. The fame of these temples was considerable, on account of the women who officiated; their cruelty and profligacy was beyond description. The shores on which they resided, are described by § *Virgil* as being covered with the bones of mariners, seduced thither by the plaintive harmony of the Canaanites, which was exquisitely expressed in the artful warblings of these *Sirens*. Their sacred hymns, accompanied by this ancient music, were too often fatal to the passing crew: *Circe* therefore advised *Ulysses* to avoid their places of resort.

“ Next

• *Smith's Translation*, (vol. i. p. 6.)

† *ANALYSIS*, vol. iii. p. 550. The learned writer also observes in a note, that the Greek term *κατος* was by the *Dorians* expressed *catus*. Among us, there a relarge unwieldy vessels called *Cats*, particularly in the north. *Cat-water*, near Plymouth, signifies a place for vessels to anchor; a harbour for *katois*, or ships.

‡ *ANALYSIS*, vol. ii. p. 17—25. Mr. Bryant is inclined to think, that among the many symbols of *The Ark*, that of *Seira* or the *Hive* prevailed; (vol. ii. p. 377.) As the *Melitta* and *Melissa* were priestesses of *Melitta*, and the *Cupselides* of the *Cupselis*; so the *Seirenes* were priestesses of the *Seira* or *Siren*: all which terms related to the *ARK*.

§ *Aeneid*. L. 5. v. 873.

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" Next where the Sirens dwell, you plough the seas;
Their Song is death, and makes destruction please.
Unblest the man, whom music makes to stray
Near the curst Coast, and listen to their lay,---
Fly, fly the dangerous * Coast!"

Pope.

Similar rites prevailed at *Cyprus*, and as it was customary in the perilous voyages of the ancients, for mariners to hasten to the altar of the chief deity of the country, on which their ship had been wrecked; they who experienced this calamity on the western coast of *Cyprus*, were only saved from a watery grave, to endure a more dreadful death. The natives of *Curium* esteemed it a religious rite, to seize on such defenceless strangers, as had thus fled to their altar of *Apollo*; and without compunction assembled to see them hurled from the precipice, on which his temple was placed. This reign of satanic cruelty is noticed by † *Herodotus*, as prevailing in the *Tauric Chersonesus*: *The people of this place worship the virgin goddess ARTEMIS: at whose Shrine they sacrifice all persons who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast; and all the Grecians that they can lay hold of, when they are at any time thither driven. All these they without any ceremony brain with a club; though others say, that they shove them off headlong from a high precipice; for their temple is founded upon a cliff.* The *Lycaonian* priests of fire, in their maritime towers, dedicated to *Jupiter Lycaeus*, or *Apollo*, first introduced human sacrifices, and gave a preference to those of infants. Into such enormities was the reason of man led by natural religion, and from such miseries was it at length delivered by Christianity.

Acquire-
ments in
nautical
science.

A consideration of the hydrographical knowledge which the Greeks possessed, and their method of accounting for those various phenomena of the ocean that have since occupied the attention of scientific men, will in some degree ascertain how little can be expected from their history, towards elucidating the progress of ancient maritime discoveries. The writings of *Herodotus* †, as Major *Rennell* observes, contain the earliest known System of geography; and from his history "it may be inferred, that the *Greeks* knew but little concerning the Western parts of *Europe*, besides the mere sea coast; and although *Herodotus* seems to entertain no doubt of the existence of a *North-ern Ocean*, he confesses his ignorance, whether, or not, *Europe* was bounded on

* *Odyss.* L. M. v. 39.† *Melpomene*, c. 103.‡ *Geography of Herodotus, Preliminary Observations.*

on the north and east by the Ocean. . . The *British Islands* he knew in part, as being the place from whence the *Phenicians*, and from them the Greeks, had their tin. . . As a man of science he ranks very low indeed, as is too conspicuous in several parts of his work. Such is his ignorance of the existence of Snow in elevated situations in warm climates; (*Euterpe*, 22.) his belief that the Sun was vertical in *India* before mid-day; (*Thalia*, 104.) and his very unphilosophical way of accounting for the swelling of the Nile; in which he talks of the sun's being driven out of his course; (*Euterpe*, 24.) It appears also, that he did not believe that the Earth was of a globular form; (*Melpomene*, 36.) *I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the Circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the Ocean encompasses the Earth; that the Earth is round, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe.*

His great error consisted in not perceiving how inseparably *hydrography* and *astronomy* are united; and that the former can only be established on sound principles from observations made by those, who have attained a skill in the latter. It was this that rendered the *Voyages* of the *Phenicians* of so little service. *HIPPARCHUS*, the great astronomer of the school of *Alexandria*, who lived near four hundred years before *Ptolemy*, is * generally esteemed the first by whom astronomy was reduced to a system, and he applied it to correct his geographical researches; his own words may be cited from *Strabo*: *For we should not know, whether Alexandria in Egypt, lay north or south of Babylon, nor how far they were asunder, was it not for our knowledge of climates. Nor would any one know, with certainty, whether places lie east or west of each other, unless by comparing together eclipses of the sun and moon.* But as *Dr. Robertson* † observes, this method of fixing the position of places, invented by *Hipparchus*, though known to the geographers between his time and that of *Ptolemy*, and mentioned both by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, was not employed by them. The prejudices of *Strabo* and his countrymen, are thus recorded by himself. *A geographer is to pay no attention to what is out of the earth; nor will men engaged in conducting the affairs of that part of the earth* which

* The merit and labours of *Hipparchus* are considered by *M. Gosselin*, (*Recherches sur la Geo. des Anciens*, vol. i. p. 1. and *Geo. de Grecs*, p. 51.) *Hipparchus* was born at *Nice* in *Bithynia*. He discovered the precision of the equinoxes; and invented instruments by which the respective magnitudes, and places of the stars could be ascertained: his first observations were made in the *Isle of Rhodes*. This philosopher composed many works, but the only one extant is his Commentary upon *Aratus's Phenomena*.

† Ancient India, (p. 180.)

S E C T. III. which is inhabited, does the distinction and divisions of Hipparchus worthy of notice.

The MEDITERRANEAN was the first and principal division of the ocean that occupied the attention or exercised the skill of the Greeks; but like the inhabitants of other nations by whom it was also frequented, the former were unable to ascertain its extent. *M. Gosselin* † is of opinion, that the particular distances given by *Eratosthenes*, can only be considered as the result of the errors of its different navigators. Great as were the acquirements of *Hipparchus*, who came after *Eratosthenes*, his ideas respecting the other divisions of the Ocean were extremely vague and confused: he imagined that it was separated by extensive isthmus's, which formed, as ‡ *M. Gosselin* expresses it, *de grands bassins isolés les uns des autres*; and this idea prevailed in the school of *Alexandria*, even to the time of *Ptolemy*.—It is probable the Greeks derived from Asia an opinion, supported in the time of *Strabo*, that the sea skirted the earth in parts adjacent to the equator, and that under it no land existed. *Eratosthenes* therefore called the eastern, or south-eastern ocean, the *Atlantic*; since he imagined it was a part of that sea which thus formed a boundary at the equator, and flowed without interruption into the ocean to the west of *Iberia*. The same philosopher, and many of his successors, believed the *Caspian* to be a gulf in the Scythic or northern ocean; an idea which it is § imagined was first introduced by the Greeks, who accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition. The ignorance of that nation respecting the polar seas, is evident from a remark made by *Larcher* in his translation of *Herodotus*. This historian had || declared that the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and adjacent sea, were frozen over during eight months of the year; but his countrymen would not believe it, and were confident that the salt water of the ocean was never congealed: they accordingly rejected this observation of their countryman as fabulous.

The celebrated Cape St. Vincent, near which the maritime school of *Sagres* was afterwards established by the illustrious Duke of Viseo, was early distinguished as the *promontarium sacrum* of the ancients, at the south corner of their *Sinus Gaditanus*. Parallels of latitude were first drawn by *Eratosthenes*, who lived 223 years before the Christian æra; the meridians of longitude

* Lib. ii. 194. C: (cited by *Dr. Robertson*.)

† *Geo. des Grecs*, p. 45. *M. Chabert* was employed by the French Ministry to take an actual Survey of the Coasts of the Mediterranean; and some account of his labours appeared in the 45 tom. of the *Histoire de l'Académie de Sciences* for 1767.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 52. 131.

§ *Ibid.* p. 31.

|| *Melpomene*, c. 28.

gitude were a subsequent invention, that soon succeeded the former : and it is a singular fact, which M. Gosselin has recorded, that at the promontory of Cape St. Vincent, *Eratoſthenes*, *Hipparchus*, *Poſſidonius*, and *Strabo*, began to reckon their longitude.

The origin of *Maps* or *Charts* has been already mentioned ; ſome of the earlieſt are noticed by * *Herodotus*, and other Greek writers ; but none prior to thoſe formed to illuſtrate the geography of *Ptolemy*, have ſurvived. *Anaximander*, a diſciple of *Thales*, who lived 550 years before the Chriſtian æra, is highly commended by *Diogenes Laërtius* for having firſt diſcovered the perimeter or circuit of the terraqueous globe ; and to him the invention of geographical tables or maps is aſcribed. Thoſe published by *Ptolemy*, about the middle of the ſecond century, contained meridians and parallels by which the ſituation of places might be aſcertained with greater accuracy ; but this geographer owns that his maps were copied, with ſome improvements of his own, from thoſe made by *Marinus of Tyre*. *Ptolemy*, however, as *Varenius* obſerves in his excellent and comprehensive † *Work*, propoſed in the laſt chapter of his firſt book of geography, a new method of conſtructing maps ; according to which, *the equator and circles of latitude, are alſo arches of circles ; and the meridians, arches of an ellipſis. The eye is ſuppoſed to be above the meridian, which is in the middle of the earth inhabited, and in the middle between the greateſt and leaſt latitude known. Ptolemy, and the Arabian geographers who ſucceeded him, diſtinguiſhed the latitudes of places by the ‡ climate they were in ; by which term they meant, according to Dr.*

Hutton's

* *Terpſichore*, 49. " During the reign of *Cleomenes*, *Ariſtagoras* prince of *Miletus*, arrived at *Sparta*, with a *Tablet* of braſs, upon which was inſcribed every known part of the habitable world, the *Sea*, and *Rivers*."

† Entitled, a *Complete Syſtem of General Geography*, originally written in Latin by *BERNARD VARENIUS*, M. D. a Dutch phyſician, and printed at *Amſterdam* in 1650. It was re-published at *Cambridge* in 1672, with great improvements by *Sir Iſaac Newton* ; and afterwards in 1712 by *Dr. Jurin*, at the requeſt of *Dr. Bentley*, to whom this edition was dedicated. It was then tranſlated into Engliſh by *Mr. Dugdale*, reviſed and corrected by *D. Shaw* ; and a ſecond edition appeared in 1734. *M. de Puſſieux* tranſlated it into French, and printed his edition at *Paris* 1755, in four vols. 12mo. *Varenius* alſo published a curious Latin deſcription of *Japan*, and the kingdom of *Siam* ; printed at *Cambridge*, 8vo. 1763. This writer died in 1660.

‡ The editor of *Harris's* Collection of *Voyages* has paid conſiderable attention to this ancient mode of repreſenting countries. (*Introduction*, p. 4.) " The Ancients finding that this diviſion of the ſurface of the *Globe* into five *Zones*, was too general ; and, as they ſuppoſed ſeveral of theſe to be uninhabitable, that it was ſubject to many inconveniencies, they

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Hutton's definition, "a part of the surface of the earth, bounded by two lesser Circles parallel to the Equator; and of such a breadth, as that the longest day

they had recourse to another invention, the most useful indeed of any they introduced into this Science; and this was their distinguishing the world into CLIMATES. The old Geographers reckoned but seven Climates, from the mistake they made in imagining only a small part of the earth to be inhabited; but the Moderns have corrected this error, and carried the distance of Climates to its utmost perfection. They reckon 24 between the equator and the arctic polar circle; from hence to the Pole they reckon but six, each of which differs in the length of its longest days a month. By this distinction into *Climates*, we have an opportunity of looking round, and comparing the several Countries of a like temperature at once: by it we are enabled to judge what commodities may be expected in a new-discovered land.

Twenty-four Climates from the Equator to the Polar Circle.

1. This commences at the Equator, and ends in the latitude $8^{\circ} 34'$: *At its extremity the day is twelve hours and an half.* Within this climate lie the *Moluccas*, the *Maldives*, *Molacca*, *Sumatra*, and other smaller islands in the *East Indies*.

2. Extends from $8^{\circ} 41'$ to $16^{\circ} 43'$: *The longest day in this Climate consists of thirteen hours.*

3. Reaches $16^{\circ} 43'$ to $24^{\circ} 11'$: *The longest day here is thirteen hours and an half.*

4. Takes in from $24^{\circ} 11'$ to $30^{\circ} 47'$: *The longest day in this Climate is fourteen hours.* In it lies the famous Island of *Ormuz* in the *Persian Gulf*, *Agra* the capital, and a great part of the dominions of the Great Mogul, *Peking* in *China*, *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the *Canary Islands*.

5. Extends from $30^{\circ} 47'$ to $36^{\circ} 30'$: *The longest day is fourteen hours and an half.*

6. Commences in $36^{\circ} 30'$, and reaches to $41^{\circ} 22'$: *The longest day here is fifteen hours.*

7. Reaches from $41^{\circ} 22'$ to $45^{\circ} 29'$: *The longest day is fifteen hours and an half.*

8. Extends from $45^{\circ} 29'$ to $49^{\circ} 1'$: *The longest day is sixteen hours.*

9. Commences at $49^{\circ} 1'$, and ends at $51^{\circ} 58'$: *The longest day sixteen hours and an half.* In this Climate lie *London*, *Reum*, *Amiens*, *Prague*, *Frankford*, *Cracow*, the southern Provinces of *Muscovy*, and both *Tartaries*. In North America, part of *Canada*, the *Streights of Bell-Isle*, and some of *Newfoundland*.

10. Beginning at $51^{\circ} 58'$, and reaching to $54^{\circ} 29'$: *The longest day seventeen hours.*

11. Extends from $54^{\circ} 29'$ to $56^{\circ} 37'$: *The longest day seventeen hours and an half.*

12. Begins from $56^{\circ} 37'$, and reaches to $58^{\circ} 26'$: *The longest day here is eighteen hours.*

13. Begins at $58^{\circ} 26'$, and extends to $59^{\circ} 59'$: *The longest day in it being eighteen hours and an half.*

14. Commences at $59^{\circ} 59'$, and ends at $61^{\circ} 18'$: *The longest day under this Climate is nineteen hours.*

15. Comprehends from $61^{\circ} 18'$ to $62^{\circ} 25'$: *The longest day being nineteen hours and an half.*

16. Begins at $62^{\circ} 25'$, and ends at $63^{\circ} 23'$: *The longest day is twenty hours.*

17. Commences at $63^{\circ} 23'$, and ends at $64^{\circ} 16'$: *The longest day is twenty hours and an half.*

18. Extends from $64^{\circ} 16'$ to $64^{\circ} 55'$: *The longest day is twenty-one hours.*

19. Com-

day in the parallel nearer the Pole, exceeds the longest day in that next the equator, by some certain space, as half an hour, or an hour, or a month." S E C T. III.
It is hardly possible to determine by whom the first *globe was made; Strabo Introduction. Greek Period.
mentions one constructed by a philosopher named Crates.

The

19. Comprehends all between $64^{\circ} 55'$, and $65^{\circ} 25'$: *The longest day being twenty-one hours and an half.*

20. Begins at $65^{\circ} 25'$, and extends to $65^{\circ} 47'$: *The longest day is twenty-two hours.*

21. Extends from $65^{\circ} 47'$ to $66^{\circ} 6'$: *The longest day is twenty-two hours and an half.* In this climate lies the Port of Torna in Boibnia, so often mentioned by M. Maupertius, in his account of the expedition of the French academicians for determining the length of a degree under the arctic Circle.

22. Reaches from $66^{\circ} 6'$ to $66^{\circ} 20'$: *The longest day is twenty-three hours.*

23. Commences at $66^{\circ} 20'$, and extends to $66^{\circ} 28'$: *The longest day being twenty-three hours and an half.*

24. Comprehends from $66^{\circ} 28'$ to $66^{\circ} 31'$: *The longest day is twenty-four hours.*

Six Northern Climates.

1. Commences at $66^{\circ} 31'$, and ends at $69^{\circ} 48'$: *The longest day consists of a complete month.* In it lies Muscovite Lapland.

2. Reaches from $69^{\circ} 48'$ to $73^{\circ} 37'$: *The longest day is of two months, or sixty-two days continuous.* In this Climate lies Groenland.

3. Begins at $73^{\circ} 37'$, and extends to $78^{\circ} 30'$: *The day is three months complete.*

4. Comprehends from $78^{\circ} 30'$ to $84^{\circ} 5'$: *The longest day in this Climate takes in four months.*

5. Extends from $84^{\circ} 5'$ to the very Pole; *The longest day here consists of five months, or one hundred fifty-five days complete.*

6. Immediately under the NORTH POLE, where there is six months day, and six months night.

See also the Tables of Climates in Varenius's Geography, (vol. ii. c. 25. prop. 13.).

* The different, and incorrect ideas which the ancients possessed of the figure of the earth are thus detailed by the learned editor of Harris's Voyages; (vol. i. sect. i.) "THALES the father of the Greek philosophy believed, that it floated upon the water like a Bowl; and Anaximander would have it, that it resembled a Column or Stone Pillar; Democritus, otherwise a very great man, thought it hollow like a Dish; and Anaximenes taught, that it was flat, like a Table, and sustained by the inferior air. Leucippus described it as approaching nearest the figure of a Drum. In succeeding times Lactantius and Augustine, thought the earth infinitely extended downwards, grounding this notion upon the Scriptures, or rather seeking assistance from them, in support of their opinion. It is most evident from this diversity of sentiments, that they could draw no just conclusion, either as to the parts of it that were then undiscovered, or of the means of discovering them."

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non of Tides.

The knowledge which the Greeks acquired of TIDES, is examined by Mr. * *Cybard*. The first mention of them is assigned by Strabo to Homer, when describing *Charybdis* in the † *Odyssey*;

" For thrice each day it rises, thrice retires."

Herodotus was the next Grecian, by whom the tide was noticed; who, in speaking of the Red Sea, says, *there is a flux and reflux of water in it every ‡ day*. *Diodorus Siculus* § describes it to be a great and rapid tide. In the *Euripus*, the Streight between Euboea and Boeotia, the sea was observed by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times in the day, and as often in the night, and this with such violence, as would, according to *Strabo* and *Mela*, arrest a vessel in full sail: it is believed that *Aristotle* destroyed himself, because he could not explain the cause.

The first person among the Greeks who knew more than the mere phenomenon of tides, was *Pytheas* of Marseilles. This philosopher lived about the time of Alexander the Great, and had some idea of the influence of the moon in this respect. But his observations in general were strangely erroneous, particularly when he ¶ declared, that after having passed the Streight of Gades, and being arrived off the *sacred Cape*, (St. Vincent) the flux and reflux of the sea could not be perceived. M. ¶ Gosselin is therefore inclined to think that *Pytheas* had discovered some ancient documents, which he mutilated in order to conceal their author; and that these *desiderata* could only be the counterpart of others which *Eratoſthenes* confused and altered.

Maritime
States.

The principal Maritime States of ancient Greece, were CORINTH, ATHENS, and RHODES. The advantageous situation of the first, near the south-west point of the *Isthmus*, made it an intermediate Mart between the north and south of Greece; whilst its two ports, the one on the *Saronic*, and the other on the *Corinthian Gulf*, attracted all the Commerce both of the east and west. *Syracuse* and *Corcyra* were only Corinthian colonies, which for a long time increased the riches; and power of the parent state. The pre-eminence of the mother country was celebrated by *Pindar*:

" Let

* History of Astronomy, p. 236. † Lib. xii. ver. 105.

‡ Page 92. edit. Gronov. § P. 172. ¶ Strab. lib. iii. p. 149.

¶ Geo. de Grecs. p. 50.

" Let my lays
The fame of happy CORINTH bear afar ;
Which as a gate to Neptune's Isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth, and manly bands."

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Pye's QLYM. xlii.

Though Eusebius, and Africanus, present a catalogue of seventeen nations among the ancients who held the dominion of the sea, it may afford a less confused idea of the subject, to follow this authority of *Pindar*, which is supported by *Thucydides* * : " The CORINTHIANS are said to have been the first, who, by varying the make of their Ships, brought them to that model which, adds the historian, is now in use ; and *Corinth* to be the first place of Greece where *triremes* were built. It is a known fact, that *Aminocles*, a ship-carpenter from Corinth, built four ships for the *Samians* : Now, from the arrival of *Aminocles* at Samos to the conclusion of the war which is now my subject, there passed at most but 300 years. The oldest sea-fight we know any thing of, was that of the CORINTHIANS against the CORCYREANS : but the distance between *that* and the same period is not more than 260. For the city of the Corinthians, being seated on the isthmus, hath ever been a place of trade, as formerly the *Grecians* both within and without *Peloponnesus*, more accustomed to land than sea, could have no traffic with one another without passing through their territory. They were also remarkable for wealth, as clearly appeareth from the ancient poets, who have given that city the epithet of *rich* : and, when once NAVIGATION was practised in Greece, they lost no time in their own equipments ; they cleared the sea of pirates ; and, opening their town as a Public Mart both by land and sea, made Corinth powerful by the increase of its revenue. The IONIANS had no Naval force till a long time after this, in the reign of *Cyrus* first king of the Persians and his son *Cambyfes* : and waging war with *Cyrus*, they were for a time masters of the sea which lieth upon their own Coasts. *Polycrates* also, who was tyrant of Samos in the reign of *Cambyfes*, having a powerful Navy subdued many of the Islands, and among the rest *Rhenea*, which as soon as conquered he consecrated to Delian Apollo. The PHOCEANS also, when planting their colony at *Marseilles*, had a successful engagement at sea against the *Carthaginians*.

" These

* Smith's Translation, (book i. p. 13.)

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" These were the most remarkable equipments of a Naval force; and these, though beyond contest many generations later than the war of Troy, had a very small number of *triremes*, but consisted chiefly of vessels of fifty oars and *Barges* of the more ancient model. And it was but a little while before the *Median war* and the death of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyfes* in the kingdom of Persia, that the tyrants of Sicily and the *Cercyreans* became masters of any considerable number of *triremes*: for these last were the only instances of a Naval strength in Greece, before the invasion of it by *Xerxes*, that deserve particular attention."

Athens.

CECROPIA, the ancient capital of *Attica*, was built on a rock about three miles from the sea-shore; and as it gradually reached the zenith of maritime power, under the more celebrated name of *Athens*, its three harbours, * *Piræus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerum*, displayed the commerce and enterprise of a volatile nation, which at length became a prey to its own intolerable levity and caprice.

Mr. Maurice is of † opinion that the ruin of the elder Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar first called forth the maritime ambition of this republic, whilst the final destruction of *Tyre*, and *Carthage*, threw the whole commerce of the Mediterranean into the hands of the Athenians. " Their progress, however, in Navigation was necessarily slow, from the infant state of astronomical science among them: they only steered the Course of their Vessels by the Stars in *Ursa Major*, a most uncertain guide in remote and hazardous Voyages; since that constellation very imperfectly points out the Pole; and the Stars in its extremities are at the distance of above forty degrees from it. It was not till *Thales*, the inventor, according to the Greeks, of the asterism of the *Lesser Bear*, whose prior name was ‡ *Phanice*, had returned from *Egypt*, that they became acquainted with, and were able to sail by, the unerring light of the Pole Star. . . . The Athenians were not without rivals in the contest

* The best account of the antiquities of this Harbour is given in a Tract by *Mewfius*, called *Piræus*. Lord Sandwich, in his Voyage round the Mediterranean, describes its modern state. It is now called *Porto Leone*. Mr. *Gibbon* observes, in a note, (vol. ii. ed. 8vo. p. 257.) " the arsenal in the port of *Piræus* cost the Republic two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds; and whilst the *Athenians* maintained the Empire of the Sea, their fleet consisted of three, and afterwards of four hundred Gallies of three ranks of Oars, all completely equipped and ready for immediate Service."

† Dissertation on the Ancient Commerce with the *British Islands*. (*Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi. p. 398.)

‡ Ibid. p. 256.

contest for Maritime dominion; the indefatigable race of *Ægina*, and the voluptuous, yet mercantile sons of *Corinth*, long combated their claim to that enviable distinction; till, at length, the former being subdued by the *Athenian* arms directed against them by the immortal *Pericles*, and the latter having called in the same power to aid them against the *Spartan* army, which, under the command of *Agefilau*, had laid siege to their sumptuous metropolis, the *ATHENIANS* became triumphant on the Ocean; and, closely pursuing the tract of the *Phœnician* Vessels, displayed the banners of Greece on the shores of the *Cassiterides*, and in the gulph of *Cambay*. . . Insurance as well as * Speculation, frequently ran as high on the Exchange at *Athens*, as ever they have been known on that of *London*.—Whatever might be their ambition to rival the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, they were compelled in general both to employ vessels of less magnitude, and load them with cargoes less valuable than those nations; though in their more distant voyages to *India* and *Britain*, they must of necessity have made use of larger vessels. An account which we have in *Xenophon*, in his *Oeconomica*, of a *Phœnician* merchant-Vessel, then in the Port of *Piræus*, in which the dimensions of that Vessel are compared with those of *Greece*, is an unanswerable confirmation of this statement.---Their EXPORTS consisted of a great variety of rich wines; of the purest Oil; the valued Honey and Wax of Mount *Hymettus*; the inimitable productions in statuary, painting, metallurgy, and every branch of Mechanic Science: and, finally, the rich silver mines with which *Attica* was stored, afforded her the abundant means of carrying on an extensive traffic in that precious metal with *India*.---From *India*, their vessels, in return for the Silver of *Sunium*, and the Copper of *Colonos*, of which their admirable works in bronze were fabricated, brought the precious Gems and Spices native to the Peninsula; the fine and delicate Muslins which the ancients called *Sindones*; and the Sugar, Indigo and dyed Cottons brought down the *Indus* to *Pattala*. From *Persia* and *Arabia* they imported Brocades, Carpets, and various rich Drugs, Perfumes, and Cosmetics. . . The Nautical Genius of the *Athenians* arrived to an astonishing height of splendour, which they enjoyed for nearly 300 years."

Among the important commercial events in ancient history, which have been too much neglected for the more dazzling exploits of the military character,

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* Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 430.

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the important Trade which ATHENS established on the * *Euxine*, particularly merits our attention.—It was this extensive Commerce that furnished seamen for the republic, and gave a new impulse to the invention and ingenuity of their artists. In tracing the *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English † Coins*, my grandfather has introduced some interesting observations on this commerce. The *Milefians* ‡, a colony of the *Athenians*, were the first to open so lucrative a branch of trade; but their example was soon followed by the mother country and the other states of Greece; and from the variety of Grecian colonies, that in consequence settled on the coast, it received, according to *Strabo*, its name of the *EUXINE* or *hospitable sea*.

The influence which ATHENS enjoyed as the principal maritime power of Greece, arose from her taking a lead in this Commerce. Its Exports consisted of all sorts of furniture, both for use, elegance, or improvement. The iron works of *Attica* furnished arms to the savage warriors of the north, and prepared the scourge hereafter destined to chastise the arrogance of Imperial Rome. A taste for literature was also introduced through the medium of

* The *Periplus of the Euxine*, by *Arrian*, would form a new field of geographical research to Dr. Vincent, who has already paid such attention to this writer, in the Voyage of *Nearchus*. The commerce of the *Pontus Euxinus* is considered in a cursory manner by *Huet*, (p. 142.) who also mentions the fishery on the Euxine, for sturgeons, and the tunny-fish.

† Forming a *Classical history of ancient and modern Money*. To represent my own opinion of its distinguished author, and to justify my insertion of the above remarks on the *Euxine*, I shall content myself with giving the following crisis of our literary censors on this commercial publication. "We have lately had occasion, on account of Mr. *Bryan*'s Dissertations, to assert the honour of the present age, and of our own Country in particular, with regard to the existence among us of the profoundest Literature. A fresh reason for maintaining the same claim is furnished by the work now before us, which is as eminent as Mr. *Bryan*'s for its great learning, though exerted and displayed in a different way. The subject which Mr. *Clarke* has chosen promises, upon the very face of it, much curious and difficult inquiry; but he has extended his views still farther than could at first be expected. Some of his Disquisitions might, indeed, on a hasty judgment, be thought to fly too far from his main point; but, when we take in the whole object he has in view, we shall find that they rise out of it, and are connected with it in a peculiar manner." (*Monthly Review* vol. xxxviii. p. 55.)

‡ Connexion of coins, p. 54. "The ancients were much indebted to the industry and genius of the *Milefians* for some of the first improvements in Trade and Navigation. The first map was made by *Anaximander*, and the first treatise of geography written by *Hecataeus*, both of them *Milefians*."

of the *Euxine* merchants into distant regions; and the classical productions of Athens, conveyed in the same vessel with implements of war, might sometimes soothe, or enlarge the mind, of the ambitious chieftains of *Thrace*. The Imports from the *Euxine* consisted of corn, skins, leather, honey, wax, salt-fish, cavear, anchovies, slaves, and, above all, timber and naval stores.

The Naval temple of *Jupiter Urius*, if it did not owe its existence to the *Euxine* trade, was indebted to it for many splendid ornaments, and for the veneration in which it was held by mariners. The *Euxine*, owing to the adjacent mountains, was always exposed to dangerous squalls of wind; it was therefore at this temple (built near the most dangerous pass) that votive offerings were made, and probably some instructions given relative to the nature of the coast.—The * Turks, who lose yearly one Ship out of fifteen, in consequence of these squalls, have called the *Euxine*, the *Black* or stormy sea. From the *Greeks* it received the title of *Pontus* by way of eminence; which seems to prove that they were acquainted with the *Euxine*, before they had explored the extent of the *Mediterranean*. The *Asbenians* were so jealous of this Trade, that Centinels were constantly stationed on a tower at *Sestus*,

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* *M. Olivier's Travels in the Ottoman empire, Egypt and Persia*, (1801,) give the most recent account of the *Euxine*, with a Chart of the *Bosphorus* constructed from plans drawn by order of *M. de Choiseul*: a part of it was also rectified from the observations of Citizen *Monnier*, engineer. "The Current is so strong, that the Channel in some places, rather resembles a river than an arm of the sea: it is seen to oppose the progress of a Ship when the south wind blows but faintly. The direction of the coasts compels the waters to set more towards those of *Asia*, and to form on that side a more rapid Current; however, at the point of *Arnaoud-keui*, one is obliged to ascend by tracking, by means of a rope which is thrown to some sailors who remain continually on the shore (p. 72.). The Turks having always opposed a barrier to the navigation of the European powers on the *BLACK SEA*; it follows that the Charts published to this day are very defective. Citizen *Beauchamp*, having been requested by the National Institute to determine, in a precise manner, the true position of the Capes and principal Towns situated on that Sea, could only procure from the CAPTAIN-PACHA;—*We have navigated on this Sea for a long time past; we do not want to be better acquainted with it, and all your observations would tend only to give a more exact knowledge of it to our enemies.* However, by dint of solicitations, Citizen *Beauchamp* obtained permission to travel as a Naturalist; and it was under this title that he surveyed the Coast as far as *Trebisond*. It results from his *Observations*, that the South Coast advances in some places about a degree more towards the North; that Capes *Kerempé* and *Indjé* are nearly in the 42°, that the *Gulf of Samson* is much deeper, and that *Trebisond* is five or six leagues more to the westward than it is laid down on the Charts." (p. 80.)

SECT. III. *Seftus*, commanding a prospect of the Hellespont, in order to observe the number and force of the Ships that passed. The *Euxine Commerce* at length passed with the liberties of Greece into the hands of the Romans; when a considerable portion found a new Channel in the mart of *Alexandria*.

The attention paid by the *Athenians* to *Delus* affords a memorable instance of their mercantile genius, which even induced them to render the appearances of religion subservient to an improvement of trade. *Delus* had long been considered as sacred and inviolable, when the *Athenians* availed themselves of this superstition, to establish there an Exchange for the whole world; and though a Board of Trade was held at *Athens*, they had also a Judge or superintendant at *Delus*, to hear and determine all maritime Causes.

Greek Colony of Mar-
seilles.

Of the different maritime colonies which the Greeks formed, the celebrated one of MARSEILLES reminds us of the navigators *Euthymenes* and *Pytheus*, who were both natives of that place. It was founded by a colony of *Phocæans*, and according to *Solinus* 600 years before the Christian æra. They afterwards made other settlements on the coasts of *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, and were among the earliest of the navigators that ventured into the north Atlantic. Mr. Maurice conducts the Grecian vessels to the *Scilly Islands* for tin, from the harbour of Marseilles, about the period of Alexander the Great; and it was in consequence of this traffic, that the Phenician term of *Baratanac* for *Britain*, was changed into the Grecian *Cassiterides*. To *Pytheus* our country was known by the appellation of the *Hyperborean Isles* *.

Rhodes.

The island of † RHODES sustained for a short period the title of *Sovereign Lady of the Sea*, which Strabo assigns it; but the Rhodians long merited their ‡ historian *Simias*'s appellation of *Sons of the Ocean*. Their shipwrights acquired an early superiority in their construction of vessels; and if the dock yards at *Rhodes* had been opened to foreigners, with the same liberality those of our own country have been to Russia, from the reign of the CZAR to the present hour, the improvement of naval architecture would

* Maurice's Dissertation on Ancient Commerce, p. 435.

† An excellent account of the islands of *Crete*, *Cyprus*, and *Rhodes*, and their antiquities, was published in a quarto volume by the learned Professor *J. Meursius*, at Amsterdam in 1672.

‡ Beloe's Herodotus, vol. iii. p. 260, n. 118.

would not have been cramped by maxims, which distinguish and disgrace the annals of ancient history.—The *Marine Laws* of Rhodes were the product of a sounder policy, and form the basis on which those of *Oleron* were composed: the remains of the former are preserved in two fragments by *Peckius* in his *Commentaries de Re * Nautica*. The learned *Selden* in his *Mare Clausum*, or *Treatise on the Dominion of the Sea*, pays a just tribute to the wisdom contained in the above fragments: “Of all the antient Lords of the Sea the *Rhodians* are most renowned; chiefly in this respect, because the Sea-Laws which were used and in full force and virtue in both the empires, were borrowed from them, and put into the Digests by *Justinian*. ‘Saith the emperor *Antoninus* to *Eudæmon* of *Nicomedia*, let *Suits about Navigation* be decided according to the law of the *Rhodians*.’ And by the Testimonie of *Constantinus Harmenopolus*, a judge of *Theſſalonica*, they are the most antient of all Sea-Laws, that have not been lost. They were taken into use among the Romanes from the time of *Tiberius*. Their beginnings are placed about the reign of *Jehosaphat*: But the RHODIANS are wholly omitted both by *Marianus* and † *Florentius*.”

The principal antiquarians who have exerted their talents in an elucidation of ancient nautical terms, and the manner in which they formerly constructed, rigged, and ornamented ships, are first, *Vegetius de re militari*, who lived 386 years before the Christian æra, with the dictionaries or lexicons of *Hesychius* and *Suidas*; to these succeeded *Scheffer*, who in 1659 published a quarto treatise at Upsal, *de militia navali veterum*; to whom may be added the monuments published by † *Bayſius*, and the splendid volumes of *Montfaucon*. Our learned antiquarian, *Evelyn*, in 1674 printed some remarks on the ships of the ancients in a small treatise, entitled, *Navigation and Commerce, their original and progress*; but the subject is discussed at greater length by *ARBUTHNOT* in his tables of *ancient coins*. General *Melville* an ingenious foreigner resident in this country, has perhaps formed if not the best, at least

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* Should the reader wish to enter on a further consideration of this subject, he is referred, among other books, to the second section of a valuable work on the laws, ordinances, and institutions of the Admiralty of Great Britain, published in two octavo volumes, by *Miller*, 1746, and dedicated to the Duke of Bedford, then first Lord of the Board: wherein a dissertation is introduced on the *Naval Institutions of the Ancients*.

† Page 59. *Nedham*'s translation.

‡ This work, which is scarce, is entitled, *Lazarus Bayſii annotationes in L. II. De Captivis, et postliminio reversis: in quibus tractatur de re navali. Lutetia, ex officina R. Stephani, 1549.*
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least a most curious * model of a *quinquireme*: it is to be hoped so valuable a specimen of his naval talents will be carefully preserved, and represented by an engraving suitable to its merit. The latest modern writer who has given this subject the attention it deserves, is Mr. *Charnock*; when in 1796, he published a prospectus of his very extensive work on marine architecture, which has not yet appeared. In this *prospectus* an abridged account was given of the *Ancient galley*, and the following rational explanation of its different rates, or banks of oars, is cited from *L'Escalier*. "1. The *Uniremes*, we suppose to have been those Gallies or Vessels, which had only one row of oars extending between their masts, or, perhaps, the entire length of the vessel, like the modern *Feluccas* of *Barbary*; and consequently required only one rank of rowers. 2. The *Biremes* had one tier of oars between their masts, and another abaft the main or principal mast. 3. The *Triremes* appear to have been galleys of a still more formidable description than the preceding; having one tier of oars extending between the masts, a second abaft the main-mast, and a third forward, near the prow or stern, before the fore-mast. 4. The *Quadriremes* had their oars ranged like the *Triremes*, with the difference of having two tier of oars, one above the other, abaft the main-mast. 5. The *Quinquiremes* were also of the same description, with the addition of a second tier of oars forward. 6. The *Octoremes* had two tier of oars in the midships, and three at the stem and stern, making in the whole eight. We cannot deny that some vessels had three entire tier of oars."

The † *Grecians* in the construction of their vessels sought only to form a compact row-galley, and the helmet at the mast-head denoted it to be a ship of

* An officer of high rank in the navy favoured me with the following brief description of this singular model, which the general has constructed in his court. "The highest station assigned the rowers does not require an *Oar* much larger than the *launch* of a ship of the line; there is a pullock and an hole for each oar. The projecting sides, where the rowers are placed, are at an angle of 45 degrees from the plane of the deck of the vessel."

† The *Greeks* at present vary but little in their mode of navigating ships, from their ancestors: the curious reader will find many ingenious remarks relative to their *Maritime Character*, in a *Journey through Greece*, by *M. de Guys* of the academy of *Marseilles*. "The *Greeks* are in some measure seamen by nature. The *Turkish* ships are manned with them. They make use of the *Compass*, but have no *Charts* to direct them; and are therefore obliged to trust to their knowledge of the *Coasts* for the safety of their navigation. Of course they never venture far from land. The greatest part of their Ships resemble those of

of war: their merchantmen were called *olkades*, and were usually of a round form. The row boats, or galleys, were at first without decks, with a moveable mast, and a single leathern sail; and as hempen cordage was unknown, thongs of leather were employed for their rigging. The Greeks were long strangers to any use of *anchors*; nor does that opinion seem correct, which supplies the early navigators with some made of stone; their prevailing custom being either to draw each vessel ashore, or to moor them to large stones, placed for that purpose on the beach. It is more probable that the first anchors were constructed of hard wood, to which a considerable quantity of lead was attached; even afterwards when those of iron were introduced, the single fluked anchor continued to be used: experience necessarily suggested its present form, and gave to each vessel, as its safeguard, one of larger dimensions than the rest; which they styled the *Sacred Anchor*, and never used but in times of imminent peril.

In a Grecian fleet, the principal officers varied but little from the modern list; though naval and military duties were too much blended with each other. The *commander of the troops* appears to have preceded the *admiral*; of which rank, the Greeks had usually from one to three officers in a squadron: yet such was the prejudice, or jealousy of the times, that when an admiral had once discharged the important duties of that illustrious station, he was ever afterwards deemed by the *Spartans* incapable of occupying the same rank. His title as Commander of a fleet was *Dux præfectusque Classis*. To the *Admiral* succeeded the *captain* (*Navarchus*), and then followed a post of great honour and

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of the ancients, having but one mast, which is crossed with very long yards. They have also great sails, and a high flat poop; the prow projecting like that of *Theseus'* ship, described in the paintings of the *Herculaneum* (tom. ii. pl. 149.). You will frequently see a Greek seated on the poop of his *volik* (a Greek vessel), sailing on that beautiful canal the *Black Sea*, the coasts resounding with his lyre; while a favourable wind, swelling the sails, wafts him along the water with a pleasing rapidity. No man can view this scene without imagining he exists in the finest age of Greece. . . . Fishery was the prelude, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the apprenticeship of navigation. . . . Some fisherman, accustomed to coast the *Mediterranean*, was probably the first person who pointed out to our ancestors the spot on which they built the famous city of *Marseilles*. M. *Carry* conjectures (*Fondation de Marseilles*, p. 59.) that the *Phocians*, touching on that part of the coast, discovered a fisherman to whom they threw a rope, in order to lash their ship to the shore; and the two Greek words, which signify *to fasten*, and *fisherman*, gave, he thinks, the name of *Majshia* to the future city; (*μαστιν* to fasten, and *αλις*; a fisherman.)"

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 175. 8vo. ed.

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and responsibility, *the pilot (Gubernator)*, to whom the charge of the vessel and the discipline of its crew were assigned. Under the Pilot was appointed a sort of mate called *Proreta*, from his station at the prow; he had the keeping of stores for the ship's rigging, and was allowed to distribute places to the Rowers. Commanders of gallees, in addition to the above title of *Navarchus* or *captain*, were styled *Trierarchs*; and, when two were on board, each commanded for six months. This appellation of *Trierarchs* was also given to those cities, that in time of war were appointed to fit out gallees. The modern *Boatswain* is discovered in those duties which the *Kelustes* of the Greeks performed; he passed the word of command throughout the vessel, and also assisted in distributing the ship's allowance of provisions. The appointments of *Purser* and *Secretary* were always united, as they sometimes are at present; and the sprightly notes of the drum and fife, by which the labour of the capstan-bars is at present so much abated, was a delightful task assigned to the Grecian *Trieraules*, who stood before the mast, and cheered his weary shipmates with the exhilarating music of the Canaanites:

Against the Mast the tuneful Orpheus stands,
Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
The thought of toil away!

STATIUS, Theb. V. v. 343.

Whilst on board, the hardships which the Grecians endured, must have been considerable, from the smallness of their vessel, and the badness of its accommodations. The Rowers had only a wooden bench to repose on, and even the situation of their officers differed but little from the rest of the crew; since it was objected against *Alcibiades*, as a mark of great effeminacy, that he was the first Grecian who had ordered his bed to be slung, in order to break the motion of the vessel. The Crew was divided into *rowers* (*Remiges**), *mariners* (*Nautæ*), and the *soldiers* or *Marines*, who were styled *Classarii*. A ship's complement rarely exceeded 200; the usual pay of their seamen was three *oboli* a day; and if we add the *fourth*, that was given by *Cyrus* at *Lyfander's* request, it would amount on the whole to nearly sixpence-halfpenny. This however was sometimes raised to a *drachma*, or about ninepence,

* These were again subdivided into the lower rank called *Thalamites*, the middle *Zugite*, and the uppermost *Thranis*. Thucydides adds that the latter were paid the best, because they worked an heavier oar.

pence, though some authors make it less; as when the Athenians fitted out a Fleet against Sicily.

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In all ages the grateful piety of a devout mind seems to have exalted and consecrated the Naval Character. Before the Grecians sailed they implored the protection of Heaven by prayer and sacrifice, and in these duties the surrounding spectators fervently joined. A *Dove*, that striking memorial of the Deluge, was then set at liberty; if it returned, the omen was deemed auspicious. Every thing being prepared, the signal was given during day by Trumpets, and at night by Torches. When in Action, a gilded shield or red banner, that was suspended on board the *Admiral*, regulated the duration of an engagement; and by its inclination to the right or left, their plan of attack was changed, or the direction of a retreat made known. The first duty of a Grecian officer on his return, was to offer a portion of honourable spoil to the gods of his country: sometimes entire vessels were thus presented; for the Grecians, after their victory over the Persians, at Salamis, dedicated * three Phenician *triremes* to their gods.

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The professional Character of Grecian seamen was influenced by the manners of the different states to which they belonged; and it therefore fluctuated on an extensive scale, from the cold or forbidding policy of the *Lacedaemonians*, to the capricious yet captivating disposition of the *Athenians*. The first was too haughty and austere to gain the hearts of those who served; the other of too unequal a temper to secure or reward the enterprising spirit of those who commanded.—Even among the *Athenians*, the naval character had not sufficiently emerged from the warehouse of their merchants; and at *Lacedaemon*, where the highest object of ambition was a command in the cavalry, that valuable nursery for seamen which the honourable avocations of commerce furnish, was purposely neglected. The iron coinage of *Sparta* shackled the speculation of its inhabitants; and when *Lycurgus* prohibited Navigation and Commerce throughout an extent of coast that furnished so many excellent harbours, he proved how impossible it was for a rigid moralist to entertain a due conviction of those liberal principles, which are essential to the character of a legislator. He allowed but of little intercourse with foreigners; and never suffered his countrymen to divest themselves of

Naval Character of the
Greeks.

* Herodotus, *Urania*, ch. 121.—In the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, a chart is inserted to illustrate this celebrated Naval action.

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III.Naval Pre-
judices of
Plato.

of national partialities, by associating with those, to whom by the chance of war they were occasionally opposed as enemies. *Lacedæmon* therefore, like *Prussia*, could furnish legions of soldiers, but had not one able mariner to send on board her ships.

The prejudices of *Lycurgus*, strange as it may appear, darkened the comprehensive mind of *Plato*, who, in this respect, displayed a memorable instance of the fallacy of human wisdom. *Plato*, as Dr. * *Robertson* observes, delivered it as his opinion, that in a well-regulated commonwealth the citizens should not engage in Commerce, nor the State aim at obtaining maritime power. Commerce, he contends, would corrupt the purity of their morals, and by entering into the sea-service, they would be accustomed to find pretences for justifying conduct so inconsistent with what was manly and becoming, as would gradually relax the strictness of military discipline. It had been better for the Athenians to have continued to send annually the sons of seven of their principal citizens to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, than to have changed their ancient manners, and to have become a maritime † power.

Pericles on
the Naval
Character.

Whilst opinions so erroneous were encouraged by the sages of philosophy, it is astonishing that the Athenians, otherwise so capricious, should so long have persevered in sustaining a naval power. They were, however, blessed with men of extraordinary genius; and the brilliant talents of such statesmen as *Pericles* would more than counteract the most specious sophisms of closet reasoners. Let us therefore hear the sentiments, which this Athenian delivered, on the necessity of encouraging and sustaining the Naval Character of his countrymen; for as the learned ‡ translator of *Thucydides* remarks, "*PERICLES* is an Englishman both in heart and judgment. *England* hath adhered and will adhere to the lessons which *Athens* neglected and forgot."—*I firmly persevere, Athenians, in the same opinion that I have ever avowed, to make no concessions to the Lacedæmonians; though at the same time sensible, that men never execute a war with that warmth of spirit through which they are at first impelled to undertake it, but sink in their ardor as difficulties increase. . . . The Peloponnesians are a people, who subsist by their bodily labour, without wealth either in the purses of individuals, or in any public fund. Again, in wars of long continuance, or wars by sea, they are quite unpractised; since, the hostilities in which they have been*

embroidered

* *Ancient India*, 8vo. ed. p. 366.† *De Legibus* (Lib. iv.).‡ *Smith's Thucydides*, vol. i. *Introduction*, (p. 44-) and the *History*, book i. (p. 111.).

embroiled with one another have been short and transient, in consequence of their poverty. Such people can neither compleatly man out a Fleet, nor frequently march land armies abroad, abandoning the care of their domestic concerns, even whilst from these they must answer a large expence, and more than this, are excluded the benefit of the Sea. . . . As for any forts they can erect within our territory, or their application to a Navy, it is beneath us to form any apprehensions from thence. . . . For, we are better qualified for Land Service by the experience we have gained in that of the Sea, than they for service at sea, by their experience at Land. To learn the Naval Skill they will find to be by no means an easy task. For even you, who have been in constant exercise ever since the Persian invasion, have not yet attained to a mastery in that science. How then shall men, brought up to tillage and strangers to the sea, whose practice farther will be ever interrupted by us, through the continual annoyance which our larger number of Shipping will give them, effect any point of eclat? Against small squadrons they might indeed be sometimes adventurous, emboldening their want of skill by multiplying their numbers: But, when awed by superior force, they will of necessity desist; and so, by practice interrupted the growth of their skill will be checked, and in consequence of it their fears be increased. The Naval, like other Sciences, is the effect of art. It cannot be learned by accident, nor usefully exercised at starts; or rather, there is nothing which so much requireth an uninterrupted application. . . . We have Commanders Athenian born, and Seamen to man our fleets, in larger numbers and of greater skill than all the rest of Greece together. . . . OF VAST CONSEQUENCE INDEED IS THE DOMINION OF THE SEA. But, consider it with attention. For, were we seated upon an Island, which of us would be subdued with greater difficulty—The greatest dangers are ever the resource of the greatest honours to Communities as well as individuals. It was thus, that our fathers withstood the Medes, and rushing to arms with resources far inferior to ours, nay abandoning all their substance, by resolution more than fortune, by courage more than real strength, beat back the Barbarian, and advanced this State to its present summit of grandeur. From them we ought not to degenerate, but by every effort within our ability avenge it on our foes, and deliver it down to posterity, unblemished and unimpaired. In this manner, adds Thucydides, Pericles spoke; and the Athenians, judging that what he advised was most for their interest, decreed in conformity to his exhortation.

The theoretic visions of Plato, so adverse to the naval character, were however adopted by many philosophers, and among others by his student Aristotle. Yet they could not affect the enterprising mind of his Macedonian pupil;

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knowledge
of India.

and it is singular that a prince educated under the Stagyrite, should have decidedly made it the principal object of a short life, to destroy by real facts, the delusive ideas, which his preceptor encouraged respecting the pernicious consequences of * Commerce. *Alexander*, by the force of his own reason and discerning judgment, acted in opposition to the fatal systems which philosophy would have imposed; and thus laid the foundation of that extensive maritime trade by which so many nations have since been enriched.

The earliest Grecian writers who mention *India*, previous to the *Voyage of Nearchus*, were † *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and *Ctesias*. *HOMER* appears only to have known it under the name of *Ethiopia*, and, as Dr. Vincent observes, 'when he conducts *Neptune* thither, he seems to place him in the centre between two nations both black, but both perfectly distinguished from each other; and he adds, that they lived at the opposite extremities of the world, East and West.' *HERODOTUS* mentions the eastern *Ethiopians* considered as *Indians*, and differing from those of *Africa* in their long hair, as opposed to the woolly head of the *Cafre*. *CTESIAS* the physician of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, at the distance of rather more than 60 years from *Herodotus*, gives an account of *India*, as preserved in the abridgement by *Photius*, which, when divested of fable, contains little more than a description of the cochineal plant. This writer was contemporary with *Xenophon*, and preceded *Alexander* by nearly 70 years. The Greeks, therefore, for a long period had no correct knowledge of *India*; and, according to the curious Asiatic documents which the researches of our countrymen have explored, the *Indians* had long preceded the *Greeks* in their maritime or commercial character. The date which *Sir William Jones* assigned to the *INSTITUTES OF MENU*, places this curious record of the ancient transactions of *India*, in about the twelfth century before Christ. The following article, says ‡ Mr. Maurice, decidedly proves, that 1200, if not 1500 years before Christ, the *Indians*, not less than the *Phœnicians*, navigated the vast Ocean: *For a long § passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and time; but this must be understood of passages up rivers: AT SEA THERE CAN BE NO SETTLED FREIGHT.* But the subsequent

* *Aristotle*, in his *Treatise de Repub.* (Lib. vii. c. 6.) states as the subject of argument, *Whether a State rightly constituted should be commercial or not?*

† Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, (p. 9. 11. 15.)

‡ Dissertation on Ancient Commerce, (p. 360. vol. vi. *Ind. Antiquities*.)

§ *Institutes*, p. 241.

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quent extract is still more curious. *Whatever * interest, or price of the risk, shall be settled between the parties, by men WELL ACQUAINTED WITH SEA VOYAGES, or journeys by land, with times and with places; such interest shall have legal force.* In another passage we find, that the ancient Indians not only possessed the art of obtaining Sugar from the cane, but were also able to extract a Spirit from *melasses* resembling rum, and another from rice resembling *arrack*; and these doubtless reached the distant regions of Greece, through the medium of the Phœnician commerce: *Inebriating † liquor may be considered as of three principal sorts; that extracted from dregs of sugar, that extracted from bruised rice, and that extracted from the flowers of the madbucu.*

That connection between Greece and India, which the daring mind of ALEXANDER attempted and opened, has been most ably elucidated by Dr. Vincent; and as his valuable † work is unavoidably intermixed with many learned digressions, it may possibly be rendered more known, and sought after by professional men, if I avail myself of his liberal permission to make use of it in any manner that may promote the object which the present volume has in view. A short ABSTRACT is therefore subjoined, in order to give the reader a more correct idea of the *Voyage of Nearchus* than what is generally referred to, in the Collection of Voyages by Harris, improved by Dr. Campbell.—The narrative of this Voyage from the *Indus* to the *Euphrates*

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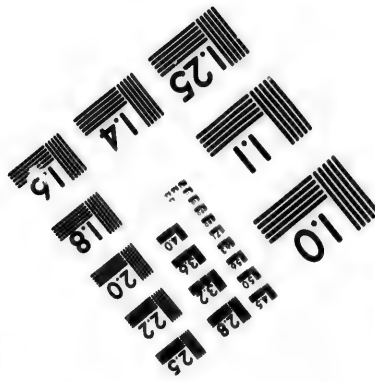
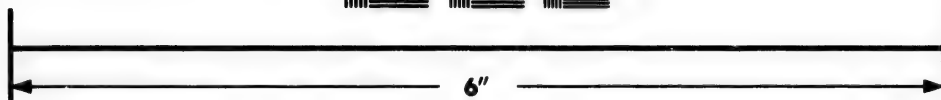
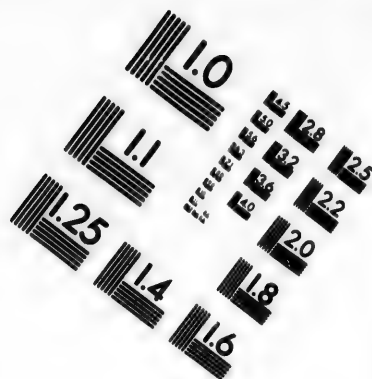
has

* *Institute*, p. 210.

† *Ibid.* p. 320.

‡ Entitled, *The Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates*, collected from the ORIGINAL JOURNAL preserved by ARIAN, and illustrated by authorities ancient and modern; containing an account of the First Navigation attempted by EUROPEANS in the INDIAN OCEAN. To which are added, *Three Dissertations*: Two on the *Acronychal rising of the Pleiades*, by Dr. Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, and by Mr. William Wales; and one by Mr. de la Roche on the first meridian of Ptolemy, (4to.) with five maps and charts, 1797. (530 pages.) The *Voyage of Nearchus* had been previously considered in a general manner by Ramafso, Ablancourt, and Rook; and more particularly by Campbell in his improved edition of Harris's *Voyages*. An abridged extract is also given by Purchas. It was too hastily condemned as spurious by Dodwell, who followed Strabo and Pliny in this respect; its veracity had also been impeached by Hardouin and Huet.—The supporters of its authenticity are Salmassius, who points out the errors of Pliny; Usher, Sainte Croix who particularly answers Dodwell; Gosselin, D'Anville, and Dr. Vincent who gives the following decided opinion, (p. 64.) "The circumstantial detail of minute facts, the delineation of the coast with the same features it bears at present, the description of manners, customs, and habits, all characteristic of the natives; the peculiarity of the climate, seasons, winds, and natural productions, all bespeak a knowledge which could have been obtained from actual inspection only; and all present a Work which Antiphanes, Eumelus, Jambulus, Euthymanes, and all the sages of antiquity could not have put together."





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has been preserved by *Arrian*, and he professes to give an extract from the Journal of *Nearchus*; whose report, as well as that of *Onesicritus* the pilot, is still extant in the writings of *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, and * *Pliny*. *Arrian* declares that he had read with great attention the works of *Onesicritus* and *Megasthenes*, as well as that of *Nearchus*, the first of whom was the master of Alexander's Ship, and drew up a long account of the *Indies*. Of *ARRIAN*, the celebrated disciple of *Epictetus*, some further particulars may be acceptable. He is styled by † *Gibbon*, "the eloquent and philosophic *Arrian*;" and ‡ *Dr. Campbell* informs us, that he was a man of distinguished quality, as well as excellent learning; a native of the city of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, who flourished under the emperor *Adrian*, and was by him made governor of *Cappadocia*. He is also said to have been preceptor to the famous philosopher and emperor *Marcus Antoninus*. The *Indian History* of *Arrian* was long supposed to have been lost, with some of his other works; until at length it was discovered, that this treatise existed under the supposed title of the eighth book of the § *Life of Alexander*. *Arrian* so entirely followed *Xenophon* as his model, that he was called a *second Xenophon*; and as the *ANABASIS* is the finest military narrative that has descended to us from the ancients, we are fortunate in also possessing, through the industry of *Arrian*, and the elucidation of *Campbell* and *Dr. Vincent*, an accurate account of the most important naval expedition which the Greeks ever accomplished for the purposes of maritime discovery. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, has been often confounded with *Arrian of Nicomedia*; but *Dr. Vincent* is of opinion, that if *Arrian* be the real name of the former writer, he must have preceded the disciple of *Epictetus* by little less than a century.

NEARCHUS was the son of *Androtimus* a Cretan, and early in life was enrolled a citizen of *Amphipolis*, on the river *Strymon*, one of the most considerable places in *Macedonia*; where he probably gained some experience in the Naval profession. When *Amphipolis* was taken from the Athenians by *Philip*, *Nearchus* was received at the Macedonian court, and attached himself

to

* *Dr. Vincent's Nearchus*, p. 13.† *Vol. vii. p. 327.*‡ *Harris's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 407.§ Printed at *Leyden*, in folio, 1704. At *Amsterdam*, in 8vo. 1668. *Ibid.* cum notis *Varrorum*, 8vo. 1757. There have been four Latin translations. *Leo* of *Modena* also published one in Italian at *Venice*, 1554: *Claudius de Vivart* one in French at *Paris* in 1581: *D'Ablandcourt* gave a second, which has been thrice reprinted. An English translation was published by *Rooke* in 3 vols. 8vo. with notes, 1779.

to the fortune of Alexander. The former was afterwards banished on account of some family dissensions, but was recalled to enjoy the honours he merited on the secession of the young monarch. After the death of Alexander, *Nearchus* was made governor of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*; and followed the adherents of *Antigonus. Professional skill, enterprise, and perseverance, are all equally visible in the subsequent Voyage.

When ALEXANDER had gained his two decisive victories over *Darius* at *Issus* and *Arbela*, and had sacked the city of † TYRE after an obstinate resistance, which opposed his valour during the course of seven months, he received the submission of Egypt; and having given orders to the architect *Dinocrates* for building the celebrated city of ‡ Alexandria, he directed his

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* Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 457.

† The date of these Events appears to have been,

1. Battle at *Issus* in Cilicia, 333 years before the Christian era.

2. Tyre and Egypt conquered by Alexander during the subsequent year, 332 B. C.

3. Battle of *Arbela*, or rather, according to Arrian and Plutarch, of *Gaugamela* near the above town, during the ensuing year, 331 B. C.

A Dissertation on the birth of Alexander is given in the work of *Baron de Sainte Croix* (p. 325.). Nor has this event been neglected in Dr. Vincent's volume. * According to Plutarch, Alexander was born in the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, on the fifth day of *Hecatombion*, answering to the Macedonian month *Lous*. This, according to *Usher*, was on the 24th of September, but by *Dodwell* is made the 26th of July, 356 years before the Christian era. Alexander succeeded to the throne in the year 336 B. C., and, as *Usher* thinks, on the 24th of September. (p. 31.)

‡ The motives of Alexander for building this celebrated *emporium* of Commerce are detailed in an interesting manner by Mr. Maurice (*Hist. of Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 590.).—“It was the result of an accurate Survey on that part of the Coast, and of the advantageous situation it afforded for establishing there an emporium for the commerce of the whole world, on the conquest of which he firmly depended, that induced him to give immediate orders for the erection of a city to be called after his own name. Of this celebrated City, which, for *eighteen centuries*, continued the Glory of the East, and, from its opulence, was denominated the *Golden*, Alexander himself projected the magnificent plan, and marked the extensive boundaries. It is said to have originally resembled, in form, a *Macedonian mantle*, having one vast street a hundred feet in breadth, and no less than five miles in length; open through its whole extent to the salubrious *Etyian* breezes blowing from the *Mediterranean* that bounded it on the north, while the great lake *Mareotis* constituted its southern limit. . . . Its excellent Port he caused to be cleansed and deepened, but it was reserved for his successors, the *Ptolemies*, to add the stupendous mole that joined *Alexandria* to the Isle of *Pharos*, and divided the spacious Harbour into two, as well as that majestic PHAROS itself, erected entirely of white marble, which, for beauty and grandeur.

III. daring mind to new objects. From this time Alexander seems only to have considered Conquest as the means by which an extensive system of commerce might be formed. His conduct at *Babylon* displayed a zeal for literature, and proved that even in the most splendid moments of a military career, the Taste which he had imbibed from *Aristotle* was not inactive, or subdued by the din of arms. Under the immediate sanction of *Alexander*, a search was diligently made for the Astronomical Observations of the *Chaldean* priests at the observatory of *Belus*; these curious documents which, according to *Porphry*, were afterwards sent by *Calisthenes* to *Aristotle*, first * opened to the *Greeks* an acquaintance with *India* beyond the *Euphrates*, and laid the foundation of our present knowledge of that country. Instead therefore of being regarded as what † *Warburton* styles, "that moral plague, an Hero or a Conqueror," Alexander in pursuit of this object deserved the praise which the *Bramin Mandanis* bestowed, *You are the only man whom I ever found curious in the investigation of philosophy, at the head of an army.*

The five rivers of the *Panjab*, commencing from the west, which fall into the *Indus*, are the *Hydaspes* or *Chelum*, the *Akshina* or *Chenab*, the *Hydraotes* or *Ravee*, the *Hyphasis* or *Biah*, and the *Saranger* or *Satludj*. The progress of the Macedonian army was arrested at the *Hyphasis* by the refractory

deur, had no rival, and was justly enumerated among the wonders of the ancient world. Its superb Palace, its famous Museum, its vast Gymnasium, its noble Library, though not all the immediate work of *Alexander*, but probably exactly finished by *Ptolemy Lagus* according to the plan of his sovereign, his friend, and his brother; all combined to render *Alexandria* a lasting monument of the towering genius of its founder, while it exhibited indubitable testimony of the grand Commercial Designs, which he had thus early formed, but which unfortunately he lived not to mature."

* *Maurice's History of Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 54. 173. 601.

† Vol. i. 4to. ed. p. 344.

‡ *Strabo* (p. 715.) cited by Dr. Vincent.

§ The reader is referred for an excellent narrative of the military career of *Alexander*, to Mr. *Maurice's History of Hindostan* (vol. ii. p. 573.). *Invasion of the eastern bank of the Indus* (p. 634.). *Refusal of the Macedonians to pass the Hyphasis* (p. 656.). *First departure of the Fleet* (p. 668.). "Taking his station conspicuously on the Prow of his Ship, the King then poured out libations from a golden goblet, and solemnly invoked the three great Rivers, the *Hydaspes*, the *Akshina*, and the *Sindus*, down whose Streams he was successively to descend to the *Ocean*: *Hercules* also, and *Jupiter Hammon*, he endeavoured to render propitious by renewed sacrifice. Immediately after, all the trumpeets sounding, which was the appointed signal, the Fleet unmoored, and under the guidance of those experienced Mariners who assisted in its fabrication, glided leisurely and majestically down the tranquillized current." (*Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 4. *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 4.)

refractory spirit of the soldiers, who refused to advance any further. Alexander therefore returned to the *Hydaspes*, and having vanquished *Porus*, the Macedonian fleet, chiefly selected from the innumerable vessels employed in the commerce of the *Indus*, left *Nicæa* which is situated on a bend of the *Hydaspes*, on the 23d of October, 327 years before the Christian era. The commanders of galleys, whose names are given, amounted to thirty-three†; their crews consisted of *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, *Cyprians*, and *Ionians*; and the number of vessels employed, from the galley to the tender, has been estimated at 1000‡, of which 800 were Ships of war.

Alexander's navigation of the *Indus* was attended with considerable danger; and the rapid eddies of its stream, where the *Hydaspes* and *Akesines* form a junction, had nearly proved fatal to this monarch. *While they were still at some distance, says § Arrian, upon hearing the noise and dashing of the waters, the Rowers rested on their oars, the Modulators were silent with astonishment; but as the Stream carried them nearer, the commanders recalled both to their duty, and directed them to exert their utmost strength, that the vessels might not be caught in the eddies, but pushed through by dint of force. He turned out, however, that the transports from their built, by yielding to the eddy, escaped with little injury, except the alarm excited in those on board; but the galleys, which from their length and sharpness were less adapted to encounter a danger of this sort, suffered greatly; and some, from having two banks of oars and the difficulty of managing those which were nearly on a level with the water, were exposed to the most imminent danger. Alexander's Vessel, however, escaped to a projecting point on the right hand shore, which covered him from the violence of the stream; but he saw two of his vessels sink, and with difficulty saved such of their crews as were able to swim. Their progress was also delayed in order to subdue such of the adjoining tribes, as shewed an hostile disposition; and as Alexander considered the *Indus* as the eastern frontier of his empire, he on that line built three cities, and fortified two others. On his arrival in the *Pattalene*, which resembles lower Egypt, he ordered Hephestion to construct a fortress at *Pattala* at the head of the *Delta*; and then setting sail with several half-decked vessels, and some of the best sailing trans-*

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* Dr. Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 100.

† For their names refer, *ibid.* p. 102.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 106. § *Ibid.* p. 110.

|| *Ibid.* p. 112.

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ports, the king in person, assisted by the experience of the native pilots, explored the *western* branch of the river to its mouth, and afterwards the *eastern*: for in every scheme of magnitude, adds * Dr. Vincent, after procuring the best information, he was the first to try the ground himself, before he committed the evocation of it to others. It was during the first expedition down the western branch, that the Macedonians were with reason alarmed at the extraordinary † Tide, or bore as it is termed by Major Rennell, which operates in a most alarming manner along the Coast, and round the whole peninsula of *Gætaræ*.

Either ‡ on *Alexander's* return to *Pattala* from exploring the eastern branch of the river, or before the departure of the fleet from *Nicaa*, a scene took place between himself and *Nearchus*, which *Arrian* thus relates: "He dreaded the length of the Voyage, the danger of a desert coast, the want of harbours, and the difficulty of supplies; he was fearful lest a failure should tarnish the splendour of his former actions; still, however, the desire of attempting something new and extraordinary prevailed. But who was to command such an expedition? Who was capable of inspiring the men with confidence, or persuading them, that in undertaking such a service they were not abandoned to destruction?—Such, says *Nearchus*, was the perturbation of *ALEXANDER* when he ordered me to attend him, and consulted me on the choice of a commander. One, said he, excuses himself because he thinks the danger insuperable; others are unfit for the service from timidity; others think of nothing but how to get home; and many I cannot approve for a variety of other reasons. Upon hearing this, says *Nearchus*, I offered myself for the command, and promised the King that, under the protection of God, I would conduct the Fleet safe into the Gulf of Persia, if the sea were navigable, and the undertaking within the power of man to perform." *Nearchus* was probably acquainted with the general effect of the Monsoons, even at this early period, since his native island *Crete*, and *Amphipolis* where he long resided, both lie within the track of the annual or *Etesian* winds; under which name *Arrian* has mentioned the § Monsoon: *These Etesian winds do not blow from the*

* P. 134.

† Ibid. p. 149.

‡ This anecdote appears in *Arrian* after the fleet had reached *Pattala*, and in this he is followed by *Dr. Campbell* (*Harris's Collection*, vol. i. p. 401.). *Dr. Vincent* on the contrary thinks (p. 101.), "it is much more probable that the consultation took place before the appointment of *Nearchus* at *Nicaa*, than after he was actually in command."—The above translation is extracted from *Dr. Vincent's* work.

§ Ibid. p. 38, 39.

the north in the summer months, as with us in the Mediterranean, but from the south. On the commencement of winter, or at latest on the setting of the Pleiades, the sea is said to be navigable till the winter solstice. This however does not remove the difficulty of passing through an unknown sea, in ships so inadequate to the service. *Nearchus* therefore deserves our utmost praise, both for his courage and professional skill; and his Voyage will ever be considered as the most valuable naval relic of antiquity. We learn from this * Voyage the true state and condition of Maritime affairs at that time. We plainly discern, that their Vessels drew very little water, that they were managed chiefly by Oars, that they neither carried, nor were capable of carrying, any considerable quantity of provisions; but that they trusted chiefly for these, either to magazines erected on shore, or, where these were wanting, to what they could obtain by making descents. We learn from hence, what services these Vessels were fit for, and for what they were unfit; and, in short, what they could, and what they could not perform.

Every thing being finally arranged to the satisfaction of ALEXANDER, and the honour of his admiral, the former did not long remain at † *Pattala*, but began his march into *Gadrosia*, near a month earlier than the sailing of the fleet, in order to explore the dreary ‡ coast, and facilitate the Voyage of *Nearchus*. To *Craterus* he assigned the more pleasing task of conducting a division of the army through the midland provinces: in all expeditions he personally executed that part which presented the greatest difficulties.

* Campbell, *Harris's Voyage* (vol. i. p. 408.).

† Dr. Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 157.

‡ For a general view of the Coast, and the peculiarities connected with it, see *ibid.* p. 159.

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ABSTRACT OF THE VOYAGE OF *NEARCHUS.

(From Dr. Vincent's learned illustration.)

Only names of Officers mentioned, are those of ARCHIAS the son of Anandides, and ONISICRITUS of Myppala, the Pilot, who had been master of Alexander's ship.—Time employed from the Indus to Cape Jask, from seventy, to seventy-five days: real distance, about six hundred and twenty-five miles.

Voyage of
Nearchus.

1. I have already fixed the departure of the Fleet from the Indus on the 1st of October, in the year 326 B. C. NEARCHUS, after having cleared the river, was obliged to lie in harbour twenty-four days, till the season was favourable. The reason for proceeding before the monsoon commenced, is ascribed by Strabo to the discontent of the natives: Nearchus says, that after ALEXANDER was upon his march, he set sail himself on the coming rising of the PERIÆS, though the wind was not yet favourable. But the natives attacked them, and drove them out, having refused their courage on the departure of the king, and wishing to recover their independence. If these circumstances, adds Dr. Vincent, were in the journal of Nearchus, which there is every reason to believe, Arrian cannot be justified in suppressing them.—The † Fleet did not take its departure from *Panab*, but from a Station near the mouth of the river. This Station is doubtless the port Alexander had formed, and probably at Killuta (*Atkuta*); for there, our author says, he had found water and good anchorage, with protection both from the Tides and the Monsoon.

When the Fleet weighed from this station, the first day's course down the River was only six miles, and they anchored at a creek or inlet called Stura (*Stours*), where they continued two days; on the following day they weighed again, but came to an anchor at *Kammas* before they had proceeded two miles. In the Creek here they found the water salt, or at least brackish, even upon the tide of ebb. The next day's course was little more than one mile to *Korastis*; and scarce had they weighed from hence before they were checked by the violent agitation now visible at the bar; for as they had proceeded with the tide of ebb, the wind was consequently in a direction exactly opposite. This brought them to an anchor again immediately; when, after waiting till it was low water, they observed that the projecting sand (which probably formed the bar) was soft and oozy near the shore, and

* Principally from the third Book, p. 167.

† Dr. Vincent, who throughout his work is indefatigable to preserve accuracy, afterwards shows how easy it is for a liberal mind to acknowledge any errors, *quis aut incuria fuit, aut humana parum cavit natura*. He therefore desires the reader to carry back the date one day, throughout the Voyage, and for October 2. to read October the first (Appendix, p. 495.).

‡ I have looked in vain, says Dr. Vincent (p. 189), for authority to give the number of gallees, or other Vessels of which the Fleet consisted. The number of Commanders appointed at Nicaa was thirty-three; and by these I estimate the Gallies. There was also a greater proportion of half-decked vessels, and Transports in abundance. That Nearchus had Transports as well as Gallies appears by the wreck of one on the preceding day; and if we were to allot him all the Gallies, it would perhaps not appear like exaggeration. The Gallies were all of thirty oars; if therefore there were only one man at an oar, we cannot estimate less than sixty or seventy men to each vessel, which makes the whole number about two thousand, exclusive of those on board the Transports.

and little more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. This they determined to cut * through. This they determined to cut * through. S E C T. III.
 as the readiest and safest passage into the open sea. They had so far effected their purpose during the recess of the Tide, that upon the return of the flood they carried their Vessels through it in safety, and after a course of about nine miles reached † *Krakala* the same day. Here they remained the day following. Introduction. Critical Periods.

At *Krakala*, Arrian places the commencement of the territory of the ‡ *Arabie*, and its termination at the river *Arak*. . . . Weighing from *Krakala*, the fleet proceeded to the west, having a promontory named *Iras* (*Cape Monas*) on the right, and a low island almost level with the sea on the left; this Isle runs parallel with the coast, and so near as to leave only a narrow § channel winding between both. They cleared this passage, and doubled the Cape, apparently under the protection afforded by the Isle against the prevailing wind; the Coast, as soon as they had passed the strait, presented a bay or harbour under cover of a second island called *Bibasta* (*Chilney Is.*) not more than three hundred yards from the entrance.

This Harbour *Nearchus* thought so large and commodious, that he honoured it with the name of *ALEXANDER*, and determined to avail himself of the security it afforded, till the season should be more favourable for his progress. A camp therefore was formed on shore, and fortified with an inclosure of stones to guard against any attempt of the natives; and this precaution was no more than necessary, as they were now within the confines of the *Arabie*, whom *ALEXANDER* had attacked and dispersed not many days before their arrival. Security both from the natives and the season they found; but the people suffered greatly, having no water but what was brackish, and little food to support life except mussels, oysters, and another species of large shell-fish (the *lima cockle*), which they collected on the shore. . . . In this Camp *Nearchus* continued four-and-twenty days; during all which time the *monsoon* continued without wavering, and with unremitted violence.

From *Port Alexander*, upon a relaxation of the ¶ wind, the Fleet ventured once more to proceed on the third of November; the Course, however, was apparently close in with the Coast, and the progress short of four ¶ miles. They took refuge under an Isle called *Doma*. The Coast itself was without inhabitants and without water; but the latter was found, and of a good quality, at the distance of little more than a mile from the shore. The following day (*Nov. 5th, thirty-fourth day*), they proceeded nearly nineteen miles to *Saranga*, and arrived not till night. Water was found here at half a mile from the shore. Weighing from *Saranga*, they reached *Sakala* and anchored on an open coast; when finding this possibly unsafe, they seem to have advanced again the same day, and passing two rocks

* I have allowed two Tides for this, or twenty-four hours; it possibly was one only. . . The difficulty of carrying a fleet of Greek gallees out to sea in opposition to the *monsoon*, is at least as great as the danger *Xerxes* would have encountered in doubling *Athos*: and even after the neck of that promontory was cut, he had two more to pass.

† *Crotchy Bay*, the first harbour in the *Indian Ocean*, which received an *European navy* (p. 172.).

‡ Page 174.

§ I would render it, adds Dr. Vincent in a note, with an allowable licence, a 'passage curving with the land.'

¶ P. 175.

¶ Sixty *stadia*.

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rocks so close to each other that the stern of a Galley might touch * both, after a course of about nineteen miles they came to *Morontokara*, the † harbour of which is large, well protected from wind on all sides, runs far within the land, and is perfectly quiet; the entrance into it is narrow. They thought it no small achievement to have passed these rocks in safety, for the waves ran high, and the Sea was in great agitation. . . . They left the harbour of *Morontokara* on the following day, and proceeded towards the river *Arabis*, having an Island on their left, and the Main on their right. The passage through this channel was somewhat more than four miles, but so narrow, as to appear like a work of art; the coast was woody, and the island in a manner overgrown with trees of all sorts. They did not clear the passage till the following morning, when they found the Tide out, and the water *foal* and *broken*; they got through however without damage, and, after a Course of between seven and eight miles, anchored at the mouth of the ‡ *Arabis*. No mention is made of any stay at the *Arabis*, we must therefore make the Fleet sail the following day (Nov. 9.), and proceed twelve miles and an half to *Pagala*. The Course is described as close along the Coast, and a surf at the place where they finished their progress, but the Anchorage was good. The men were forced, however, to continue on board, and only a few landed to procure water. They sailed the next morning, and after a Course of almost nineteen miles, reached *Kakana* in the evening. The place was only an open and desert shore, on which a violent Surf broke, which hindered the vessels from approaching the land. The progress of these two days sufficiently indicates that the Wind was not yet settled at north-east, and in the present day's Course they experienced directly the reverse; for a strong Gale came on from the south-west, in which two of the gallees and a transport foundered, but the course was so near the shore that the men were saved by swimming.

They left this desolate place at Midnight, and reached *Kakala* next morning (Nov. 11. *fortieth day*), after a Course of about twelve miles. The Coast here was such, that the vessels could not be drawn on shore, but rode at anchor without the Surf. The suffering of the people was however so great, from being confined on board two § nights, that it was found

* They did not pass between them, if we may judge from the expressions used.

† (P. 180. N. 44.) As Dr. Vincent has given two descriptions, I have preferred the most literal. "This harbour, or something to represent it, I have no doubt will be found, if ever this Coast should be explored again; for the description of it is very precise in *Arrian*." This Coast had been explored in 1774, by a small Squadron equipped at Bombay, consisting of (1.) *The Fox*, Lieutenant Robinson Commander. (2.) *Dolphin*, Lieutenant Porter. (3.) A Patawar boat, in which Mr. Blair and Mr. Magill were occasionally employed. From the materials collected by these officers, Mr. Delrymple constructed a Chart, containing the Survey of Lieutenant Robinson, and accompanied it with a memoir drawn up by Lieutenant Porter, which he prefaces with the following observation: *The Coasts here described are so little known, that every particular must be acceptable, as we have scarcely any account of them since the time of Alexander the Great.* (Preface to Nearchus, p. 5.)

‡ The number of *stadia* given by *Arrian* and *Strabo* from the *Indus* to the *Arabis*, is a thousand; Dr. Vincent makes the distance something short of eighty miles. The mouth of the *Arabis* is placed by *Ptolemy* in longitude 103°, and latitude 20° 15', and by Major Rennell in longitude 65° 34' from Greenwich, latitude 23° 26', and about 44' west from the western mouth of the *Indus*. (*Nearchus*, p. 183.)

§ In Vessels like those of the Greeks, which afforded neither Space for motion, or convenience for rest, the continuing on board at night was always a calamity. The *Gallees* of Alexander had perhaps a deck; but the *Hesperians* are exactly the vessels of *Homer's* age, the forepart and waist open for the rowers, with a deck raised

found necessary to disembark them, and form a Camp on shore, which Nearchus fortified as usual. . . . It should seem they knew that relief was at hand, for here it was that *Leonatus* joined them, who had been left in the country by *Alexander*, with a particular charge to attend to the preservation of the fleet. He had, after the departure of the main Army, fought a battle with the *Oriss* and their allies, in which he had defeated them, killing six thousand of the enemy, and losing only fifteen of his own horse, with *Apollonides* the newly appointed Satrap of *Gadrysa*. He now joined Nearchus, bringing with him a supply of ten days' provisions, collected by the order of *Alexander*, and possibly spared out of his own immediate wants. . . . The attention of *Alexander* is still conspicuous; and a second unsuccessful attempt he made in *Gadrysa*, when he would have hazarded famine himself to preserve his fleet, ought to exculpate him from the charge of useless vanity in penetrating through that desert region; a charge which even *Nearchus* is said to have countenanced.

I should have wished to have placed *Kohala* with precision, on account of the transactions which took place here; for besides the supply obtained from the army, *Nearchus* discharged several of his people, who appeared not to have sufficient spirit or fortitude for the enterprise, and received others in exchange from *Leonatus*; he likewise repaired here several of his Vessels which had suffered in the Voyage or the Storm. This proves that the weather grew more moderate during his continuance at this place, for upon his first arrival the Surf was too high to admit of drawing them on shore.

On the *† twenty-first* of November, at which period the wind, if it had fixed at north-east, would be off shore, and the Surf consequently diminished, the fleet proceeded with a fair wind, and made good a *‡* course of thirty-one miles to the river *Tomiris*: and it is the first time *Arrian* specifies their sailing with the wind settled in their favour. . . . At the *Tomiris*, inhabitants were found living on the low ground, or *marshes*, near the sea, in cabins, which seemed calculated rather to suffocate their inhabitants than to protect them from the weather; and yet these wretched people were not without courage. Upon sight of the Fleet approaching, they collected in arms on the shore, and drew up in order to attack the strangers upon their landing; perhaps they were not unacquainted with similar visits of the *Sauganians*. Their arms were spears, not headed with iron, but hardened in the fire, nine feet long, and their number about six hundred. *Nearchus* ordered his Vessels to lay their heads towards the shore, within the distance of bow-shot, for the enemy had no missile weapons but their spears. He likewise brought his Engines to bear upon them (for such it appears he had on board); and then directed his light-armed troops, with those who were the most active and the best swimmers, to be ready for commencing the attack. On a signal given, they were to plunge into the sea; the first man who touched ground

was

over the hinder part; this in *Homer* is called *epin*, and formed an elevation on which the steersman stood. On this deck, or under it, the persons on board sometimes slept; and there perhaps the Cables were coiled; but, when a whole Crew was to sleep on board, this was impossible, and the suffering was in proportion to the confinement. (*Nearchus*, p. 186. N. 59.)

* In the journal, *Arrian* follows *Nearchus*; in the history, *Ptolemy* or *Aristobolus*. (Ibid. p. 187. N. 61.)

† Ibid. p. 190; and preceding pages 188, 189.

‡ *Lieutenant Porter* repeatedly mentions the lowness of the coast, and the appearance of the high country inland. So does the journal of the *Hughson Indian*. A journal curious, because this ship kept the Coast in sight from *Scindri* to *Gomeroon*, and back again. (Ibid. p. 191. and N. 71.)

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was to be the point at which the line was to be formed, and was not to advance till joined by the others, and the file could be ranged three deep. These orders were exactly obeyed; the men threw themselves out of the ships, swam forward, and formed themselves in the water, under cover of the engines. As soon as they were in order, they advanced upon the enemy with a shout, which was repeated from the ships. Little opposition was experienced, for the natives, struck with the novelty of the attack, and the glittering of the armour, fled without resistance.

Nearchus staid at the *Tomiris* six days, during which time he drew some of his Vessels on shore and repaired them. . . . The Fleet left the *Tomiris* on the sixth day; and, after a passage of nearly nineteen miles, reached *Malana* in the evening. At *Malana*, *Arrian* fixes the boundary of the *Ortus*. . . . He describes them as being dressed and armed like the *Indian* tribes; but their customs, manners, and language, mark them as a different race.

At † *Malana* we find a circumstance recorded by *Arrian*, which demands no small degree of attention; for here it is that he introduces the mention of ‡ *Phænomenon*, which, however familiar to the Navigators of the present day, was, in his own age, a matter of no small curiosity. The Sun, he tells us, was seen by *Nearchus* in the meridian to the north, and the shadows fell to the south. As they sailed along the Coast of *India*, that is the country of the *Arabia* and *Ortus* (for the *Ichthyophagi* are not accounted an Indian tribe), *Nearchus* says, that the Shadows had not the same effect as in those parts of the earth with which they were acquainted; for when they stood out to Sea a good way to the southward, the Sun was either vertical at noon and no shadow was to be seen, or so far to the North that the shadow fell to the South. The Northern Constellations, which are always above the horizon, set almost as soon as they rose; and others which they were used to contemplate, were either close to the horizon or not visible. In this *Nearchus* appears to assert nothing improbable; for at *Syene* in *Egypt*, when the sun reaches the summer tropic, they shew

* Will not the reader, adds *Dr. Vincent*, think that I describe the landing of a party, from the *Endavour*, in *New Zealand*, under protection of the ship's guns? (p. 192. N. 74.)

† *Ibid.* p. 198.

‡ *Dr. Vincent* is much perplexed with this passage, and enters on a digression respecting it, in which he displays equal candour and learning. " *Nearchus* was in N. lat. 25° 16', where these circumstances could not occur. If this phenomenon, however, was to be recorded, it is extraordinary that it should not have found its place at the point farthest southward which the Macedonians ever reached.—I must acknowledge I have found *Nearchus* a most faithful and unerring guide. If I cannot excuse him in the present instance, I can join him in his error with companions so illustrious, that I hope the reader will pardon me for entering upon a digression, in which the knowledge of the Ancients in geography is materially concerned.—*Thales* was acquainted with the spherical figure of the earth, and *Anaximander* had described the known world on a globe; yet it was not till 350 years after *Thales*, that *Erastosthenes* drew a line parallel to the equator, which suggested the doctrine of LATITUDES to the School of *Alexandria*, and finally enabled *Ptolemy* to apply both longitude and latitude universally to the science. *Arrian* is contemporary with *Ptolemy*, but so little was he acquainted with this great discovery, or rather the application of it, that he has in no one instance made use of the term.—

" It will at least be some palliation, and a matter of no small curiosity, to shew how generally the vanity which gave rise to this error, existed in the writings of the ancients.—Travellers, poets, and historians, have all conspired in placing a true phenomenon in a false latitude. They had all heard that this took place somewhere in the north, and they have all fixed it at the extremity of their own knowledge, or the knowledge of the age they lived in." (Page 199—205.)

show a well, in which at noon there is no shadow; and as the same circumstance occurs in *Meroe*, it is probable that in *India* also, which lies, towards the South, the Shadow should be subject to the same law, and more particularly in the *Indian Ocean*, which extends still farther to the southward.

No Commentator has ventured to trace the *Voyage of Nearchus* along the * COAST of the *ICHTHYOPHAGI*, where he experienced every calamity but adverse winds. This desolate coast, extending from *Cape Malin* to *Cape Jesh*, is not less than 450 miles in a right line; and nearly 625, or 10,000 *Stadia*, by the course of the Fleet. The modern name of *MENRAN* appears to be the Persian or Indian appellation for the whole of this Coast from the *Indus* to *Kerman* or *Karmania*. . . . In the time of *Alexander* the title of *ICHTHYOPHAGI* was confined to the inhabitants of the Coast, while the Country within land, from the confines of the *Ortix* to *Karmania*, was styled *Gadryia*, almost equally desolate, and as incapable of supporting an army as the Coast.

Nearchus stayed only that day at *Malama*; and, weighing at night, proceeded thirty-seven miles to † *Begafra*. There was a good harbour here, and a village called *Pafra*, about four miles up the country. The fleet weighed from *Begafra* early in the morning, and stretched out round the *Cape (Arraba)* which projected far into the sea, and appeared high and bold. After doubling the head, they were obliged to ride at anchor without landing the men, as the Surf ran high upon the shore: some of the people, however, were with difficulty landed, in order to procure water; this was effected by opening pits upon the beach, but the quantity was small and bad. The Next Day's sail was only twelve miles and an half to *Kakia*; and that of the day following something more than thirty-seven to *Kalama* (*Churmus* river). At *Kalama* the natives were disposed to be hospitable; they sent a present of Fish on board, and some Sheep; but the very mutton was fishy, as were all the fowls they met with on the Coast; neither is this extraordinary, for there was no herbage to be seen; and the animals, as well as the inhabitants, fed on fish. A few Palm ‡ trees were observed about the village, but the Dates were not in season. From *Kalama*

* *Edward Barbic*, who was Pilot on board one of the *Portuguese* Fleets which first visited this Coast about the year 1519, has the following remarkable passage, as corroborating the testimony of *Arrian*. "They have few Ports, little corn or cattle; their Country is a low plain and desert; their chief support is fish, of which they take some of a prodigious size; these they salt, partly for their own use and partly for exportation; they eat their Fish dry, and give dried fish likewise to their horses, and other cattle." So invariable, adds *Dr. Vincent* (p. 207.), has been the misery of this Coast for 2000 years! and so positive are the assertions of modern voyagers in correspondence with the testimony of *Arrian*. *Nasacurus* dwells upon some further particulars (p. 265.). These people, though they live on fish, are few of them Fishermen; for their barks are few, and those few very mean and unfit for the service. The fish they obtain, they owe to the flux and reflux of the tide; for they extend a net upon the shore, (as is the custom in *Sandwich Bay* on the coast of *Kent*) supported by stakes, of more than 200 yards in length; within which, at the side of ebb, the fish are confined, and settle in the pits or inequalities of the sand. Their nets are composed of the bark or fibres of the palm, which they twine into a cord. . . . The generality of the people live in cabins, small and stifling; the better sort only have houses constructed with the bones of *Whales*; many of these monsters are found fifty yards in length.

† Upon the mention of *Begafra*, I must be permitted to notice, (p. 212.) that the term *Gafra* indicates an Arabian navigation on this Coast previous to the age of *Alexander*; for it is neither more or less than *Gafra*, signifying in Arabic an Island or Peninsula, confessedly, and as I apprehend, a Cape likewise.

‡ Several Voyagers acquaint us, (p. 210.) that wherever the Palm Trees grow, however arid the soil, there is always water to be found, by opening the ground to the depth of from ten to fifteen feet.

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Kalona they set sail the following day, and, after a Course of little more than twelve miles, anchored at *Kalis*, which is the name of an open shore, with a village called *Kysa*, about two miles from the sea. The inhabitants fled upon the approach of the Ships, and nothing was found in the place but the Boats which the wretched fishermen of the Coast used, and some goats which they seized and carried on board. Corn they searched for without success, and their own stock (probably what they had obtained from *Leonnatus*) was almost exhausted. The following day they doubled a Cape (*Poghar*) which projected nine miles into the sea; and, after getting round, anchored in a safe harbour called * *Mosarna*.

Mosarna is the Station at which the Voyage is to assume a new appearance. At *Mosarna*, *Nearchus* found a Pilot who undertook to conduct the Fleet to the Gulph of Persia; he was a native of *Gadrosia*, and from his name (*Hydraces*) given him by *Arrian*, *Imagius*, an inhabitant of *Hydracus*, a town near the bay of *Churbar* or *Chewabad*. The minute circumstance of meeting with a Pilot at this place denotes something more Commercial than any thing that has yet occurred on the Coast; and *Arrian* suggests, that from hence to the Gulph of Persia, the Voyage was more practicable, and the Stations better known. Upon the acquisition of *Hydraces*, or the *Hydracian*, two circumstances occur, that give a new face to the future course of the Voyage; one is, the very great addition to the length of each day's course; and the other, that they generally weighed during the night: the former depending upon the confidence they acquired by having a pilot on board; and the latter, on the nature of the land breeze.

II. It does not appear that any Supply was procured for the Fleet at *Mosarna* but water, and perhaps fish; but taking the Pilot on board, they weighed anchor in the night, and proceeded † forty-seven miles to *Balonus* (Dec. 4., sixty-third day), a Village on an open shore.

We have seen the Fleet pass two Capes, *ARRANA* and *POIMEE*, with some symptoms of alarm or difficulty, and both noticed in the Journal; but we are now approaching a third at *Guadel*, which *Arrian* never mentions. We should reasonably be surprised at this, as the doubling of a Cape is always an achievement in the estimation of a Greek navigator; but having now a native Pilot on board who was doubtless acquainted with the nature of the Winds, it is evident he took advantage of the land Breeze to give the Fleet an offing, and an head-land was no longer doubled by creeping round the shore to its extreme point.

The next Station is the village of *Barna*, twenty-five miles from *Balonus*, containing fruit-trees, and gardens producing flowers and myrtle, of which they made chaplets. From *Barna* the Fleet proceeded twelve miles to *Dendrobasa*; and here the Ships could not approach the shore, but rode at anchor. From *Dendrobasa* the Fleet weighed at midnight, and reached ‡ *Kopbas*, after a passage of twenty-five miles. From *Kopbas*, in the eastern Bay of *Guadel*,

* Which Dr. Vincent thinks must be placed at some short distance to the westward of Cape *Pessuce*.

† The length of this day's Course is such as has not occurred before, and must therefore be imputed to the charge *Hydraces* had taken of the Fleet; and we shall find, on some of the following days, their Course extended to even 55 or 60 miles (p. 281.)

‡ This Dr. Vincent is inclined to place to the eastward of *Alambateir*, or Cape *Guadel*; and adds, (p. 227.)

"The Fleets from Egypt which sailed with the Monsoon from the promontory *Sygnus* in *Arabia*, if they ever made the Coast of *Gadrosia*, made it at this Cape of *Alambateir*, as a point of eminence; and left all the Coast from

Guadel, the Fleet sailed early in the evening, (about the first Watch, *fin o'clock*) and after a Course of fifty miles, reached * *Kyisa*, or *Guttar*. At *Kyisa* the men could not land, as it was an open shore with a great Surf; they therefore took their meal on board at anchor, and then weighing, proceeded upwards of thirty miles to a small City placed on an eminence, at no great distance from the shore.

Nearchus says, † that on the morning he was off *Kyisa*, they were surprised by observing the Sea thrown up to a great height in the air, as if it were carried up by a whirlwind. The people were alarmed, and inquired of their Pilot, what might be the cause of the phenomenon; he informed them, that it proceeded from the blowing of a WHALE, and that it was the practice of the creature as he sported in the Sea. His report by no means quieted their alarm; they stopped rowing from astonishment, and the Oars fell from their hands. *Nearchus* encouraged them, and recalled them to their duty, ordering the heads of the Vessels to be pointed at the several creatures as they approached, and to attack them as they would the Vessel of an enemy in battle: the Fleet immediately formed as if going to engage, and advanced by a signal given; when shouting all together, as loud as they could shout the *alala*, or cry of war, and dashing the water with their Oars, with the trumpets sounding at the same time, they had the satisfaction to see the enemy give way; for upon the approach of the Vessels the Monsters a-head sunk before them, and rose again a-stern, where they continued their blowing, without exciting any farther alarm. All the credit of the Victory fell to the share of *Nearchus*, and the acclamations of the people expressed their acknowledgment, both of his judgment and fortitude, employed in their unexpected delivery.

When the fleet reached this place (*Kyisa*) it was totally without bread or grain of any kind; and *Nearchus*, from the appearance of stubble in the neighbourhood, conceived hopes of a supply, if he could find means of obtaining it; but he perceived that he could not take the place by assault; and a siege, the situation he was in, rendered impracticable. He concerted matters, therefore, with *Archias*, and ordered him to make a feint of preparing the Fleet to sail, while he himself with a single vessel, pretending to be left behind, approached the town in a friendly manner, and was received hospitably by the inhabitants. They came out to receive him upon his landing, and presented him with baked fish, (the first instance of cookery he had yet seen on the Coast) accompanied with cakes

from Cape *Jask* on their left out of sight. The head of Cape *Guadel* (p. 229.) stretches out parallel with the Coast like the *Pharus* of *Alexandria*, and being joined to the Main by a neck of land not half a mile over, makes two bays, one to the eastward and the other on the opposite side; that on the west is largest and most sheltered, with twelve or thirteen fathoms at the entrance, and shoaling to the upper part. There are still the remains of a town built with stone; possibly a work of the *Portuguese*, who had a settlement here, if not of more ancient date: the present inhabitants live in mat houses. Water is procured by opening pits on the beach; goats, sheep, and fowls are likewise to be purchased. Good water is a commodity specified in the JOURNAL, which adds, that the place was inhabited by fishermen, who were possessed of small and wretched Boats, which they managed with a Paddle instead of an Oar. The expression is characteristic, for *Arrian* says, it was like digging the water with a spade. No where have I found more difficulty to render the narrative consistent, than from *Masfarna* to this place.

* We must place (p. 231.) *Kyisa* on the Coast somewhat short of the *New Point* of Lieutenant *Porter*. *Martini* places it at 30 miles from *Alambator* on Cape *Guadel*.

† P. 269.

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and dates. These he accepted with proper acknowledgments, and informed them he wished for permission to see the town: this request was granted without suspicion; but no sooner had he entered, than he ordered two of his archers to take post at the gate, and then mounting the wall contiguous, with two more and his interpreter, he made the signal for *Archias*, who was now under weigh, to advance. The Natives instantly ran to their arms: but *Nearchus*, having taken an advantageous position, made a momentary defence till *Archias* was close at the gate; ordering his interpreter to proclaim at the same time, that if they wished their City to be preserved from pillage, they must deliver up their Corn, and all the provisions which the place afforded. These Terms were not rejected, for the gate was open, and *Archias* ready to enter; he took charge of this post immediately with the force which attended him, and *Nearchus* sent proper officers to examine such Stores as were in the place, promising the inhabitants that, if they acted ingenuously, they should suffer no other injury. Their Stores were immediately produced, consisting of a kind of meal or paste made of fish, in great plenty, with a small quantity of wheat and barley. This, however insufficient for his wants, *Nearchus* received, and abstaining from farther oppression, returned on board with his supply. The fleet hauled off to a * Cape in the neighbourhood called *Bagris*, and there anchored at no great distance, as I conclude, from the town.

The † Fleet weighed from *Bagris* at midnight, and proceeded a thousand *stadia*, sixty-two miles and an half to *Talmena*. No circumstances relating to *Talmena* are recorded in the Journal, but that it was a safe harbour. From *Talmena*, the distance to ‡ *Kanafida* is estimated at twenty-five miles. *Nearchus* does not mention a River here, and probably did not advance far enough into the Bay to see it; but they found a Well ready dug, which saved the trouble of opening the sands, and the wild Palm Tree, from which they took the tender shoots of the head to support life. From *Kanafida*, *Nearchus* proceeded four-and-twenty hours without intermission to a Desert Coast §, where he was obliged to anchor at some distance from the Shore, as the distress of the people was now risen to such a height, that, if he had suffered them to land, he had reason to suspect that they would not have returned on board. This desert shore has neither name or distance, and the day and night allotted to the course, as well as the number of *stadia* given to *Kanafi*, the following Station, apparently comprehend both the space and time to that place. The Journal assigns no attributes to *Kanafi* but that of an open shore, with the mention of some shallow water courses, intended possibly for the purposes of agriculture, and the bettering of an arid Soil. It does not appear by the Journal that the people were suffered to land at *Kanafi*; neither is there any mention made of a supply being procured.

I assign

* The western point of *Ostia* Bay, (p. 233.)

† Page 240.

‡ The river at *Tis* or *Tidj*, which *Otter* calls the *Kiour-Kient*, or *Salt River*.§ The point I would assume (p. 243.) for this Anchorage is *Godeim*, at the western extremity of the second curve in *Charber* Bay. *Godeim* is an Headland very level along the top, with steep cliffs next the sea; from whence *Colet* or *Kalat* is seen, which is a remarkable object, and somewhat short of which is the mouth of the *Tams Creek*. It is observable, that headlands of this kind frequently attract the Fleet to an Anchorage; but whether for the purpose of surveying the Coast before doubling them, or any other reason, does not appear. This stream therefore naturally corresponds with the *Kanafi* of the Journal.

I * assign another day for the passage to † *Trepsi*, the *Trepsi* of Arrian; the Course made good was fifty miles; and here, at last, a scanty supply of provisions was obtained. The place presented several mean and wretched Villages, deserted by the inhabitants upon the approach of the Fleet; but a small quantity of Corn was found, with some ‡ dried Dates, and these, with the flesh of seven Camels which the natives had not carried off upon their flight, afforded a repast, of which perhaps nothing but the utter distress of the people could have induced them to partake.

From *Trepsi* to *Dagafira*, the Course was short of nineteen miles. The Fleet sailed at † *day-break*; and as this is the first instance since *Hydrabus* was on board, it may not be improper to observe, that if we fix the hour between six and seven in the morning, the land breeze would hold good for an hour or more to secure an offing. The shortness of the Course was determined either by this circumstance, or by another which occurs frequently, the appearance of a Cape. The distress of the people, and the impossibility of procuring a supply at *Dagafira*, urged a hasty departure of the Fleet. They sailed in the evening, and continuing their course all that night and the following day without intermission, they reached, after a stretch of almost sixty-nine miles, a || Promontory projecting far out into the sea, with a Surf beating upon it to a great extent. This they did not dare to approach, or to double the Cape while it was dark. They rode at anchor consequently during the night, as near shore as the Surf would permit, and the following morning got round into a bay, where they found the town of *Badis*, (*Yash Town*) and where they were at last relieved from the miseries they had experienced on this desolate Coast. This Promontory is the boundary between the country of the *Iethyophagi* and *Karmania*; and, at *Badis* they found Corn, Vines, and Fruit-Trees of every kind except the Olive, a town inhabited, and the inhabitants ready to relieve their wants.

We are now to enter upon the Navigation of the Gulph of Persia, and fortunately for this part of the Voyage our materials are as ample as could be desired. (Vincent's Nearchus, Book iv. 285, 289.)

III. After weighing the following day, the Fleet proceeded fifty miles, and came to an anchor again upon an open Coast, (at *Elbowra*, in a curve previous to the Cape *Armenion* of Ptolemy.) . . . Arrian seems to consider the *Gulph of Persia* as commencing at a line drawn between Cape *Mussendon*, and the shore where the Fleet now rode. His language is

* P. 245.

† Adhering to the measures of Arrian, Dr. Vincent, with allowance for the excess attending the whole of this Coast, places *Trepsi* short of the Cape which succeeds first westward of the *Tanka*, and fixes (p. 247.) on that Cape for the *Dagafira* of Arrian.

‡ The copiousness of the Greek language did not supply a term for this fruit. It is literally the Acorn of the Palm.

§ On all other occasions from *Mysena*, sailing in the night is mentioned, or the time is omitted altogether.

|| Upon the approach to the *Gulph of Persia* (p. 251.) there are two Capes about twenty-seven miles asunder; the eastermost of which is the Cape *Mucisa* of Robinson, Porter, &c. and the westernmost their Cape *Yash*. Here is the origin of that embarrassment which involves the whole question in obscurity, for in reality *Mucisa* is the true *Yash*, and their *Yash* is Cape *Bombareit*. It is this *Bombareit* which is the *Karpella* of Ptolemy, and consequently when *D'Arville* brings *Badis* to this point, he fixes it at twenty-seven miles farther to the west than it really is.—Dr. Vincent pays considerable attention to this subject.

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Nearehus.

is so precise, that I shall adduce his very words: "Near *Armenia* lies the round mountain of *Samirania*; opposite to which is mount * *Pasabo* in Arabia, and the Promontory formed by it: these two mountains, with their promontories, form the Straights at the entrance of the Gulph of Persia."

The sight of Mount *Pasabo* (Mussenden) gave rise to a dispute which renders this Anchorage important; for this Promontory *Oniscritus* proposed to explore, with the intention, it should seem, of extending the Voyage to the Gulph of Arabia. He asserted that they were in distress, and likely to be driven about the gulph they were now entering, without knowledge of the Coast, or any determinate point to which they might direct their course. *Nearebus* resisted this proposal with the utmost steadiness; he represented to the council of officers, that *Oniscritus* appeared ignorant of the Design of *ALEXANDER*, who had not put the people on board, because there were no means of conducting them by land; but that his express purpose was, to obtain a knowledge of the Coast, with such Harbours, Bays, and Islands as might occur in the Coast of the Voyage; to ascertain whether there were any towns bordering on the Ocean, and whether the country was habitable or desert. He added, that they had now almost obtained the object of their expedition; and that they ought not to hazard the completion of it, by the pursuit of a different design: that the Cape in view proved, that the Coast below it tended to the south, where the country might be more directly under the influence of the Sun, more torrid, parched, and destitute of water; and that, since they had reached the Coast of *Karmania*, they were no longer in despair of support. These were all reasons, he alleged, for pursuing the Course they were now in, rather than deviating from it; and if *Alexander* had completed his expedition by land, there was reasonable ground for hope that a communication with the army might be obtained; when all the dangers they had experienced would be rewarded by the approbation of the King, and the applause of their countrymen.

This address had its due effect upon the Council; the advice of the Admiral was adopted; and in this instance, says *Arrian*, I am persuaded that the success of the Expedition, and the preservation of all that had embarked in it, is imputable solely to *Nearebus*: an encomium to which no one can refuse to subscribe who is acquainted with the Coast of Arabia, and considers the total unsuitness of the Fleet for such a navigation.

According to *Pietro della Valli*, who visited the Coast of Persia in 1621, every Village where a vessel can land her cargo, or whence there are a few vessels sent to sea, obtains the name of *Bender*. Such a Port as this was probably *Nooptana*, a place which the Fleet reached the following day, after a course of forty-four miles. *Bender Ibrahim*, the port at the river *Ibrahim*, or † *ANAMIS*, seems to occupy the very same ground on which *Nearebus* formed his Naval Camp,

* The *Sab* and *Asabo* of Ptolemy, the *Mussenden* of our modern Charts (p. 292.) and *Strongius* or the *Round Mountain*, is the *Elbuz* of D'Anville, transformed by our English navigators into *Ebowers*, *Hwars*, *Houws*, and *Chowfs*.

† The River *ANAMIS* (p. 295.) is fixed by *Arrian* in the country of *Harmozia*, an appellation which immediately suggests the resemblance it bears to *Harmuz* or *Hormuz*, the celebrated Isle of *Ormuz*, in the neighbourhood. The same title is given to this Tract by *Ptolemy*, of which his *Cape Armenium* is the boundary; and the nearness by which the name passed from the Continent to the Island are common to almost every Island in the gulph. This Tract is styled *Moghestan*, or the *dry country*, in oriental geography, extending to *Karpella*, or perhaps *Jed*. . . . The present *Ormuz* (p. 297.) is an Island known to *Nearebus* by the name of *Organa*, and to the subsequent ages by the title of *Socum*; and however fanciful a recurrence to transposition may be deemed,

Camp, when he arrived at that river the succeeding day; the distance from Nogons is stated at about six miles, making in the whole an hundred miles from Badis.

Nearchu informs us that he found the natives hospitably disposed, and the country abounding in every kind of supply, but oil. The disembarkation here is expressed in terms of joy, that intimated the previous confinement of the people on board for many days; a grievance almost insupportable, considering the construction of a Greek Vessel, and a deliverance from which was the greatest of all refreshments. A *Naval Camp* was established here immediately, by drawing a line from the river to the beach; and fortified by a double rampart with a mound of earth, and a deep ditch, which seems to have been filled with water from the river. Within this inclosure, the vessels were hauled on shore, and all the proper measures adopted both for their security and repair. It was the intention of the Commander to leave his people in this Camp, under the command of proper officers, while he tried himself to obtain an interview with the King.

At the river ANAMIS, then, *Narrows* took his † measures for discovering the situation of the † Army, and he had the satisfaction to find upon inquiry, that it had arrived in safety, and was not at a greater distance than five days' journey from the Coast.

The pleasure of being once more on land, after all the distresses they had experienced, is painted in strong colours by *Narrisaw*; and as they were now in a friendly country, without apprehension either of famine or danger, the people were soon dispersed over the neighbouring tract, either from curiosity, or a desire of supplying their several wants.

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Organa descended into *Orgama* is probably the medium for uniting them both. . . . *Distavally* finds two periods, when the *Hormuzians* on the Main might have fled to *Gerus*, and carried their name with them to their new abode. One in the beginning of the 13th century, when *Salah-din*, a native chief on the Coast, fled from an invader of the *Alafet Turcomans*, who about that time established themselves in *Pharshan* and *Kerman*; and another in the year 1373, when the descendants of *Gragin-Khan* were masters of the Persian empire. To these two periods I must add a third: in the year 1407, or rather 1397, for there is an error of 10 years in the chronology of *Chefereddin*; when *Mahomet* the son of *Timur* was sent down from *Schiras* by his father to this Coast, in order to subdue *Mahomet Shah*, the sovereign of *Ormus*; *Ormus* was at that time evidently on the continent; for the son of *Timur* took seven *Kutubias* which were the defence of the *Shah's* kingdom, and compelled him to fly to *Geruus*, exacting cost there from him a tribute of six hundred thousand dinars. This transaction proves, that the Island was not yet called *Ormus* in 1407; while it is almost evident that *Gerus* was the place of retreat for the inhabitants of the Continent on their three different occasions; and, according to the observation of *Nichur* just mentioned, this is the custom of the Coast. The fluctuation of this word in European orthography justifies much greater liberties in regard to names, than any which occur in this work. *Ormus*, *Ormusz*, *Ormuiz*, *Ormuz*, *Hormuz*, *Hormaz*, *Hormuzia*, *Ormuzia*, *Ormuzia*, *Ormuzia*, *Ormuzia*, are all applied either to the Island, or the neighbouring Continent; and I conclude have all a derivation common to *Hormuzia*, which is *Ormuzia*, or *Hormuzia*, the good Principle in the superstition of the *Parsees*, and a name assumed by several princes of the fourth dynasty, and some of a later date.

* ULYSSES in all his wanderings (p. 298) never appears to have slept in the after-part of the ship, when he could find another bed. In Homer's Gallies there was an *After-Deck*, on which the *Steer-mas* was elevated above the rowers in the wall. . . . Whether, when they slept on board, they slept on the Deck, or under it, does not clearly appear. *Others* was bad lodging.

101. Id. p. 302. The court was thus not Mr. Justice's own reason for citing the case.

Dr. Vincent places Alexander's camp (p. 304.) at Gireft in Karmoula, the Djirift of Ottar.

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Nearchus.

One of these parties accidentally fell in with a Scythian, whose dress and language discovered him to be a Greek: start back from their eyes upon seeing once more a native of their own Country, and hearing once more the sound of their own Language. Inquiries commenced with the eagerness natural to their distress; when they learnt that he had not left the Army, and that the Camp was at no great distance. They instantly hurried the Stranger with all the tumult of joy to Nearchus: in his presence, the same happy discourse was repeated, with assurances that the King was within five days' journey, and that the governor of the province was upon the spot, from whom further intelligence might be obtained.

This Circumstance of good fortune occurred on the day of their arrival. Nearchus instantly determined to undertake the journey, and the next day ordered the Ships to be drawn on shore, and the camp to be fortified. While he was engaged in these transactions, the Governor, who was not unacquainted with the anxiety of Nearchus on account of the Fleet, and thinking to recommend himself by conveying the first intelligence of its arrival, hurried up to the camp by the shortest route, and gaining admittance to the king, informed him, that the Fleet was safe, and that Nearchus himself was coming up in a few days. The joy of Alexander may be readily conceived, notwithstanding he could scarcely allow himself to give full credit to the report. Impatience succeeded to his doubts; days passed after day without confirmation of the fact; and at length, when due allowance had been made, and exultation was exhausted, he dispatched parties different ways in search of Nearchus, either to find him out if he were upon his road, or, if found, to protect him from the natives: but when several of these parties returned without success, concluding the Governor's information was a delusion, he ordered him into confinement, not without the feverish reproaches for rendering his vexation more acute from the disappointment of his hopes.

In this state of suspense he continued for several days, manifesting by his outward deportment the anguish he suffered in his heart. Nearchus, however, was actually on the road; and, while he was proceeding with Archias and five or six others in his company, fortunately fell in with a party from the army, which had been sent out with horses and carriages for his accommodation. The Admiral, and his attendants, from their appearance, might have been passed unnoticed. Their hair long and neglected, their garments decayed, their countenances pale and weather-worn, and their persons emaciated by famine and fatigue, scarcely roused the attention of the friends they had encountered. They were Greeks, however, and of Greeks it was natural to inquire after the Army, and where it was now encamped. An answer was given to their inquiry; but still they were neither recognised by the party, nor was any question asked in return. Just as they were separating from each other, Archias, says Archias, this must be a party sent out for relief: for on what other account can they be wandering about the desert? There is nothing strange in their passing us without notice, for our very appearance is a distress. Let us address them once more, and inform them who we are, and learn from them on what service they are at present employed. Nearchus approved of this advice, and approaching them again, inquired which way they were directing their Course? We are in search of Nearchus and his people, replied the officer, and I am Nearchus, said the admiral, and this is Archias: take us under your conduct, and we will ourselves report our history to the king. They were accordingly placed in the Carriages, and conducted towards the Army without delay. While they were upon their progress, some of the horsemen, impatient

gates to carry the spirit of this happy event, set off for the camp to inform the king, that *Nearchus* and his friends were arrived, with six or five attendants, but of the rest they had no intelligence. This suggested to *Minander*, that perhaps these only were preserved, and that the rest of the people had perished, either by famine or shipwreck; nor did he feel so much pleasure in the preservation of the few, as distress for the loss of the remainder. During this interval, *Nearchus* and his attendants arrived. It was not without difficulty that the king discovered who they were, under the disguise of their appearance; and this circumstance contributed to confirm him in his mistake, imagining that both their persons and their dress bespoke shipwreck, and the destruction of the fleet. He held out his hand, however, to *Nearchus*, and led him aside from his guards and attendants, without being able to utter a word: as soon as they were alone, he burst into tears, and continued weeping for a considerable time; till at length recovering, in some degree, his composure, *Nearchus*, says he, *I feel some satisfaction in finding that you and *Arctides* have escaped; but tell me where, and in what manner, did my Fleet and my People perish?*—*Your Fleet*, replied *Nearchus*, *is all safe; your people are safe; and we are come to bring you an account of their preservation.* Tears, but from a different source, now fell much faster from his eyes: *Where then are my Ships?* says he.—*At the *Arctides**, replied *Nearchus*, *all safe on shore, and preparing for the completion of their Voyage.*—*By the *Lithyæ* stream, and the *Jupiter* of *Græcia*, I swear to you*, rejoined the king, *that I am very happy at receiving this intelligence, that in being the conqueror of all *Asia*, for I should have considered the loss of my Fleet, and the failure of this expedition, as a counterbalance to all the glory I have acquired.* Such was the reception of the Admiral, while the Governor, who was the first bearer of the glad tidings, was still in bonds; upon the sight of *Nearchus*, he fell at his feet, and implored his intercession. It may be well imagined that his pardon was as readily granted, as it was asked.

The joy was now universal through the army; a solemn sacrifice was proclaimed in honour of *Jupiter* the Preserver, of *Minander*, as *Arctides* the averter of destruction, of *Neposus*, and every deity of the Ocean: the games were celebrated, and a splendid procession exhibited, in which *Nearchus* was the principal ornament of the pomp, and the object which claimed the attention of every eye. Flowers and chaplets were wreathed for his head, and showered upon him by the grateful multitude; while the success of his enterprise was proclaimed by their acclamations, and celebrated in their songs. At the conclusion of the festival, the king informed *Nearchus*, that he should no longer expose him to the hazard of the Sea, but send down some other officer to conduct the Fleet to *Susa*. *I am bound to obey you*, replied the Admiral, *as my King, and I take a pleasure in my obedience; but if you wish to gratify me in return, suffer me to retain my command, till I have completed the expedition. I shall find it as an injustice, if, after having struggled through all the difficulties of the Voyage, another shall snuff the remainder almost without an effort, and yet reap the honour of completing what I have begun.* *ALEXANDER*, scarcely permitting him to conclude his request, granted all that he desired; and sent him down again to the Coast.

THE FLEET took its departure with the commencement of the new Year (325 B. C.); and after passing a desert Island called *Organa*, the celebrated *Ormuz* of modern geography, they anchored in safety at the ** Arctis* on the 21st of February, the hundred and twenty-seventh day of this memorable Voyage. Thence they proceeded on the navigation of the Coast of

* For the intermediate detail of the voyage the reader is referred to *Dr. Vincent's Illustration* (p. 312—328.)

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III.

Introduction.
Græcia Persia.

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III.

Voyage of
Nearchus.

Suez; and, on the bank of *Petrobey*, arrived at *Adulis*, a village at the mouth of the *Euphrates*.—*Nearchus* then entered the *Red Sea*, and terminated this Expedition on the 14th of February, 329 years before the Christian æra. The admiral accompanied his grateful sovereign to *Suez*, where among the bright marriages that were celebrated, that of *Nearchus* with the daughter of *Miner* and *Beyfus*, must have been attended with particular honours. He alone as Admiral, and Commander of the Fleet, received crowns of gold; *Archias* Alexander bestowed on the officers of his body-guard. *Nearchus* was also continued in command, and was destined, had Alexander lived, to have completed the circumnavigation of *Arabia* to the *Red Sea*. Even a few days before his death, *Alexander* conversed while in the bath, with *Nearchus* upon his Voyage from *India*, and gave him such orders to be ready.—To assist this project of Discovery, three light galleys of thirty oars each, had sailed at different times, since *Alexander's* arrival at *Babylon*, which he had then on his capital, down the *Arabian* side of the gulf of *Perdia*. The first, commanded by *Archias*, preceded only by *John* *Dalmati*, the centre of the modern *Port of Suez*; in this Voyage two Islands were discovered; one at the distance of 120 fadoms from the mouth of the *Euphrates*, to which *Alexander* gave the name of *Isurus*, the other *Tylos*, described as being large, well-wooded, and productive, situated at the distance of a day and night's sail to a light Vessel, and with a fair wind. The second Galley was commanded by *Archias*, who is said to have advanced to some distance along the Coast of *Arabia*. The third, commanded by *Mor* of *Suez*, stretched far beyond either of the former, and appears to have made great exertions to obey the orders of *Alexander* to circumnavigate *Arabia*, to go up the *Red Sea*, and make the Bay of *Heropolis*, on the *Arabian* coast; by which it is implied, that he was actually to go to *Suez*, the extreme point of the *Red Sea* nearest *Alexandria*. *Mor*, however, was not able to accomplish this design; for his report, when he returned, was, that he had advanced to a great Promontory (Cape *Raf-el-Had*, or *Rafiqat*, the *Synon* of the ancients) which he did not dare to double; and that the Continent of *Arabia* was of much greater extent than had been conceived.

After the death of *Nearchus*, *Alexander* had endeavoured to restore the activity of his afflicted mind, by attempting to explore the *Caspian*; and *Hercules* was in consequence sent into *Byzania* (*Masanderan*) with orders to cut timber, and prepare a fleet of vessels,

• Ibid. p. 454.

† Ibid. p. 454.

‡ Ibid. p. 477.

§ *Suez* is supposed (p. 478.) to occupy nearly the Site of *Astus*, built at the western extremity of the Gulf of *Arabia* by the *Ptolemies*, at a later period. The actual Bay was styled *Khysia*, or *Khysia*, from which the Orientals still call this Sea, the sea of *Kessim*, by a transposition congenial to all their corruptions of foreign terms. *Heropolis* was inland from *Suez*, and Capital of a *Nome* from which the sea of *Suez* was named the Bay of *Heropolis*; one proof that no City had been yet built like *Suez* at the extreme angle; that no Trade had hitherto been carried up so high in the *Red Sea*; and that *Alexander* viewed this point of communication with *Alexandria* with the eye of a master. The Site of *Suez* is not very practicable; and the *Palmettes* afterwards fixed upon *Mys Hormus*, from which point there was a Caravan road to *Ghena* on the Nile, which *Drugs* travelled, and has described most admirably with all that relates to *Mys Hormus*, *Cassib*, *Portus Abbas*, and *Crassus*. There is a beautiful map of the *Red Sea* by *M. de la Roche*.

¶ The Coast of *Arabia* (p. 480.) is highly dangerous from *Mussindus* to *Raf-el-Had*; the winds fluctuate near *Suez*; and, except *Mohar*, there is hardly an Inlet which a Vessel can enter without hazard of Shipwreck, when the wind is boisterous.



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SECTION THE FOURTH.

SECT. I. CARTHAGE. *Situation of the Metropolis. Syrtis. Treaties of Peace and Commerce preserved by Polybius. Gades. New Carthage. Spain the Peru of the ancient World. Ingenuity of the Carthaginian Shipwrights. Ancient mode of Traffic on the Western Coast of Africa. Trade for Gold Dust. Decline of Carthage. Intentions of Alexander. Hanno's Voyage of Discovery. The Magnet. Himilco's Voyage. North Atlantic. Cassiterides.* **II. ROME.** *Rise of the Republic.—First Appearance as a Maritime Power.—Singlar Mode of training their Mariners.—Corvi.—Naval Victory.—Naval Defeat. Naval Skill of a Rhodian. Destruction of Carthage. Voyage of Discovery by Polybius. Atlantic Islands. Hydrographical Divisions of the Ocean. Winds.* **III. ROMAN EMPIRE.** *Augustus. Egypt a Roman Province. Indian Ambassadors from Porus. Phenicia. Claudius. Monsoon.—Hippalus. Maritime Discoveries on the Eastern Coast of Africa. Hyperborean Ocean. Goths. Rise of the Modern Commercial States. Roman Commerce.*

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"This Sun from darkness rose
Illuminating the landscape wide,
The Tents, the far-off Ships, and the pale morning Tide!
Now the Prophetick Song indignant Hows—
Thine, Roman, is the victory;
Roman, the whole World is thine;
... I feel for Julian here—
This rugged Rock my Empire, and this fast
Of Solitude, my Glory's last retreat!
'Tis best not to be,
SOLDIER, the laurel on thy other brow;
THESE SHACKLES WITHED, and thy Fate has leavin' out to you!
Leave thee, like me, despairing, desolate!"

Rowan, vol. II, p. 76.

THE history of the maritime Discoveries, and Commerce of the CAR-
THAGINIANS, has been often neglected in order to allow a more extensive
space to describe the bold and rapacious flight of the Roman Eagle. In the
conquest of Carthage, historians have only beheld the subjugation of a mighty
Republic overwhelmed by its own factions, and the arms of Rome; where-
as, in truth, the destruction of this metropolis of Africa effected the whole
system of civilized life throughout the world. The triumph of Rome was
THE TRIUMPH OF THE SWORD over the milder and more beneficent reign
of commercial power. When Carthage fell, the naval and mercantile
character was buried amidst its ruins, and the military Mariners of Rome
came forward to subjugate and to delude mankind. What a field for re-
flection is here open to the historian: had Carthage triumphed, and the Roman
power been subdued, how greatly would the progress of Nautical Science
have been advanced; whilst the various nations of the globe, united by the
golden chain of commerce, might have cultivated the arts of peace, and
respected the influence of the trident. The discovery of the Cape of
Good Hope, and of America, would have afforded at an earlier period an
ample scope for the genius of ancient commerce, whose resources and in-
fluence, increased with the lapse of ages, would thus not only have meliorated
the condition of mankind, but would also have prevented the monopoly of
power, and the long night of slumber. The scenes which mark the establish-
ment and decline of the Roman empire, could not then have disgraced the
page of history, nor would the actions of a Caligula have insulted the dignity of
human nature.—Yet it was otherwise ordained, and assuredly for wise pur-
poses: the reign of Commerce was never suffered to extend to any long du-
ration,

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Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Period.

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ration, during the continuance of *Paganism*. The fall of Tyre, the death of *Alexander*, and the flames of Carthage, are all memorable and awful instances of the truth of this remark. The *Sword*, on the contrary, was allowed to remain as a scourge; and the triumph of the *Roman Republic* prepared the devastations of this scourge, in the venal cruelty of *Prætorian* despotism; in a slavery both of mind and body by *Mahomet*; in feudal tyranny and darkness; in the tilts and bloody tournaments of chivalry, and in its horrid offspring, an appeal for justice to the sanguinary combat: but I trespass beyond the limits of my subject, and having paid this tribute to the excellency of the naval and commercial character, I hasten to the early periods of Carthaginian history.

Of the various Colonies which the *Phœnicians* formed, those of * *Carthage*, and *Gades* had a decided superiority, and shew the progress of Discovery from the former beyond the *Mediterranean*. It is however extremely difficult to ascertain the exact date of these settlements; we only know from history that it was a considerable time, before even these enterprising navigators had courage to pass the Straits of *Gades*, and dared to venture on that boundless expanse which the *Atlantic* presented. There is every reason to suppose that *Carthage* was the earliest settlement; for if we follow † *Ptolemy*, who has paid great attention to the subject, the Carthaginian era commences 137 years before the foundation of *Rome*, when the sister of *Pygmalion* of Tyre landed in *Africa*: but there seems sufficient authority to give this City a different origin; and either to believe with ‡ *Eusebius* and *Procopius*, that it was founded by the *Canaanites*, who escaped thither from *Jehus*; or with § *Philistus* of *Syracuse*, that it derived its existence from two *Phœnicians*, *Zorus* and *Chærcædon*, thirty years before the *Trojan War*. *Servius* in his annotations on *Virgil*, declares that this city received its name, according to the *Carthaginians*, from *Charta*, a town at no great distance from Tyre. ‖ *Bochart* is of opinion that it was originally called *Carthada*, from an oriental word signifying The City. *Eustathius* and *Stephanus* observe, that the original

* *Utica*, *Hippo*, *Adrumetum*, and *Leptis*, are all thought to have been founded before *Carthage*. *ARISTOTLE* (de mirabilibus) places the building of *Utica* 280 years before the former City.

† *Ration. Tempor. lib. ii. cap. 13.*

‡ *Euseb. in Chron. lib. i. p. 11. Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 19.*

§ *Apud Euseb. in Chron. ad ann. 804.*

‖ *CANAAN de Col. Phœn. lib. i. cap. 24.*

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original Punic name was *Caccabe*, from the circumstance of finding an horse's head in digging for foundations; according to the *columna rostrata* of *Duilius*, it was first known to the Romans by the term * *Cataco*. The national term *Carthaginian* was sometimes changed by the Greeks into that of *Libyan*, and at others blended with the more ancient appellation of *Phœnician*: this also the Romans contracted into *Pani*, *Panc*, and *Punic*.

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IV.

Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman I. c. 1111.

The colony of Carthage must have been planted at an early period of the *Phœnician* empire, since *Herodotus* places a celebrated naval engagement between the *Carthaginians*, and *Phœceans*, in the reign of *Cyrus*, 500 years before the Christian æra; and also gives an additional proof of the antiquity of their naval power, by informing us, that the whole marine of *Persia* in the reign of *Cambyses*, son of *Cyrus*, was considered as insufficient to oppose the *Carthaginian* fleet. Mr. *Falconer*, in his excellent † *Dissertations* on the *Periplus* of *Hanno*, offers many interesting remarks relative to the *Carthaginian* history, which he divides into three periods. According to *Cato the elder*, Carthage existed as a political state during the space of 737 years, during six hundred of which she continued Sovereign of the sea. Mr. *Falconer's* first period extends from the foundation of this republic, to the invasion of Sicily by the *Carthaginians*, and of Greece by *Xerxes*, in the year 480 B. C., containing a space of 403 years. The second period, commencing from this point, terminates in the year 264, when the rivalry of Rome and Carthage manifested itself by a celebrated breach. The third part, which comprehends the three Punic wars, consists of 118 years only, and extends from the year 264 to 146, when Carthage was destroyed.

Date of its
Settlement.

The City of Carthage consisted of its citadel called *Byrsa* from the *Phœnician* *Buſra*, signifying, according to *Scaliger* and *Bochart*, a fortress; this was surrounded with *Megara*, or *Magaria*, the *Phœnician* term for *bouſes*, and together formed a double town; which, with the inner port, or *cothon*, composed the three parts of Carthage, forming the *Stonehouse*, *Plymouth*, and *Dock*, of that celebrated metropolis.

View of Car-
thage.

The

* See the history of this Republic, admirably given by the editors of the ancient Univ. Hist. (vol. xv. p. 216.).

† *Falconer's Voyage of Hanno* (p. 83.), 1797, accompanied with the Greek text, a translation, and two dissertations, with maps.

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The inner port, or *Cothon*, displayed the genius and resources of this Republic. It was lined with innumerable storehouses, and contained docks sufficiently capacious to shelter from the weather two hundred and twenty Vessels of war: marble pillars of the Ionic order adorned the entrance of these docks, and gave additional beauty to the scene. On the Island, in the centre of the harbour, appeared the admiral's palace, commanding a delightful view of the opening to the sea. Their merchant ships were separated by a double wall in the outer harbour from the men of war; and to each division a particular landing place, and entrance to the city, was allotted.

Carthage, in the zenith of its power, had three hundred cities under her jurisdiction, and possessed a line of Coast, nearly 2000 miles in length, extending from the * *Syrtis Major* to the *Pillars of Hercules*. The climate was

* Major Rennell, in his illustration of the *Geography of Herodotus*, pays considerable attention to these *SYRTES*, the terror of ancient mariners (p. 646). "The greater *Syrtis* bordered on the west of the province of *Cyrenaica*, and penetrated to the depth of about 100 miles within the two Capes, that formed its mouth or opening; which were, that of *Boreum* on the East, *Cephalus*, or *Tricorium*, on the West. In front, it was opposed to the opening of the Adriatic sea: and the Mediterranean in this part expanding to the breadth of near 10 degrees, (which is its greatest breadth,) exposed this gulf to the violence of the northerly winds.—*Scylax* reckons it a passage of three days and nights across its mouth, which, however, measures no more than 180 G. miles, on the best modern maps. It is not, however, pretended, either that the whole extent of this space was equally dangerous, or that there were dangers in every part: on the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that the dangers were confined to particular parts of it.—The *lesser Syrtis* lay opposite to the Islands of Sicily and Malta. It appears to be no more than 40 to 50 G. miles in breadth, but penetrates about 75 within the continent; and we have *Scylax's* word, that it was the most dangerous of the two. The Islands *Cercina* and *Cercinnitis* (Cyranis of Herodotus), bounded its entrance to the North; *Meninx*, or that of the *Lotophagi*, on the South.—Pliny informs us that *Polybius* had written a description of them; which, perhaps, from the acuteness and accuracy of that author, might have been a better one, than any that has come down to us. It may be supposed to have been a part of the information collected by him, whilst employed in exploring the coasts of *Africa*, by Scipio (lib. v. c. 1.). It is certain that the single fact of wading a mile or two into the sea, does away all idea of quicksands in this place (the *lesser Syrtis*), so that these must necessarily be confined to the other *Syrtis*, although this one may be equally, or even more dangerous.—Dr. *Shaw* was informed (p. 194.), that frequently at the Island of Jerba on the south side of the *Syrtis*, the sea rose twice a day, a fathom or more above its usual height: but during his stay on the Coast, the easterly winds were too violent to enable him to notice it; that is, we may suppose, the sea was kept up to a pitch nearly equal to high water mark, by the pressure of

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was so healthy, that, according to *Sallust*, few of the inhabitants died of any infirmity but old age. They enjoyed a free government consisting of three estates, the *Suffetes*, the *Senate*, and the *Commons*; in which, according to *Polybius*, *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, and *Democracy* were all centered: nor was the stability of this great nation ever impaired, until the power of the people obtained an undue ascendancy; from that period, says ancient history, the celebrated state of Carthage began to decline, and in a few years the circle of its glory, which for centuries had never ceased to enlarge itself, was dispersed for ever.

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Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

Two most curious documents, respecting the Naval History of Carthage, have descended to us in the Treaties of peace and commerce preserved by *Polybius*. The first, concluded twenty-eight years before the expedition of Xerxes, in the Consulship of *Junius Brutus* and *Marcus Horatius*, is marked by a watchful commercial spirit, anxious to encourage Navigation. *Polybius* declares, he had given the sense of it with all the skill and accuracy of which he was master; but the language used in those times was so different from any spoken among the Romans at a later period, that frequently the best interpreters, even after the closest application, were unable to explain it.

Early Com-
mercial
States.

“ Between the * *Romans* and their allies, and the *Carthaginians* and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. Neither the Romans nor their Allies shall sail beyond the *Fair † Promontory*, unless compelled

of the wind on the waters, in the mouth of the gulf. The *Marquis de Chabert*, during his short stay on this Coast in 1766, remarked that the tides rose three feet: but the marks on the shore shewed a rise of five (French) feet, at the highest tides; agreeing nearly with the report of Dr. Shaw. The *Marquis* perceived the rise and fall to be more sensible along the Coast of *Africa proper*, between *C. Bon* and *Kaber*, than elsewhere; and that it diminished, all the way eastward to the *Greater Syrtis* (*Hist. de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1767.). This might reasonably be expected. The wave of Tide is suddenly opposed in front by the eastern coast of *Tunis*; and also compressed laterally by the island of *Sicily*.—The Tides in the *Syrtis* are spoken of by several of the ancient authors, as well as by *Edrisi*, amongst the moderns; but none of them mention the height to which they rise.”

* Translation by *Hampton*, vol. i. p. 312. book iii.

† The *Pulchrum Promontorium*, or *Fair Promontory*, was the head land of a long Cape, projecting northward into the sea, on the east side of the bay at the extremity of which Carthage was situated. This Cape divided the bay from the *Syrtis Minor*. *Polybius* imagines that the design of the *Carthaginians* in not permitting the *Romans* to sail to the southward of this Promontory, arose from their wish to

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pelled by bad weather or an enemy. And in case that they are forced beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase any thing, except what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for Sacrifice; and they shall depart within five days. The Merchants, that shall offer any goods to sale in *Sardinia*, or any part of *Afric*, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the Scribe and Crier: and the Publick Faith shall be a security to the Merchant, for whatever he shall sell in the presence of these officers. If any of the Romans land in that part of *Sicily* which belongs to the Carthaginians, they shall suffer no wrong or violence in any thing. The Carthaginians shall not offer any injury to the *Ardeates*, *Antiates*, *Laurentines*, *Circean*, *Tarracinians*, or any other people of the *Latins*, that have submitted to the Roman jurisdiction. Nor shall they possess themselves of any city of the *Latins* that is not subject to the Romans. If any one of these be taken, it shall be delivered to the Romans in its entire state. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortrefs in the *Latin Territory*: and if they land there in a hostile manner, they shall depart before night."

This Treaty, concluded in the first year of the Roman Commonwealth, was succeeded by a second, the great Navigation Act of *Carthage*. It probably was framed at no great distance from the other; but the date unfortunately is not known, and therefore conjecture must be allowed to supply what has been lost by time, and the neglect of historians. In this Treaty the Carthaginians include the States of *Tyre* and *Utica*, and extend their line of limitation to the Roman commerce from the *Fair Promontory*, to the cities of *Mastia* and *Tarseium* near the Pillars of *Hercules*; which at once excluded their rivals from the whole extent of the Carthaginian Coast.

" Between

conceal the knowledge of the country that lay round *Byzacium*, and the *lesser Syrtis*; which, on account of its uncommon richness and fertility, was called THE MARKETS. Dr. Taylor, in his *Elements of The Civil Law*, notices this Treaty (p. 506. ed. 4to.). " In this Treaty, and some renewals of it afterwards, it is pleasant to observe the future Masters of Mankind stipulating, like very small Merchants, to keep within proper bounds at Sea, to confine their *buccaniering*, for it was no better, within a particular point, and never to double a certain Cape, that lay off *Carthage*, unless they were compelled by stress of weather. These conditions, on the side of the Carthaginians, shew a great Power at that time of day, or a great spirit, that could in a manner give laws to trade: and on the side of the Romans, it speaks little of a Maritime Power, to submit to Terms which must be of the hardest digestion to any people that turned their thoughts, with the smallest degree of attention, to the considerations of Commerce and Navigation."

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" Between the *Romans* and their *allies, and the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrians*, *Utiaceans*, and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. The *Romans* shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffick, nor build any city, beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Maftia* and *Tar-seium*. If the *Carthaginians* take any city of the *Latins*, not belonging to the *Roman* jurisdiction, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If any of the *Carthaginians* gain any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written Treaty with the *Romans*, though they are not the subjects of their empire, they shall not bring them into the *Roman* ports: in case they do so, the *Romans* shall be allowed to claim, and set them free. The same condition shall be observed also by the *Romans*: and when they land in search of water, or provisions, upon any Country that is subject to the *Carthaginians*, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart; without offering any violence to the Allies and friends of *Carthage*. The breach of these conditions shall not be resented as a private injury, but be prosecuted as the publick cause of either people. The *Romans* shall not carry on any trade, or build any City in *Sardinia*, or in *Afric*: nor shall they even visit those Countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their Ships. If they are driven upon them by a Storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of *Sicily*, which belong to the *Carthaginians*, and in the city of *Carthage*, the *Romans* may expose their goods to sale, and do every thing that is permitted to the citizens of the Republick. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the *Carthaginians*, at Rome."

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To *Carthage* succeeded the valuable Phenician colony of † *GADES*; and *Gades*. in supporting the cause of the mother country, at this settlement, against the native *Iberians*, the *Carthaginians* are first recorded to have passed the Straits. In the performance of this duty *Carthage* was not unmindful of her own interests, since she eagerly embraced the opportunity to secure considerable possessions in the adjoining province of *Boetica*. *Phenicia* at length yielded the palm of maritime glory to her aspiring offspring; the foundation of a commercial mart in the province of *Tarraconensis*, now *Valentia*, gave an additional scope to the enterprize of the *Carthaginian* settlers, and

* Ibid. vol. i. p. 213.

† Sir Isaac Newton, in his Chronology (p. 109.), cites a passage from *Solinus* (C. 23. edit. Salm.), to prove, that among the many places called *Erythra*, the island *GADES* received from the Phenicians the name of *Erythea*, or *Erythra*.

S E C T. and as its advantageous situation in some measure reminded them of their
IV. own metropolis in *Africa*, they endeavoured to abate the painful idea of
 absence, by giving the appellation of * *New Carthage* to this rising city; the
 site of which may still be traced in modern *Carthage*. They also
 occupied many valuable islands in the Mediterranean, and established factories
 in, the *Baleares*; whence they procured excellent honey, corn, and wine.
Sardinia, *Corfica*, *Malta* and *Gozza*, all belonged to the Carthaginians, and
 a considerable part of the island of *Sicily* was even subject to their republic,
 before

* Maurice's Dissertation, p. 323. (Indian Antiq. vol. vi.). The following descrip-
 tion of New *CARTHAGE* is given by *Polybius* in his tenth book, who declares, that he visit-
 ed this celebrated emporium of ancient commerce, and examined it with particular at-
 tention. " New Carthage then is situate near the middle of the Coast of *Spain*, upon a
 gulph that looks towards the south-west, and which contains in length about twenty stadia,
 and about ten stadia in breadth at the first entrance. The whole of this gulph is a per-
 fect harbour. For an Island lying at the mouth of it, and which leaves on either side a
 very narrow passage, receives all the waves of the sea: so that the gulph remains en-
 tirely calm; except only that its waters are sometimes agitated by the south-west winds
 blowing through these passages. All the other winds are intercepted by the land, which
 incloses it on every side. In the inmost part of the gulph stands a mountain in form of a
 peninsula, upon which the City is built. It is surrounded by the Sea, upon the east and
 south; and on the west by a lake, which is extended also so far towards the north, that the
 rest of the space, which lies between the lake and the Sea, and which joins the City to the
 Continent, contains only two stadia in breadth. The middle part of the City is flat; and
 has a level approach to it from the Sea, on the side towards the south. The other parts
 are surrounded by hills; two of which are very high and rough; and the other three,
 though much less lofty, are full of cavities, and difficult of approach. Of the former
 two, the largest is that which stands on the side of the east. It extends itself into the Sea,
 and has a temple consecrated to *Æsculapius* upon the top. The other is in like manner situ-
 ated opposite to the former upon the west. Upon this last, is a magnificent and royal pa-
 lace, which was built for *Asdrubal*, when he designed, as it is said, to declare himself Sovereign
 of the country. The other three hills, which are of smaller size, inclose the City on
 the side towards the north. The first of these, which stands nearest to the east, has the
 appellation of *Vulcan*. The second, that of *Aletes*; who is said to have obtained divine
 honours, from having first discovered the *Silver Mines*. The third is called the hill of *Sa-
 turn*. For the convenience of those who use the Sea, a communication is made by art be-
 tween the lake and the Sea. And across the narrow Channel which joins the two toge-
 ther, there is also a bridge; which serves for the passage of carriages and beasts of burden as,
 they come loaded with necessaries from the country into the City. . . . This City formerly
 contained not more than twenty stadia in circumference. Many writers indeed affirm it
 to have been forty. But in this they are mistaken. For my own part, I can speak of
 this matter with assurance."

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before the foundation of the *Persian* empire. But the *Carthaginians* derived their principal source of wealth, from the valuable mines of *Andalusia* and *Corduba*, which they probably shared with the *Phenicians*; as also from others which their own ingenuity and perseverance had discovered in the rich and productive soil of * *SPAIN*, stiled by *Silius Italicus*, *Aurifera Terra*. According to *Aristotle*, as cited by † Mr. Maurice, when the *Phenicians* first visited the rich coast of *Iberia*, they found Gold and Silver in prodigious abundance; so that the Spaniards of that age wonderfully resembled the unfortunate *Mexicans*, whom the avarice of succeeding generations was doomed to persecute. The *Phenicians* beheld, with the astonishment of *Cortez*, the riches of *Iberia*; the tonnage of their ships was ill adapted to satisfy the monopoly in which they invariably had indulged; and they at length proceeded not only to make their anchors and other implements of silver, but actually to use it as ballast. The *Carthaginians*, according to *Strabo*, found the very mangers in *Iberia* constructed of silver, and their horses shod with it. *Pliny* mentions several of the rich silver mines that were worked by the *Carthaginians* in Spain; and we are ‡ informed that from the mine called *Bebel*, Hannibal daily received three hundred pounds of silver.

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The situation of *Carthage*, as a commercial state, was greatly superior to that of the mother country; since the former enjoyed a more central situation in the Mediterranean. The *Carthaginian* commerce was various and extensive, and the profession of a merchant was esteemed the most honourable. A lucrative branch of trade was carried on with the *Persians*, *Garamentes*, and *Ethiopians*, for carbuncles of inestimable value; and from the abundance

Their Com-
merce and
Ingenuity.

* The origin of the term *Espanna*, first pointed out by *Bochart*, is thus given by Mr. *Wyndham Beawes*, in his *Dissertations on Spain and Portugal* (1793. p. 37.), from the fathers *Mobedanos*: "The most likely then that we find concerning the origin of the word *Espanna*, is its being derived from the *Phenician* monosyllable *span*, or *saphan*, which signifies a *rabbit*; and so the *Phenicians* would call it *sphanijam*, or *spanisan*, which is the same as a *rabbit burrow*." If we may credit *M. Varro*, cited from *Pliny* (L. viii. c. 29.), at least what the said *Pliny* refers to (Ibid. c. 55.), and *Strabo* (Lib. iii.), the inhabitants of the Islands *Baleares* found themselves so oppressed by rabbits, that they intreated the emperor *Augustus* to send some troops to attack them. A couple of rabbits had been carried from the continent of *Spain* to those Isles. They were then unknown to all *Europe*, except *Spain* and *Languedoc*. Father *Flores* has two medals of *Spain*, coined at Rome during the reign of *Adrian*, each with the figure of a rabbit.—Compare this account by Mr. *Beawes*, with the Portuguese settlement at *Puerto Santo* (chap. ii. p. 156.).

† Ibid. p. 261.

‡ *Strabo*, lib. xxxiii. cap. 6.

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abundance of these precious gems at Carthage, they derived, according to Pliny, the name of *Charchedonian*, or *Carthaginian*. The ingenuity of her artificers soon became superior to those of other countries; the different *Punic* wares, on which taste or fashion stamped an imaginary value, were always distinguished by the peculiar neatness and elegance of the workmanship; *Punic* beds, *Punic* windows, and *Punic* * tables, were even celebrated by the implacable enemies of this Republic. A learned † writer thinks it probable that the *Carthaginians* were the first who made Cables for large vessels of the shrub *spartum*, or at least that they communicated this invention to the *Romans*; and as the latter nation certainly derived their principles of ship-building from the *Carthaginians*, we may be justified in attributing to them, what has generally been esteemed the modern art of caulking and sheathing ships: since a vessel, thus secured, which had belonged to *Trajan*, was ‡ weighed out of the lake of *Riccia*, by the order of Cardinal *Prospero Colonna*. All kinds of Naval Stores were procured in the greatest perfection at Carthage; the first *quadrireme*, or four-oared Galley, was, according to *Aristotle*, launched from the dock yard of this republic; and the ingenuity which planned it, must have awakened the emulation of other artists to suggest improvements in the same line. In the equipment of their ships the *Carthaginians* encouraged the talents both of the painter and sculptor: with the productions of the first their ships were ornamented, the exploits of their illustrious ancestors afforded a constant subject of emulation to the crew, and the sacred *pataci*, or images, that were placed on the most elevated part of the ship, called forth whatever firmness the imperfect principles of paganism could supply. The *Romans*, however, exerted such continued diligence, and cherished such implacable malice, in blackening the character of this ingenious nation, that it behoves every one to preserve a constant scepticism in perusing their accounts. The dark § picture of *Carthaginian* manners

* The fashion for the *Citron wood* of *Africa* prevailed to such a degree at *Rome*, that, according to *Pliny*, as cited by *Gibbon* (vol. ix. p. 457, note), a round board, or table, of this wood, four or five feet in diameter, sold for ten, or twelve thousand pounds sterling.

† *Universal History*, vol. xv. p. 264.

‡ APPENDIX (p. 86.).

§ A writer in the *Universal History* exclaims (vol. xv. p. 274.), " Had the writings of *Philistus Syracusanus*, *Ephorus*, *Timæus Siculus*, *Aratus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books of *Diodorus Siculus*, or any of the *Punic* historians, been now extant,

ners which has survived the wreck of time and barbarism, is drawn by that remorseless enemy, who destroyed all the archives of *Carthage*, and trampled on talents, long exerted to promote the elegance and comfort of social intercourse.

Even *Herodotus* condescended to favour the envy or prejudices of his countrymen respecting *Carthage*; however, he was, as an historian obliged to record some transactions, and the following is more particularly interesting, since the * same custom remained when the Portuguese first rediscovered the north-western coast of Africa. "The *Carthaginians* sailing beyond the Straits or pillars of *Hercules*, traded with the *Libyans* of those parts in the following manner: after they had run into some creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them exposed on a point of land, returned on board their ships. They then caused a great smoke to be raised, at the sight of which the *Libyans* came to the place where the wares had been left; and depositing a quantity of *Gold*, retired at a good distance from them. The *Carthaginians* then land a second time; and if the *Gold* appeared to them an equivalent, they carried it off, and sailed without delay; if not, they continued quiet on board for some time. The *Libyans*, finding them not yet satisfied, return and add more gold; and if this proved insufficient, they continued increasing it, until the *Carthaginians* were satisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least injustice to the other. The *Carthaginians* did not touch the *Libyan* gold until it was of equal value with their wares; and the *Libyans* did not attempt to remove the *Carthaginian* merchandise, until the *Gold* which they offered as an equivalent, was † accepted."

From the same historian may be derived some information, respecting the places on the African coast, whence the *Carthaginians* procured Gold Dust, and Pitch. "According to the ‡ *Carthaginians*, we next meet with an Island called

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Roman Periods.*

Ancient
Mode of
Traffic.

Trade for
Gold Dust.

extant, we might have received sufficient light from them, in many material points, relating to the first ages of *Carthage*; but these have, for a long series of ages, been no more. These the Roman Virtue, Generosity, Greatness of Soul, and Love of Truth, thought proper to deny posterity."

* See *Cadmus's voyage* (p. 245.).

† *Melpomene*, (lib. iv.) ch. 196.

‡ *Ibid.* ch. 195. (Beloe's translation, vol. iii. p. 353.)

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called * *Cyranis*, 200 stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with Olives and Wines. Here is a lake from which the young women of the island draw up *Gold Dust* with bunches of feathers besmeared with *Pitch*. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more probable, after having seen at Zacynthus (*Zante*) Pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two *orgyia*. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the Pitch attaches itself to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but is in other respects preferable to that of *Pieria*. The Pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose by the side of the lake; and when a sufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in casks."

The maritime power of *Carthage* had attained its summit, when *Tyre* was taken by Alexander; from that period the strength of this republic gradually declined. It was the intention of the Conqueror, had he lived, according to some memoranda found on his tablets, to have entirely destroyed the commerce of a nation so intimately connected with the *Tyrians*; and the magnitude of the design was worthy of the son of Philip. A thousand galleies, on the return of the Macedonian monarch, would have sailed from *Alexandria* throughout the Mediterranean; nor would the subjugation of *Carthage* have been deemed complete, until the whole of the adjacent coasts, both of Africa and Spain, had acknowledged *Alexander* as their sovereign. A broad and regular road for the convenience of commerce, was to have extended along the conquered line of coast, to *Ceuta* and *Tangier*; whilst the establishment of Arsenal, Havens, and Dock-yards, at proper intervals, would have displayed the naval supremacy of Macedonia. These designs of Alexander were in part suspected by the *Carthaginians*, who accordingly employed the address of *Hamilcar* to avert the impending storm: but the report of their ambassador served only to confirm their apprehensions. On his arrival in Egypt, *Hamilcar* beheld with astonishment the rising metropolis of eastern commerce: the alarm was quickly conveyed to *Carthage*; and the trembling messenger, who bore

* The *Cerania* of Bochart. Major Rennell places *Cyranis* in the Mediterranean, near Carthage, and remarks that Diodorus mistook it for *Cerne* (Arguin), *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 639.

bore this unwelcome intelligence, was sacrificed to the pusillanimous agitation of an ungovernable and ferocious democracy.

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The commerce that existed between *India*, and *Phenice*, is traced by Mr. Maurice in the works already * cited; who also observes, that the celebrated foundress of Carthage perished on the funeral pile of her husband *Pygmalion*, according to the religion of the Gentoos. A maritime intercourse of such importance as that with *India*, must therefore have been known and encouraged by the *Carthaginians*; and if the conjecture is not too bold, I could wish to believe, that on the perfect establishment of their naval power in *Africa*, and its extent towards the shore of the Atlantic; its government was prompted by the Voyage of *Nearchus*, and the information received from caravans respecting the interior of *Africa*, to fit out a squadron of discovery under the command of *Hanno*; in order to explore a more expeditious and less perilous course to *INDIA* round the southern extremity of their Continent. This, which is mentioned by † *Pliny* as the original object of the Voyage, would have effectually ruined the rising mart of *Alexandria* so much dreaded by the *Carthaginians*; and the Voyage of *Hanno*, when thus considered, was worthy of the wisdom, and policy, of a great commercial State.

The authenticity of this curious † Voyage, like the valuable travels of *Brute* Hanno's in our own days, has been the subject of considerable altercation. *Dodwell* Voyage. in vain exerted his great talents to invalidate the journal; and even the learning of my friend Professor § *Symonds* has injudiciously been employed to support the same arguments. Not to dwell on the contrary opinions of || *Campomanes*, *Bougainville*, and *Robertson*, our principal attention shall be

* Sect. I. p. 5.

† Lib. ii. 57.

‡ Among the Dissertations by Mr. *W. Beawes*, on *Spain and Portugal*, (p. 75.) the reader will find one of considerable length relative to the Voyage attempted by the ancients; in which the learned illustration of *Hanno's Voyage* by *Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes*, is deservedly commended. Mr. *Beawes* also mentions another work, as likely to be published by the same author; *Historia Nautica de Espanna*.

§ Dr. *Symonds*'s Remarks on an Essay, intitled the History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity (1778.).

|| Don *Pedr. Rodrig. Campomanes*, antigüedad marítima de Cartago, con el Periplo de su General Hannon traducido e ilustrado. *Madrid*, 4to. 1756. *BOUGAINVILLE* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom xxvi.). *ROBERTSON's History of America*, 8vo.

S E C T. IV. be given to the remarks of *Ramusio*, *Purchas*, *Montesquieu*, *Falconer*, and *Rennell*. Mr. Falconer published a most ingenious and able defence of *Hanno's* voyage; and, as he purposed, has stated the arguments of *Dodwell* with accuracy, and answered them with candour.

Mr. *Falconer*, after *Bougainville*, places it in the year * 570 before the Christian era, during the latter's first period of Carthaginian history, when the Republic, after the lapse of 333 years, was in the most flourishing condition; and he fixes on the *Hanno*, who was contemporary with *Solon*, and to whom *Anacharsis* addressed a letter which *Cicero* has preserved, as the navigator employed. The conjecture which I have ventured to adopt respecting the motive of this Voyage, makes an advance of more than 200 years, and places this expedition in *Bougainville's* second period of the Carthaginian history, to which it is generally confined, about half a century before the open animosity of the rival republics.

The *Romans*, as already remarked, lost no opportunity to render every thing dubious that tended to reflect honour on the republic of Carthage. It is not therefore surprising, if their poets and historians neglected to celebrate the fame of *Hanno* as a navigator. *Pliny*, at the distance of many centuries, strives to discredit the Journal, because no vestige could then be traced of the Cities, or Towns, which *Hanno* founded on the coast of *Africa*. But let the sentiments of the great *Montesquieu* be cited, to counteract whatever the envy, or prejudice of the Romans may have effected. "It would indeed have been a wonder, if any such vestiges had remained. Was it a *Corinth*, or an *Athens*, that *Hanno* built on those Coasts? He left *Carthaginian* families in those places most commodious for trade, and secured them,

870. (vol. i. p. 351.) II. *RAMUSIO*, *Raccolte de Viaggi* (vol. i. folio 112.). *PURCHAS* (vol. i. p. 78.). *MONTESQUIEU* *Esprit des Loix*, (L. xxi. c. 8.) *RENNELL'S* *Geography* of *Herodotus* (p. 719.).

* <i>Fabrizius</i> , and <i>Miles</i> , fix it in the year 300 B. C.	
<i>Dodwell</i> , in about	340.
<i>Campomonte</i> ,	407.
<i>Florian d'Ocampo</i> ,	440.
<i>Mariana</i> ,	448.
<i>De Bréguigny</i> , about	500.
<i>Bougainville</i> ,	570.

† *Esprit des Loix* (L. xxi. c. 11.).

as well as his hurry would permit, against savages and wild beasts. The calamities of the *Carthaginians* put an end to the Navigation of *Africa*; their families must necessarily then either perish or become savages. Besides, were the ruins of these cities even still in being, who would venture into the woods and marshes to make the discovery? We find, however, in *Scylax* and *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* had considerable Settlements on these coasts. These are the vestiges of the Cities of *Hanno*; there are no other, for the same reason that there are no other of *Carthage* itself. . . . *HANNO'S VOYAGE* was written by the very man who performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation. *Great commanders write their actions with simplicity, because they receive more honour from facts than from words.*"

Ramusio, and *Purchas*, were among the first who favoured their respective countrymen with translations of this interesting Voyage. The former subjoined an elucidation from the verbal narrative of a Portuguese commander, who was accustomed to trade to the island of *St. Thomas*, which is thus translated by Mr. Falconer: "Having observed, in this *Voyage of Hanno*, many parts worthy of attention, I thought I should give great satisfaction to the learned, if I wrote out some few remarks that I have inserted at different times in my Journals, and which I have heard related in conversation by a * *Portuguese Piloto*, a native of the town of *Condi*, whose name is concealed for proper reasons. This person, who had arrived at *Venice* with a ship laden with sugars from the island of *St. Thomas*, became the familiar friend and acquaintance of the Count *Rimondo della Torse*, a nobleman of *Verona*, who was residing for his amusement at *Venice*; being known to every person distinguished for his skill in the Art of Navigation, for his elegant knowledge, or extensive reading. He himself likewise had collected a great store of information, and had studied the *Tables of Ptolemy* in particular. He was continually soliciting the *Portuguese* with invitations to his house whilst he remained at *Venice*; because he received peculiar pleasure from the accounts of the *New Voyages*. This commander having frequently sailed to the *Island of St. Thomas*, which lies under the † Equinoctial Line, had not neglected either Port, River, or Mountain, on the Western Coast of *Africa*. He had seen and described them, with all the circumstances of height, extent, and number of leagues, and had noted them down on certain papers, so that

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* *Raccolte de Viaggi* (vol. i. F 112. A.). A further account of this Voyage is given in chap. ii. sect. 2.

† Subsequent observations have corrected this idea; see Chart the third.

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that he could converse on these subjects very particularly, and very intelligently. The Count Rimondo having read the Voyage above mentioned, the Portuguese was much pleased and astonished to find, that this Coast had been discovered 2000 years; for it had not been explored, by the command of any prince, the entire Space of an hundred years before the time of the INFANTE DON HENRY of Portugal. It appeared to him likewise an extraordinary circumstance, that this Commander, *Hanno*, should have possessed so much courage to navigate it at so early a period, since, from his own account, and the *Tables of Ptolemy*, he had proceeded within a degree of the equinoctial line; having neither Compass nor Chart, things invented a long time afterwards."

The Greek text of the Periplus of *Hanno* was published by *Sigismund Gelenius* at Basil in 1533, and this was succeeded by the edition of *Conrad Gesner*: it afterwards was printed by Hudson in his valuable collection of the minor Greek geographers. Of the modern translations, Mr. Falconer's is certainly in many respects superior to that by *Purchas*: the latter is however preferred on this occasion, as possessing its share of merit, and being the least known. A selection from the remarks of Mr. Falconer, and Major Rennell, compose the notes.

Hanno's
Voyage.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF HANNO, COMMANDER OF THE CARTHAGINIANS, ROUND THE PARTS OF LIBYA BEYOND THE PILLARS OF HERCULES, WHICH HE DEPOSITED IN THE TEMPLE OF * SATURN.

I.

"THE CARTHAGINIANS determined that Hanno should sail without Hercules Pillars, and there build cities of the † *Liby-phenicians*. He set sail with threescore Ships of fifty oars a-piece, conducting with him a great multitude of men and women, to the number of thirty thousand, with victuals and all other necessaries.

"We

* Works of genius and literature are still hung up in the Mosque at Mecca, of several of which the late Sir William Jones has given elegant translations (*Falconer*).

† The Carthaginians being of Phenician original from *Tyrus*, and *Lybian* habitation and empire, called their cities *Libyphenician*. (*Purchas*.)

" *We* * arrived at the Pillars, and passed them; and having sailed without them two daies, we built the first citie; calling it † *Thymiatarium*. It had round about it very large champagnes. After turning toward the *West*, we came to a promontorie of *Africa*, called *Soleis* ‡ (Solocis), covered all over with

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* The commencement has a very singular Introduction, which contains the decree of the Senate of Carthage, and the name of *Hanno* is the third person singular; and the narrative immediately follows, beginning in the first person plural. I am inclined to think, that this Title might have been affixed by the *Carthaginians* themselves, as a kind of explanation, or an index, for the use of those persons who might resort to the temple of *Saturn* to examine such public records.—The Narrative seems to have been originally designed for the information of the *Carthaginians*, or of such traders as resorted to Carthage alone; and, for this reason, the detail of the Voyage from Carthage to the Pillars is entirely omitted. The parts of *Africa* immediately following are slightly described, in order to give a general notion of the situation of the new Colonies; because the places were familiar to those who were addressed, and by whom they had probably been formerly examined. (*Falkner.*)

† The first city was founded at no great distance beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, the rest short of *Cape Bojador*; so that the passengers did not continue on board any great proportion of the time employed in the voyage. (*Remell.*) *THYMIATARIUM* seems to the Portugall pilot in *Ramuse* to be *Asnam* in 32 and an halfe, where runneth a spacious Plaine to Morocco (*Purchas*).

‡ The position of the Promontory of *Soleis*, becomes of great importance towards the measure of regulating our ideas of the ancient system of African geography; and of adjusting the limits of ancient Navigations. . . There are few parts of Ptolemy's geography, in which the Latitudes agree so well with the modern observations, as in the part between the Strait of Gibraltar, and *C. Bojador*—so that this part of the coast must have been much frequented: but it is remarkable, that, although the Parallels are so generally exact, the bearing is out full four Points of the Compass; it being nearly S. by E. in Ptolemy, when it is in reality about S. W. by S. And hence it may be collected, that, when the latitudes could not be applied to the correction of the bearings, the Ancients formed very erroneous calculations of them. . . . From a review of the argument, then, it appears, that the *Soleis* of *Hanno*, and of *Scylax*; and the *Solis* of Pjiny, and of Ptolemy, must have been situated between the Capes *Blanca* and *Gerr*, on the Coast of *Morocco*: in which quarter also, the *Soleis* of Herodotus, as being a part of the inhabited tract, must of necessity be situated. . . . On the whole we must conclude that to be the Promontory intended, from whence the Coast turns sensibly to the Southward, after projecting Westward, from the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. For, the circumstance that seems to have marked it, was, the difficulty of doubling it from the northward, with the prevalent winds of that region; which are westerly; and which difficulty was greatly increased by an indraught of current towards the mouth of the Strait. . . . In a word, it may be conceived, that only the Capes *Cantin* and *Bojador* can have any claim to a preference in this matter; and that, from their *prominency* beyond the line of the Coast; and for which quality the

Promontory,

S E C T.
IV.Hanno's
Voyage.

with woods. And having here built a temple to *Neptune*, we sailed halfe a day towards the *East*, till we arrived at a fenne, which is situated not farre from the sea, very full of great and long canes; and there were in it, feeding, elephants and many other creatures.

" Then having gone about a daies saile beyond that fenne, we built Cities on the Sea-coast, calling them by their proper names * *Murus, Caricus, Gitta, Acra, Melitta* and *Arambis*. Departing from thence we came to The great Riuér *Lixus*, which descends from *Africa*: by it there were certaine men called *Lixita*, feeders of cattell, tending their flockes; with whom wee continued so long, that they became verie familiar. Moreouer, vp in the countrie about them, the Negroes (Ethiopians) inhabited, who will not traffique with any, and their countrie is verie barbarous and full of wilde beasts, and enuironed with high mountaines, from which, as they say, issues the riuér † *Lixus*; and round about the mountains inhabit men (Troglodytæ) of † diuers shapes, which haue their abiding in canes; they runne swifter than horses

Promontory of *Solosse* seems to have been distinguished. In point of relative situation, *Dejader*, from what has appeared, is absolutely out of the question: and it must then be concluded, that *Cantin* was the Promontory intended by Herodotus, and the Greeks in general; whilst *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* placed it more to the South, perhaps from misapprehension (*Rennell*).

* Mr. *Falconer* keeps nearer to the original, — *Caricon-ticu, Gytte, Acra, Melitta* and *Aramby*, and adds, 'these names seem to have been translated from the *Punic* into the *Greek* language, and to have been originally chosen as indicating the predominant local peculiarities.' *Boschart* supposes *Aramby* to have been named from the Vines growing in the neighbourhood, or on the situation of the colony. *Melitta* he derives from a word that signifies a City in which a great quantity of mortar was employed. . . Dr. *Shaw* (p. 23.) describes a city constructed in a similar manner, and on the same Coast. *Moss of the walls of Tlem-sen have been built, or rather moulded in frames; a method of building which Pliny informs us (lib. xxv. c. 14.) was used by the Africans and Spaniards in his time. The Mortar of which they consist, is made up of sand, lime, and gravel, which, by being at first well tempered and wrought together, has attained a strength and solidity not inferior to stone.*

† Thought by the Portuguese pilot to be the river *Ius*, which runs into the sea at *Messa* (*Purchas*).

‡ Mr. *Falconer* translates εἰσαμαρτος with more propriety, of various appearances, or rather 'of an appearance different from the natives whom we had seen before.' A similar observation was made by *Cada Mosto*, when he first reached the river *Souga*. (See p. 251.) We are left totally in the dark during the early, and greater part of the Voyage, respecting both the rate of sailing, and the number of days they were in motion. This interval includes the space, generally, between the Strait of *Gibraltar*, and the river *St. Cyprian* (taken

horses as the *Linians* report: from thence taking some interpreters we sailed by a desert Countie towards the South two daies. And then we vered one day towards the East, where in the bottome of a gulf we found a like Island, that was five furlongs in compasse, which we inhabited, naming it * Cerne (*Κέρνη*) and by the way that we had sailed we judged that island was † opposite to *Carthage*, for the Naugation from *Carthage* to The Pillars, and from thence to *Cerne*, seemed ‡ equall.

S E C T.
IV.

Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

“ Parting from thence, and § sailing by a great Riuer called *Crete* (*Chreter*), we arriued at a Lake, which had in it three Islands greater than *Cerne*.

(taken for the greater *Linus*), with the exception of the two first days' sail, between the Strait and *Thymiatium*, supposed to be *Marmora*. But from the *Linus*, the time seems to be regularly given, to the conclusion of the Voyage, southward (*Rennell*).

* The Isle of *Arguin*.—The island *Cerne* probably derived its name from the abundance of Flies. *Bochart* explains it by the Arabic *asher* or *achir*, which corresponds, he says, with the Hebrew *acharon*. Now *Accaron* was the fly-god, and hence *Cerne* might be the Island of flies (*Falconer*).

† The words of *Hanno* appear to convey as scientific a description of the situation of the Island as the state of his knowledge would express. . . . If we suppose the Pillars of Hercules to be the vertex of an isosceles triangle, and the distance from *Cerne* to be its equal sides; *Cerne*, the point terminating one extremity, may be said to be opposite, and in a straight line with *Carthage*, the point terminating the extremity of the other side. This idea, though rude, is not perhaps unnatural (*Falconer*).

‡ The Navigators of antiquity seem rarely to have had recourse to astronomical observation. They had no instruments suited to a moveable and unsteady Observatory; and though by their practice of landing frequently, they might, in some measure, have supplied that defect, yet no ancient author, as far as I know, has given an account of any astronomical observation made by them during the course of their Voyages. It seems to be evident from *Ptolemy* (lib. i. c. 7—14.), who employs some chapters in shewing how Geography may be improved, and its errors may be rectified, from the reports of Navigators, that all their Calculations were founded solely upon reckoning, and were not the result of Observation (*Robertson's Ancient India*).

§ In our idea, it is impossible to refer the first seventeen days to any part of the coast of Africa, except to that between the river *St. Cyprian*, and the mouth of the *Gambia*. The two first days, southward, from the *Linus*, and the third, eastward, to the island of *Cerné*, express the sailing round the land of *Cape Blanco*, and from that Cape, across the bay to *Arguin*; which they found situated in a recess of a bay. Next the twelve days southward, coasting the shore of the *Ethiopians*, on the last of which days, they approached some large mountains covered with trees, (the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated), agrees to the description of the Coast between *Arguin* and *Cape Verd*; for, sailing round those mountains, in two days, they came to

S E C T.
IV.Hanno's
Voyage.

Cerné. From whence sailing the space of a day, we came to the further part of the lake: there we saw very high mountains which overlooked all the lake: where were savage people clothed in beasts skins, who chased us away with stones, not suffering us to land: sailing from thence we came to another great and large Streame full of Crocodiles, and * *River Horses*."

II.

Second division of the Voyage, confined solely to Objects of Discovery.

"FROM THENCE turning † backe againe, wee returned to *Cerné*. Sailing then twelue daies *Southerly*, not going farre from the Coast, which was peopled with *Negros* (Ethiopians), who upon sight of us fled away, and

"an immense opening of the sea; on each side of which, towards the Continent, was a plain:" now this is perfectly descriptive of sailing round the high land of Cape Verd, which is covered with trees of a lively verdure; and of their arrival at the wide embouchure of the *Gambia* river, known to them only as "a great opening of the sea." (*Rennell*.)

* These animals were formerly said to bear a natural antipathy to each other, and consequently some suspicion of a forgery might arise, since they are here said to be in a kind of social state. But we learn from *Pennant* (*Hist. of Quadrup. vol. i. p. 146.*), and the authors quoted in his work, that, "among other errors related of them (*the hippopotami*), is that of their enmity with the Crocodile, an eye-witness declaring he had seen them swimming together." (*Falconer*.)

† This was the second time that our voyagers had sailed to the southward from *Cerné*: the first time they went no farther apparently, than the *Senegal* river. Leaving *Cerné*, the first time, they sailed up the *River Chreus*, by which we understand the river of *Sa John*, situated at about 60 miles southward from *Arguin*, or *Cerné*. This River led them to a Lake, which had in it three Islands larger than *Cerné*. . . . At present, there are four large islands in the space of about 30 miles, surrounded partly by the Coast, partly by banks in the sea; and which space may probably be meant for *The Lake*; but it is certain that the River of *Sa John*, at this time, falls into that part of the lake, which is the most distant from *Arguin*. The land at the extremity of the lake, may well be understood by *Cape Miris*; which is about a day's sail (of the ancient Standard) from the opposite side of the above described inclosed space.—"Sailing thence, they came to another River, which was large and broad, and full of *Crocodiles* and *River-Horses*; whence returning back, they came again to *Cerné*." In this river then, we recognise the *Snegal*. At present its embouchure is more than 200 miles beyond *Cape Miris*; but it has been shewn that there is reason to suppose that it once joined the sea, at a place 60' higher up, towards *Miris*.—Had the great River in question been *The Gambia*, we should have heard of sailing round the mountains, (i. e. *Cape Verd*) in the first Voyage. On the contrary it appears, that *Cape Verd* was a new object in the second Voyage (*Rennell*).

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spake so, as the *Linæe* that were with vs vnderstood them not; the last day we arrived at a * Mountaine full of great trees, the wood whereof was † odoriferous, and of various colours. Hauing now coasted two daies by this mountaine, wee found a deepe and troublesome race of Sea; on the side whereof towards the land was a plaine, where by night we saw ‡ fires kindled on every side, distant one from the other some more some lesse. Hauing watered here, we sailed by the land five daies, so that we arrived in a great Bay, which our interpreters said was called § *Hesperus his borne* (the

8 E C T.
IV.

Introduction.
Caribagian and
Roman Period.

* Mr. Falconer more correctly translates it—"Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees."

† These trees were noticed by Adanson (*Voyage to Senegal*, p. 83.). Here are most beautiful *Tamarisks*, red gum Trees, and several other sorts of thorny *Acacias*, the wood of which is extremely hard, and in the colour and beauty of its veins, not unlike those which we use in inlaid work. It was from this Coast, adds Mr. Falconer, that the wood was procured, from which the cedar tables were fabricated, that were such expensive articles of luxury at Rome. The perfume, which is mentioned, is observed by Pliny (*Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 14.*). *Insulam arborum ambrosia Ethiopia, et nemora odorata, in mentione eorum dicta sunt.* Solinus (*cap. 27.*), speaking of the trees that grew on mount Atlas, has this expression, *Quarum odor gravis.*

‡ This Circumstance is noticed by Pliny, and is thus described by Ramusio (*vol. i. folio 113. E. ed. 1618.*). Discorso sopra la navigazione di Hamone. *Questi fuochi dicano il Pilotto essersi infuso al presente, da tutti quelli che nauigano la Costa di Senega, et Ghinea, et delle moltebatois parache i negri, che habitano alle marine, e costì vicini a gile, sentono grandissimo et insuperabile caldo, e per questo stanno nascosti tutto il giorno nelle case loro, quando il sole è in questi nostri segni settentrionali, et hanno il maggior giorno douerli bore, et mezza, et che come si fa notte cò facelle e legni accesi che ardono come torchi, si veggono andar per quà, bor là facendo le lor bisogne: et di lontano in mare apparono simil fuochi, et si sentono molti i uori et strepiti di corni e d'altro che fanno i detti negri.*—See also Bruce's Travels (*vol. ii. p. 565.*).

§ Dr. Robertson (*Hist. of America*, ed. 8vo. vol. i. p. 352.) is inclined to make *Cape Palmas* the West Horn, and *Cape de Tres Pentas*, the South Horn. But Major Rennell illustrates the passage in a different manner. "The Bay or Gulf of Bissago (or Bissao) is about 190 G. miles from the mouth of the *Gambia*, and the Island of *Bulam*, which forms a part of its southern shore, short of 200. There are several Islands within the bay, and opposite to the Coast lies the extensive range of Islands and shallows, known by the name of the *Bissagos* (the *Gorgades* of Pliny); sheltering the Coast for about 120 miles. . . No other part of the Coast, within such a distance as is at all applicable to the question, forms a *Souun* of such a shape, as answers in any degree, to the idea of a *Horn*. We are aware that *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*, in which they are followed by *M. D'Anville* and *M. Bougainville*, refer the *Horns* to *Promontories*, and not to *Inlets of the sea*. However probable such an idea might have been, had the Term been given, without the description, yet here the description is perfect in both the *Western* and *Southern Horns*: they were Bays,

S E C T.
IV.Hanno's
Voyage.

(the western horn). In this there was a great Island, and in the Island a lake, which seemed a sea, and in this there was another Island; where having landed, by day we saw nothing but woods, but in the night many fires were kindled, and we heard Phifes and the noise and sound of cimbals and drummes, and besides infinite shouts; so that we were exceedingly afraid, and our diviners commanded us to abandon the island: then swiftly sailing from thence, we passed by a countrie * smelling of spices; from which some fierie † rivers fall into the sea, and the land is so hot that men are not able to goe in it; therefore being somewhat affrighted, we suddenly hoisted out our sailes, and running along in the maine the space of four daies, we saw by night the country full of flames, and in the midst an exceeding high fire, greater than all the rest, which seemed to reach unto the Starres: but we saw this after in the day time, which was a very loffie mountaine, called the

er Gulfe, and contained Islands; and The Western Horn, in particular, was said to be a large bay. Moreover, the description of The Island in the latter, is that of a flat alluvial tract, covered with trees; agreeing to that of The Islands, in and about this gulf, which are formed of the depositions of *The Rio Grande*, and other Streams, that roll down vast quantities of mud and sand, when swoln by the periodical rains. . . . The *Western Horn*, according to *D'Anville*, is *Cape Roxo*; the Southern one *Cape St. Anne*, or the *Point of Sherbro's Sound*. . . . As to *M. Bougainville*, his judgment appears to have forsaken him entirely. The foundation of his principal error lies in the supposition that the ancient Ships sailed at much the same rate, as the modern ones."

* Mr. Falconer with more propriety translates it, *A Country burning with fires and perfumes*.

† This passage is illustrated by Mr. Bruce. "After the fire (which was lighted for the purposes of destroying the cover of the animals which they hunt) has consumed all the dry grass on the plain, and, from it, done the same up to the top of the highest mountain; the large ravines or gullies, made by the torrents falling from the higher ground, being shaded by their depth, and their being in possession of the last water that runs, are the latest to take fire, though full of every sort of herbage. The large bamboos, hollow canes, and such like plants, growing as thick as they can stand, retain their greenness, and are not dried enough for burning, till the fire has cleared the grass from all the rest of the country. At last, when no other fuel remains, the Herdsmen on the top of the mountains set fire to these, and the fire runs down in the very path in which, some months before, the water ran, filling the whole gully with flame; which does not end till it is checked by the Ocean below where the torrent of water entered, and where the fuel of course ceases. This I have often seen myself, and been often nearly enclosed in it; and can bear witness, that, at a distance, and by a stranger ignorant of the cause, it would very hardly be distinguished from a River of fire." (vol. ii. p. 553.)

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the * *Chariot of the Gods*. But having sailed three daies by *serie rivers*, we arrived in a gulf called *Notuceras*, that is, the † *South Horne*: in the inner part thereof there was a little island like vnto the first, which had a lake in it, and in that there was another † Island full of sauage men, but the women were more; they had their bodies all ouer hairie, and of our interpreters they were called § *Gorgones* (*Gorilla*): we pursued the Men but could take none, for they fled into precipices and defended themselves with stones; but we tooke three of the Women, which did nothing but bite and scratch those that led them, and would not follow them. Therefore they killed them and flead them, and brought their skins to Carthage: and because Victuals failed vs we failed no further."

S E C T.
IV.

Introduction.
*Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.*

The

* *Sierra Leona* is that *Chariot of the Gods*. (*Purchas*. J)—Dr. *Afzelius*, who visited it during his residence in that country, pronounces that it is not a volcanic Mountain. . . A suspicion might arise that an interval of time has been omitted, between the *Western Horn*, and the Hill named the *Chariot of the Gods*; but besides that a mountain answering to the description and position, is found in that of *Sagres* (*vulg. Sangarue*), there is a notice in *Pliny*, that serves to confirm the statement of the four days' sailing only, from the *Western Horn* (*lib. vi. c. 30.*). The description of the Mountain of *Sagres*, combined with that of the adjacent Coasts, impresses more conviction respecting its being the hill intended by *The Chariot of the Gods*, than the measure of the distance alone; whether that might be either four, or five days' sail. (*Rennell*).

† The next and last interval of distance, is between this Mountain (*chariot of the gods*) and the *Southern Horn*; and was three days' sail. *Sierra Leona* is 50 miles only from *Sagres*, and therefore is too near. But *Sherbro*, as we have said, agrees. For, if the entrance of this Sound, or Inlet, is admitted to be formed by *Plantain Island*, on the one side, and the *Islands of St. Anne*, on the other, the distance is no more than 92 miles from *Sagres*: but admitting the Sound to commence at *Cape St. Anne*, then 112; which allows 34 miles per day; or taking the whole distance from the *Gambia*, 482 miles; this divided by 14, the number of sailing days, gives a rate of about 40 per day; which does not much exceed the mean rate. . . We feel no hesitation in pronouncing this (*Sherbro*'s Sound) to be *The Southern Horn* described by *Hanno*; and the Term of his expedition southward (*Rennell*).

‡ The Island is thought to be that of *Fernando Poo*: but my learned friend *Magister Hostin* a German, which is now preparing a learned Treasury of geographical antiquities to the Press, supposeth that hee passed not the *Cape tres Puntas*, or that *de Palmas*.

§ It is probable, remarks Mr. *Falconer*, that the *Carthaginians* used the same language as Sir J. Mandeville has employed, speaking of the same kind of animal, as it is justly supposed. He says he came to "another yle where the folk ben alle skynned roughe heer, as a rough best, saf only the face, and the pawme of the hand."

S E C T.
IV.Goffellin's
opinion of
Hanno's
Voyage.

The principal arguments in favour of the authenticity of HANNO'S VOYAGE, have now been detailed with candour; but it is also requisite to consider the opinion of an able and ingenious foreigner, M. Goffellin, who seems to have formed a more judicious estimate of the nautical skill of the ancients, than any preceding writer. This geographer fixes on Cape *Bojadore*, as the limit of ancient navigators on the Western Coast of *Africa*; he therefore reduces their discoveries in that part of the Atlantic, from 12 to 1500 marine leagues, to 214, and accordingly confines the voyage of *Hanno* within very narrow bounds: nor can it be denied that these ideas accord with the subsequent tenour of the Portuguese discoveries, and with the general opinion that has been received, respecting the advance that was made by the ancients towards the south. M. Goffellin places *Thymiaterron* on Cape *Mollabat*; the promontory *Soloeis* he assigns to Cape *Spartel*; the Lake which they afterwards reached, is *la baie de Jérémie*; and the river *Lixus*, the *Lucos* of Leo the African, *Cerne**, on the site of which particular attention is paid, he at length fixes at the small island of *Fedalle*; the river *Cibretis* is the *Buragrag*, or *riviere de Sale* of M. Goffellin; and the Lake the *lac des Nigres*, or *lacus Nigrorum* of Abulfeda, between *Kastr Abdel-Karimi*, and *Sala*. The Coast inhabited by *Ethiopians* he places in the kingdom of *Morocco*; the high mountains covered with sweet-scented trees, at Cape *Ger*; the deep and troublesome race of the sea, which succeeded, is *le golfe de Sainte-Croix*; the Western Horn *le Cap d'Agulon*; and the great bay adjoining, the gulph that lies between the above Cape and Cape *Non*. In placing the *Chariot of the Gods* at the southern extremity of *Mount Atlas*, M. Goffellin cites the description given by *Pliny* in his sixth book; the southern Horn he assigns to Cape *Non*, and scruples not to terminate the Voyage of *Hanno* at the *Nun*, or *Mama river*. The progress of ancient navigators towards the south, is thoroughly investigated by this geographer, who has carefully examined every document that history could furnish; the voyage of *Hanno*, the voyage of *Scylan*, the voyage of *Polybius*, the tables of *Ptolemy*, and whatever scattered traditions remained respecting the *Atlantic islands*.

The

* ORTELIVS makes the Island of *Cerne* to be *Punta Santa*; MARMOL one of the *Agores*; GUESSEN and CAMERONIER confine it to *Madaga*; whilst others, who confound it with *Thub*, place it in the situation of *Island*; MENDATES, the *SANSONS*, and P. HARDOUIN, extend the site of *Cerne* to *Madagascar*.

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The Voyage of *Hanno* is placed by M. Goffelin in a very early period, about 3000 years before the Christian era; and according to his opinion, the narrative we possess is only an abridgment of the original journal, drawn up to record the principal heads of the expedition. The progress of *Hanno* along the Western Coast of *Africa* was extremely slow; not merely on account of the number of ships that sailed in company, but from the innumerable havens, creeks, and bays, which he was purposely sent to examine, as well as the particular spots that appeared most favourable for the establishment of colonies. *Hanno* has unfortunately only marked the length of his Voyage by the number of days that * elapsed: this opens an extensive field for conjecture,

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IV.

Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

* Major Rennell in his *Geography of Herodotus* (p. 678.) has collected the following Examples of the *Rate of Sailing*, by the best managed, and best constructed Ships of the *Phœnicians, Grecians, and Egyptians*.

1. MILTIADES, under favour of an easterly wind, passed in a single day from *Elaas* in the *Chersonese* (of *Thrace*), to *Lemnos* (*Erato* 140.). The distance is only 38 G. miles.

2. The Fleet of *XERXES* sailed in three days from the *Euripus* to *Phalerus*, one of the ports of *Attica* (*Urania*, 66.). This is about 96 G. miles, or 32 per day. The Fleet was unusually great.

3. *NEARCHUS* reckoned the Promontory of *Macta* a Day's Sail from him, when he first discovered it; and it is shewn by circumstances, that the distance was about 38 G. miles. (*Arrian's Voyage of Nearchus*.)

4. *SCYLAX* allows 75½ days for the Navigation between *Canopus* and the *Pillars of Hercules*; equal to about 32 per day. (*Periplus of Scylax*, p. 51.)

5. The *RED SEA* is forty days of Navigation, (*Euterpe*, 11.) The track which a Ship must necessarily make through it, is about 1300 G. miles, or less; so that the rate may be taken at 32 per day.

6. The *EUXINE* is said by the same author (*Melpom.* 186.) to be 16 days' navigation from the *Bosphorus* to the *Phasis*; producing about 38 per day. He says, indeed, nine days and eight nights; which, according to his own rule, given in the same place, is equal to 16 days.

7. The *CASPIAN SEA*, is said by the same author (*Clio*, 203.) to be 15 days' navigation, for a swift rowing Vessel: and being about 630 miles long, this allows a rate of 42.

8. *Pliny* (*Lib. vi.* 23.) says, that it was 40 days' sail from the *Outlet of the Red Sea* to the *Coast of India* (*Malabar*) which is about 1750 G. miles, equal to 44.—He also reckons it 30 days' sail from *Berenice* to the outlet of the *Red Sea*: this would give about 30 per day only.

MEAN OF THE EIGHT EXAMPLES,

MEAN OF THE SIX FIRST, which may be reckoned the fairest, and are the

most to the purpose,

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We may add that the mean rate of *Nearchus*, was no more than 22½, during his whole Voyage; and less than 30, through the *Persian Gulf*. But we regard his rate as unusually low, for the reasons above stated.

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conjecture, and enables M. Bougainville, who in this respect is more moderate than *Campomanes*, to conduct the Carthaginian fleet in two days from *Cape Spartel* to *Cape Cantin*; whereas the ancients, in M. Goffellin's opinion, assigned only twelve hours for each day's work of their vessels.

The generality of those writers who have considered this interesting subject in maritime discovery, give to Hanno without scruple, a Navigation unembarrassed by any difficulties, and a Course which demanded neither time nor circumspection to explore, though it was then probably first attempted. In this Expedition the *Carthaginian* commander, when in danger, could only rely on the experience he had acquired in other Seas, and on such resources as his professional skill might suggest. In order therefore to ascertain the extent of *Hanno's voyage* with more correctness, M. Goffellin prefers a comparison with some modern Navigator, whose discoveries may appear to offer such particular circumstances as accord with the expedition in question, and our great circumnavigator *Cook* is selected for this purpose; whose Survey of the Coast of *New Holland* offers, in M. Goffellin's opinion, a position favourable for the intended * comparison.

Whether

* As the *Geographical Researches* of this learned foreigner, are not generally known in our country, the reader may on this occasion prefer the original:

" Nulle part *Cook* ne s'est trouvé dans une position plus semblable à celle du général Carthaginois, qu'en arrivant sur la côte orientale de la Nouvelle Hollande. Cette côte étoit inconnue: *Cook* se propose de la visiter toute entière. Après avoir terminé ses observations à la baie de Botanique, il en part le 6 Mai 1770, et arrive au Cap Grafton le 9 Juin au matin. C'est trente-trois jours employés, sur lesquels il faut déduire le temps qu'il a passé dans la baie de l'Outarde et dans celle de la Soif, ainsi que le temps où il a été forcé de jeter l'ancre ou de mettre à la Cape, pour éviter les dangers qui le menaçoient. Nous trouvons dans son journal (*Cook's first voyage*), qu'il a consumé dans ces différentes circonstances, cent quatre-vingts heures, qu'il faut ôter des trente-trois jours; restent vingt cinq jours et demi qu'il a employés pour faire quatre cent cinquante lieues, depuis la baie de Botanique jusqu'au Cap Grafton. Ainsi, il n'avançoit guères que de dix-sept lieues et demie par vingt-quatre heures. Sa marche a donc été moitié plus lente que la course moyenne de nos navires, fixée ci-devant à environ trente-cinq lieues.

" LA MARCHÉ d'Hannon doit être soumise à une réduction à-peu-près semblable. Si la vitesse des vaisseaux anciens pouvoit fournir mille stades, ou vingt-huits lieues en vingt-quatre heures dans des parages fréquentés, ils n'en auroient fait que la moitié, comme celui de *Cook*, le long d'un rivage inconnu, et n'auroient pu avancer que de cinq cents stades ou quatorze lieues. Mais *Cook* marchoit jour et nuit, tandis qu'Hannon ne naviguoit que pendant le jour: la moitié de son temps se passoit donc dans l'inaction: et au lieu de cinq cent stades, il n'auroit pu faire dans les douze heures que deux cents cinquante

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Whether *Hanno* therefore really advanced so far along the western Coast of *Africa* as many of his commentators have endeavoured to prove, is still an object of rational doubt, though his skill as an experienced navigator, for that early age, cannot be questioned. Had he possessed a knowledge of the Compass, he might probably have reached, and even doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and though some writers are inclined to give this knowledge to the *Phenicians*, their arguments however ingeniously adduced, are dubious and hypothetical.

Among the most respectable advocates for this theory, Mr. * *Maurice*, whose opinion has been already noticed, deserves to be placed. He is inclined to think that the stations of the *Abury* temple, and the stupendous solar one of the *Druids* at *Stonehenge*, were fixed with mathematical precision, to correspond with the four Cardinal Points, an idea which is supported by Dr. † *Stukeley*; who imagines, that, in thus fixing their situation, they used a Compass, or magnetic instrument: and the same writer has most ingeniously attempted to ascertain, from the variation of that needle, the exact era of the construction of either building. Mr. Maurice then adds, ' that the *Magnet* is mentioned by the most ancient classical writers, under the name of *Lapis Heracleus*, in allusion to its asserted inventor *Hercules*. One ‡ of the most curious and remarkable of the mythologic feats of *Hercules* was his sailing in a golden cup, which *Apolla*, or the *Sun* had given him, to the Coasts of *Spain*, where he set up the Pillars that bear his name. . . . It ought not to be concealed, however, that by some mythologists, and especially

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Stades, c'est-à-dire, sept lieues. Observons encore que Cook n'avoit qu'un seul Vaisseau, toujours flottant, toujours prêt à partir: au lieu qu' *Hannon* en traînoit soixante après lui; que leur marche, nécessairement inégale, ralentissoit celle de la flotte entière; que le soin de chercher tous les soirs un Havre, ou une plage qui pût les contenir, celui de les y arranger, l'heure de la marée qui devoit les remettre à flot et qu'il falloit attendre pour le départ; tout devoit lui prendre un temps considerable: et comme nous avons tenu compte des plus petits retards éprouvés par Cook, nous devons en accorder également à *Hannon*. En n'évaluant ces retards qu' à deux heures et demie par jour, sa marche se trouveroit encore reduite d'un cinquième; et la journée commune de la flotte Carthaginoise, n'auroit été que d'environ deux cents Stades, ou de cinq à six grandes lieues de vingt au degré." (*Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, vol. i. p. 63.)

* Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 189.

† Stukeley's *Abury*.

‡ Ind. Antiq. p. 197.

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cially by the author of some letters, on this subject, to Sir Hildebrand Jacob, this mysterious Vase, given by *Apollo* to *Hercules*, is contended to have been itself the *Mariners Compass Box*; by which, not in which, he sailed over the vast Ocean. The same author contends, that the image of *Jupiter Hammon*, whose Libyan temple according to *Herodotus* took its rise from *Phœnicia*, was nothing more than a *Magnet*, which was carried about by the priests, when the Oracle was consulted, in a golden scyphus: that the famous *Golden Fleece* was nothing else: whence, he says, the Ship which carried it is said to have been sensible, and possessed of the gift of speech; and, finally, that the high authority of *Homer* may be adduced to corroborate the conjecture, that the *Phœacians*, a people renowned for nautical Science, had the knowledge of the *Magnet*; for he observes, either that certain lines in the eighth Book of the *Odyssey*, describing the *Phœacian* vessels as instinct with soul, and gliding, without a pilot, through the pathless ocean to their place of destination, allude to the attractive power of the *Magnet*, or else are utterly * unintelligible. Whatsoever truth there may be in this statement, it is evident, from the extensive intercourse anciently carried on between nations inhabiting opposite parts of the globe, where the Stars, peculiar to their own native region, could no longer afford them the means of safe Navigation; that the important discovery must be of far more ancient date than the year of our Lord 1260; to which it is generally assigned, and by the means of *Marco Polo*, a man famous for his travels into the East.*

To these observations I shall not presume to oppose any remarks of my own, but shall resort to men of equal talents and attainments with Mr. *Maurice*, and first to my learned relation Dr. *Wotton*; who was of opinion, in his reflections upon ancient and modern † learning, that the *Magnet* was known and admired by the ancients, but was never employed for the purposes of navigation. “ But I shall rather chuse to speak here of the discoveries which have been made in the mineral kingdom without the help of chemistry: the greatest of which is, of a Stone which the ancients admired (their opinions are collected by *Gassendi* in his animadversions upon *Laertius’s Life of Epicurus*, p. 362.), without ever examining to what uses it might be applied; and that is the *Magnet*; the noblest properties whereof Sir *William Temple* acknowledges to be anciently unknown: which is more indeed than what some

* See an Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion, by the Rev. Mr. *Cook*, (p. 27.).

† Printed in 1705; (p. 247.).

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some do: this they have collected from a passage in *Plautus*, where by *vorforia* they understand the Compass, because the needle always points towards the north: whereas *vorforia* is nothing but that rope with which the mariners turned their sails." In this opinion Dr. Wotton had been preceded by an earlier * writer, whose valuable Treatise on Navigation appeared in the second volume of the Harleian Miscellany. Mr. Philipott student of Clare Hall observed, that, 'although the *Leadstone* was certainly called by the Greeks *Lapis Heraclius*, it was not because *Hercules Tyrius* first made known the virtue of it, but from its being discovered near *Heraclea*, a city of *Lydia*. It was also called for the same reason *Lapis Lydius*: but to the ancients it was only known under the idea of a *Touchstone*.—Nor does the name of *Magnes*, promiscuously used both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, owe its original etymology to any other root, or cause, than that it was found near *Magnesia*, a city of *Lydia*, of which *Heraclea* above mentioned was likewise a part; whence it hath ever since obtained the denomination of *Lapis Magnes*: this *Suidas* asserts for the *Greeks*, and *Lucretius* affirms the same for the † *Latins*.'

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At the same time that *Hanno* sailed on his African Voyage of Discovery, *Himilco's* another *Carthaginian* Navigator was sent by that Republic to the northward Voyage. of the Straits of *Gades*; whose orders were probably to survey the adjacent Coast of *Spain* and *Lusitania*, and to explore parts of the *North Atlantic*. Of this interesting Voyage little is known, for it related to countries, whence the *Carthaginians* imported their most valuable articles of commerce. If *HIMILCO* however was not the first discoverer of the † *Cassiterides*, his expedition might

* An Historical Discourse of the first invention of Navigation, and the additional improvements of it. With the probable causes of the Variation of the Compass, and the Variation of the Variation. Likewise some reflections upon the name and office of Admiral. To which is added a catalogue of those persons that have been from the first institution dignified with that office. By *Thomas Philipott*, M. A. formerly of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*. London: printed in 1661.

† The author of an Introductory Discourse concerning Geography, prefixed to the seventh volume of *Churchill's* collection of Voyages, introduces these remarks of Mr. Philipott (p. 22.), but does not refer to the original.

‡ Observations on the ancient and present state of the *Cassiterides*, or *Scilly Islands*, were published by Dr. *Borlase* (1756) in a letter to Dr. Charles Lyttleton, Dean of Exeter, F.R.S. "That the *Phenicians* accounted their trade to these Islands for Tin of great advantage, and were very jealous of it, is plain from what *Strabo* says (see p. 59.). The *Romans*, however,

S E C T. might have tended to ascertain the situation of the *Selly Isles*, and the adja-
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persisting in their resolution to have a share in this Trade, at last accomplished it. Now, plain it is, that the few workings upon Taasaw were not worthy of such a competition; *Whence then had they their Tin?* I will answer this question as well as I can. Some Tin might have been found in the low grounds washed down from the hills, and gathered together by the flood and rain. Some found pulverized among the sands of the sea shore washed out of veins covered by the sea, and thrown in upon the sand by the same restless agent. In *Cornwall* we often find Tin in the like situation. There may be also Tin-veins in those cliffs which we did not visit, although the inhabitants, upon enquiry, could not recollect that they contained anything of that kind; as the *Gull-Hill* of *Brenan*, *Gull Island*; the name *Guel* (or *Huel*) in *Cornish* signifying a working for Tin. Other Tin they had from their Mines, for though their Mines at present extant are neither ancient nor numerous, yet the ancient natives had mines, and worked them, as appears from *Diod. Siculus* (lib. v. ch. 2.), and from *Strabo* (Geogr. lib. iii.), who tells us, that, "after the Romans had discovered a passage to these Islands, *Publius Crassus* having sailed thither and seen them work their mines, which were not very deep, and that the people loved peace, and, at their leisure (when they were not employed about their tin) navigation also, instructed them to carry on this trade to a better advantage than they had done before; though the sea they had to cross was wider than betwixt it and Britain;" intimating (if I understand him rightly) that, before that time, the *Phœnicians* and *Greeks* had engrossed the sole benefit of buying and exporting their Tin; and that *Publius Crassus*, seeing their mines shallow, taught them how to pursue the *Ore* to a greater depth; and, finding the inhabitants peaceably disposed with regard to their neighbours, and therefore the fitter for Commerce and very apt at Navigation, and therefore able themselves to carry the product of their country to market, encouraged them to enter upon this gainful trade, and depend no longer on foreign merchants and shipping; although it was somewhat farther for them to sail to the Ports of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, than to the Coasts of *Britain*, which had till that time been their longest Voyage. Besides the Tin therefore, which they found granulated and pulverized in valleys and on the sea-shore, they broke Tin out of their Mines, though those Mines are not now to be found; and, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that the ancients had great part of their Tin from the neighbouring coasts of *Cornwall*, famous for their Tin-trade as anciently as the time of *Augustus Caesar*; and whoever sees the land of *Cornwall* from these Islands, must be convinced that the *Phœnicians* and other traders did most probably include the western part of *Cornwall* among the Islands called *CASSITERIDES*. . . . *Diod. Siculus* (lib. iv. p. 301. ed. Han. 1604) does as plainly confound, and in his description mix, the western parts of *Cornwall* and the *CASSITERIDES* indiscriminately one with the other; for talking of the promontory *Belerium*, alias *Bolerium*, the Tin-commerce, and courteous behaviour of the inhabitants; he says, that they carried this Tin to an adjoining *British* isle called *ICETIS*, to which at low tide they could have access. Now there was no such Island as *ICETIS* on the western Coasts of *Cornwall* in the time of *Diod. Siculus*, neither is there at present any

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one with the properties he mentions, unless it be *St. Michael's Mount*, and the separation between that and the continent must have been made long since that time. By the first, therefore, *Diod. Siculus* can mean nothing but the *Lands end*, by the geographers called *Belerium*; but (confounding the Tin-trade of those western parts of *Cornwall* with that carried on in *Scilly*) by the second, he means one of the *Scilly Isles*, to which they conveyed their Tin before exportation from the other smaller islands; for thus he goes on: "There is one thing peculiar to these Islands (meaning, that there was no such thing in the *Mediterranean*, where the sea stands nearly of one height) which lie between *Britain* and *Europe*; for at full sea they appear to be Islands, but at low water, for a long way, they look like so many *Peninsula's*;" a description exactly answering the appearance of the *Scilly Islands*, which were at that time successively *Islands* and *Peninsula's*, and lie between *Europe* and *Britain*, as the old authors all agree, but, through the inaccuracy in geography, were not able to point out the situation of these Islands more distinctly. This *Ictus* of *Diod. Siculus* is probably the same Island which *Pliny* (lib. iv. c. 16.), from *Timæus*, calls "*Mictis*, about six days' sail from *Britain*, said to be fertile in Tin;" where I must observe, that the distance here laid down is no objection to *Mictis's* being one of the *Scilly Isles*, for when the ancients reckoned this place six days' sail, they did not mean from the nearest part of *Britain*, but from the place most known, and frequented by them (i. e. by the *Romans* and *Gauls*), which was that part of *Britain* nearest to, and in sight of *Gaul*, from which to the *Scilly Islands* the distance was indeed six days' usual sail in the early times of navigation; therefore I am apt to think, that, by *Mictis* here, *Pliny* meant the largest of the *Scilly Isles* (as *Baxter*, Gloss. in voce *Sigdetus*), as I do not at all doubt but *Diodorus Siculus* also did, in the passage mentioned above. . . . How came these ancient Inhabitants then, it may be asked, to vanish so, that the present have no pretensions to any affinity, or connexion of any kind either in blood, language, or customs? How came they to disappear and leave so few traces of trade, plenty, and arts, and no posterity that we can hear of behind them?—In answer to which, as this is the most remarkable crisis in the history of these Islands, you will excuse me if I enlarge; and if I make use of the same arguments which I had the honour lately to lay before the Royal Society. (in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary.) Two causes of the extinction of the old Inhabitants, their habitations, and works of peace, war, and religion, occur to me; the gradual advances of the Sea, and a sudden submersion of the land. . . It has before been mentioned that many hedges now under water, and flats which stretch from one Island to another, are plain evidences of a former union subsisting between these now distinct islands. History speaks the same truth. *The Iles of Cassiterides*, says *Strabo* (lib. iii. geog.), are ten in number, close to one another, one of them is desert and unpeopled, the rest are inhabited; but see how the Sea has multiplied these Islands; there are now reckoned more than 140. into so many fragments are they divided. . . Again; Tin Mines they certainly had in these Islands 200 years before Christ. . . I conclude, therefore, that these Islands have undergone

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provisions for the crew, or commodities for the trader. Some mutilated Latin verses comprise all that has survived of this important Voyage; their author * *Avienus*, who also turned the history of *Livy* into iambics, flourished under *Theodosius* the elder, and vouched for the authenticity of every thing contained in these lines, since the facts mentioned were taken from the *Journal of Himilco*, which *Avienus* himself examined. The annals of *Carthage* were † extant about the middle of the fifth century, when *Avienus* wrote, and in these an accurate narrative of the Voyage in question was preserved. In this Journal the British Isles are mentioned under the name of *The Cestrymnides*, islands infected by the *Cestrum*, or gad-fly.

Cassiterides.

It is a curious fact, that the oldest classical appellation for the extreme western point of *Cornwall* should be *BELERIUM*, or the *Premontory of Hercules* the reputed founder of Tyre, also known by the title of *Melicartus*; and, according to ‡ *Pliny*, a person of that name corruptly written *Midacritus*, was the Navigator who first brought Tin from the Island *Cassiteris*. Without the assistance of this metal the celebrated shield of *Achilles* could not have been § wrought, for Tin is absolutely necessary to the painter, the gilder, and the dyer. It was an article of great value in ancient commerce; and Homer seems to have alluded to the high estimation in which it was early held by introducing || *Minerva* as a foreign merchant going to *TEMERE*, to procure tin. From another passage in ** *Pliny*, it would seem as if Tin, or *plumbum album*, was first †† discovered in *Lusitania*, but in a small quantity and of an inferior

gone some great catastrophe, and besides the apparent diminution of their Isles by Sea and Tempest, must have suffered greatly by a subsidence of the Land (the common consequence of earthquakes), attended by a sudden inundation in those parts where the above-mentioned Ruins, Fences, Mines, and other things, of which we have no vestiges now remaining, formerly stood." (p. 72—91.)

* *Ora Maritima*, vers. 17—415.

† *Dr. Reinold Forster* on the Discoveries of the ancients, prefixed to his Discoveries in the north (p. 10.).

‡ *Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 56.*

§ *Indian Antiquities*, vol. 6. (p. 434.).

|| *Odyssey*, lib. i. V. 182.

** *Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.*

†† The *Carthaginians* might have found this metal in their own continent: for according to *Rymer's Fœdera* (vol. xx. p. 423.), King Charles the First was alarmed on hear-

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inferior fort; and it was probably the sight of this Lusitanian Tin which induced the *Carthaginians* or *Phenicians*, as they were often called, to fit out a Squadron under *Himilco*, in order to search the distant regions of the North Atlantic for a more ample and perfect supply of this precious metal.

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Whether the *CASSITERIDES* were first discovered by the *Phenicians*, or by the *Carthaginian* navigator *Himilco*, it is certain that this event took place at a very early period of history. The ancient Pharos of *Cerunna*, on the coast of Galicia in *Spain*, offers a favourable point whence it is highly probable the *Phenician* or *Carthaginian* ships embarked for *Baratana* the tin Island. The Spanish writer * *Orosius* is of opinion, that this *Pharos* was built by *Hercules*, and was purposely constructed for the direction of ships bound to the continent from Britain; and it is a remarkable circumstance, noticed by Mr. † *Maurice*, 'that the opposite land, consisting of a promontory running about three miles into the sea, on the Cornish, or rather Devonshire coast, is called *Hertland* or *Hertey Point*; that is *Herculis Promontorium*, or as it may be expressed in maritime phrase, *Cape Hercules*.'

Whilst the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians* thus divided the empire of the Sea, and possessed the commerce of the world, they heard without concern of an ‡ establishment of robbers in the heart of Italy; and inadvertently suffered the Roman eagle to build its nest without molestation. The adjacent country is § described as resembling some of the lately discovered Islands in the *Southern* or *Pacific Ocean*; where every height is represented as a fortress, and every little townships, that can maintain its possessions, as a separate state. The Republic of *Carthage* was not apprehensive of the ambitious designs of her implacable rival, until the *Romans* ventured to interfere with the *Carthaginian* commerce in Sicily. To command the passage of the Straits

ing, during the year 1640, that a tin mine had been discovered in *Barbary*. Since the time of the *Carthaginians*, Tin has been found in *Bohemia* and *Saxony*, and on the island of *Malacca* in the East Indies. The tin of Cornwall is now carried to the East Indies and China: of 3000 tons raised in the year 1791, 800 were exported to the above places.

* *Pauli Orosii adversus Paganos Hist. lib. i. p. 17.*

† *Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi. (p. 306.)

‡ The foundation of Rome, if *Varro* is followed, may be placed in the 754th year before Christ: but, according to *Gibbon*, 'so little is the chronology of Rome to be depended on, in the more early ages, that *Sir Isaac Newton* has brought the same event as low as the year 627.'

§ Progress and termination of the Roman Republic, admirably narrated by *Ferguson*.

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Straits of *Messina*, was the great political object of that period. A Roman garrison had been sent to *Rhegium* at the desire of the inhabitants; the opposite coast of *Sicily* was defended by some Italians, called *Mamertines*, who had been placed there by the king of *Syracuse*; whilst the *Carthaginians*, beside other posts in the island, were established at *Lilybaeum*, which they had thus named from its situation opposite the promontories of *Libya*, at the distance of one thousand stadia. Whilst things were in this state, the *Mamertines* suddenly rose on the citizens of *Messina*, whom having murdered, their effects were seized; and the same tragedy was admired and imitated by the Roman legion at *Rhegium*. The perpetrators of it were, however, conducted in chains to Rome, and many of them lost their heads by fifty at a time; but when this tribute had been paid to justice, the scruple of the Roman Government did not greatly affect their subsequent proceedings; and an early opportunity was embraced to support the cause of the *Mamertines*. Their historians attempt to palliate this, by observing that the *Carthaginians* had been received into *Messina*:—a principal part of the island had long been under the jurisdiction of *Carthage*, and was essential to its commerce, and they seem only to have interfered in order to afford some security to the terrified *Sicilians*. The subsequent success of the Romans formed the events of the first *Punic* war, and led them to attempt what demanded their utmost talents and perseverance, for nothing less than the conquest of *Sicily*, and the destruction of *Carthage*, would satisfy the unbounded desire of their ambitious and restless spirit.

When the *Romans* thus commenced the first *Punic War* (U. C. 490.); according to the testimony of *Polybius*, which must not be † taken in too literal

* The learned Dr. Taylor, in his *Elements of Civil Law*, presents an ingenious source of literary scepticism respecting the *Romans*, (ed. 4to. p. 512.) “ I would recommend to my reader this consideration, viz. *Whether he is certain, that all the Roman Writers, that the present Age thinks themselves possessed of, are Originals; and to ask himself, if he does not recollect, that there may be some, upon this suggestion, which look like translations—and bad ones.*”

† As the *Salut* of the French nation, the celebrated *Abbé de Saint Real*, observes in his *Essay De la Navigation des Romains*;—notwithstanding what *Polybius* asserts, the *Romans* had certainly given their attention to their Navy before the first *Punic* war. Not to mention the early *Treaties* between them and the *Carthaginians*, which *Polybius* has recorded, there is one noticed by *Livy*, in which it was stipulated that *Rome* should be supplied with Ships from *Carthage*, both for the purposes of Commerce and War. Also in the year 416, which preceded the first *Punic* war by seventy-four years, the *Romans* destroyed the Port of *Antium*,

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teral a sence, they had neither decked vessels, a single shallop, nor any barks they could use as * transports. But their fertile invention was never at a loss; and having borrowed some fifty-oared Vessels, and a few *triremes* from the *Tarentines*, *Eleates*, *Locrians*, and *Neapolitans*, their legions were compelled to embark on a new element, under the command of *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls. On this motley Squadron, if the fact has not been misrepresented by the prevailing falsehood of the Roman historians, the *Carthaginians* bore down with too much eagerness; in consequence of which, one of their *quinquiremes* unfortunately struck upon a sand-bank. From this perilous situation it was afterwards extricated by the Romans, and employed as a model for their shipwrights.

The † genius of *Rome* at this period was not depressed by the indolence of an *Heliogabalus*, and it had been ordained, that the descendants of the *Tyrians* should suffer in a distant generation, for the iniquities of THE CROWNING CITY. Every exertion was accordingly made by their enemies to profit by the late unexpected event, and made with success: whilst their workmen clumsily attempted to imitate the skill of the Carthaginian Shipwrights, a school was formed on the adjoining beach, in order to discipline and instruct a sufficient number of ‡ Seamen to man the intended fleet. This singular scene is thus described by § Polybius: "While the workmen were busy in building and fitting the Ships, others were employed to draw together a body of sailors, and instruct them in the exercise of the Oar. This

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Introduction.
Carthaginian and
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was

Antium, whose name still remains in the *Capo d'Anno*, and took twenty-two galleys, and with some of the beaks or *rostra* of these vessels, they adorned their *ROSTRA* in the Forum, which from this circumstance received its name. Besides this it should be remembered that a *Naval Duumvir*, or *Lord High Admiral* was established at Rome in the year 445 (Livy, l. xii.), whose duty it was to fit out and man the Roman navy.—The credit, therefore, of *Polybius* himself is questionable, and must not be considered as infallible when he alludes to the government, or Character of the *Carthaginians*.

* Polybius, lib. i.

† This part of the naval history of *Rome* is illustrated by Sir Walter Raleigh in his History of the World (p. 295.).

‡ It is singular that in the year before the first Punic war (489-), the Romans, who had previously used only stamped pieces of brass in trade, began to coin Silver, and to introduce it into commerce. This early Mint was established at the temple of *Juno Moneta*; and hence, according to *Suidas*, came the word *Moneta*, and the modern term *money*.

§ Book i. c. 2. *Hampton's Translation* (vol. i. p. 59-).

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was done in the following manner. They placed benches along the shore, upon which the rowers were ranged in the same order as at Sea, with a proper officer among them to give the command. In this situation, they accustomed themselves to perform all the necessary motions of the body: to fall back together, and again to bend forwards; to contract and extend their arms; to begin, or leave off, according to the Signals." Thus in sixty days, from the time the timber was felled, did the *Romans* fit out, and send to sea, one hundred Gallies of five tier of oars, and twenty of two tier; the first of these rates carried three hundred rowers, and two hundred soldiers.

The subsequent success of the *Romans* was equally rapid, and astonishing, and the fatal progress of this Military Marine is well known. The *Carthaginians* were particularly baffled in their different actions, by the Roman invention of tremendous machines called *Corvi*, consisting of a round wooden pillar, placed on the prow of every vessel, about twelve feet in height, and three palms breadth in diameter, with a pulley at the top. When the *Car-*
thaginian

* To this Pillar, says *Polybius*, was fitted a kind of Stage, eighteen feet in length, and four feet broad, which was made ladder-wise, of strong timbers laid across, and cramped together with iron: the Pillar being received into an oblong square, which was opened for that purpose, at the distance of six feet within the end of the stage. On either side of the stage lengthways was a parapet, which reached just above the knee. At the farthest end of this stage, or ladder, was a bar of iron, whose shape was somewhat like a pestle; but it was sharpened at the bottom, or lower point; and on the top of it was a ring. The whole appearance of this machine very much resembled those that are used in grinding corn. To the ring just mentioned was fixed a rope; by which, with the help of the pulley that was at the top of the Pillar, they hoisted up the Machines, and, as the Vessels of the enemy came near, let them fall upon them, sometimes on their Prow; and sometimes on their sides, as occasion best served. As the Machine fell, it struck into the decks of the enemy, and held them fast. In this situation, if the two Vessels happened to lay side by side, the *Romans* leaped on board from all parts of their ships at once. But in case that they were joined only by the Prow, they then entered two and two along the Machine: the two foremost extending their bucklers right before them, to ward off the strokes that were aimed against them in front; while those that followed rested the boss of their bucklers upon the top of the parapet on either side, and thus covered both their flanks (lib. i. c. 2. *Hampton's Translation*, vol. i. p. 61.). An engraving of the *Corvus* is given by *Rollin* in his History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients (vol. ii. p. 129.). The idea seems to have been taken from the iron Dolphin of the Greeks. An ingenious foreigner, *M. le Roy*, has published a curious Memoir in the *Memoires de l'Institut National*, 1798, in order to recommend the adoption of the *Corvus* to French privateers. This Dissertation is entitled, *New Researches respecting the Ships employed by the Ancients, from the origin of the Punic Wars to the battle of Actium; and on the use which might be made of them in our Marine.*

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thaginian Fleet advanced under the command of an officer, with the auspicious name of *Annibal*, the fatal *Corvi* of the Romans were suspended over their enemy's ships in every direction. In vain did the *Carthaginian* officers display the dexterity of their manœuvres, and their professional skill; the novelty of the ponderous *Corvi* struck their crews with a sudden panic, and enabled the *Romans* to exert the strength and solidity of their legions. The *Carthaginian* fleet was obliged to retire before the Roman commander *Duilius*, and reluctantly conveyed the disgraceful tidings to Africa that fifty of their ships had been captured.

It may interest the professional reader, and enable him to form some idea of the Naval Tactics of the distant period we are considering, beyond a * detail of the names and rates of their vessels, if an account is given of two Naval Actions between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. In the first the *Romans* were so successful, that they were enabled to land on the territory of Carthage, and alarm the metropolis; the second, on the contrary, was favourable to their rivals, and for a time enabled the *Carthaginians* to regain the Sovereignty of the Ocean.

The *Carthaginian Coast*, at the commencement of the first Punic War, and for a considerable time afterwards, was too open to an invading enemy. Unaccustomed to any rival, they implicitly trusted to the wooden walls of the republic. This circumstance did not escape the watchful ambition of Rome; and orders were accordingly issued to their Naval *Duumvir*, to fit out a † fleet of 330 decked ships; which failed under the command of the

Consuls

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Roman Period.*

Naval Ac-
tion, ante
Ch. 245.
U. C. 503.

* See *Aulus Gellius* (lib. x. c. 25.). This has been also accurately performed by Dr. *Adam* in his *Roman Antiquities* (p. 398. *Naval Affairs of the Romans*.). Line of battle ships were called *naves longæ*; merchant vessels, *onerariæ*; light built ships for expedition, *Atuarie*, the most remarkable of which were the celebrated *naves liburnæ*. The name painted on the prow of each ship, was called its *PARASEMON*, or *INSIGNE*. The Commander's Ship was distinguished by either a red flag, or a light. In some Vessels a rudder was placed at each extremity. The Sails were usually white, as being esteemed fortunate. The top-sails were called *suppara velorum*; the ballast *saburra*; the rigging of a ship, *armamenta*; the Gangways, *fori*; the Lead for sounding *bolis*, or *catapirates*; the Yards, *antenna*, or *brachia*. The wood employed for Ship-Building was fir, alder, cedar, and cypress; the *Veneti* are first mentioned by *Cæsar* (Bell. Gall. iii. 13.) as employing oak. The ADMIRAL of the fleet was styled, *dux præfatusque classis*, and the Flag Ship, *navis prætoria*. The CAPTAINS had the titles of *navarchi*, *tricarachi*, or *magistri navium*. The Marines were called *Classarii*, or *Epibata*.

† Polybius, lib. i. Each Vessel carried 120 soldiers, and 300 rowers.

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Consuls *M. Atilius Regulus* so renowned in history, and *L. Manlius Vulso*. Leaving *Sicily*, they doubled the promontory *Pachynus*, now *Cape Passaro*, and steered for *Ecnomus*, in order to co-operate with the army there stationed. The first *Punic War* was at this time extended to its eighth year; during which the Carthaginians had lost the valuable islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and only retained, of their settlements in *Sicily*, *Lilybaum*, *Panormus*, and a few adjoining places. The turbulent spirit of the people had not yet, however, quite exhausted the energy of government, and preparations were immediately made to repel force by force. Under the command of *Hanno*, and *Hamilcar*, a fleet of 350 ships sailed from *Lilybaum*, and arriving off *Heraclea Minoa* prepared for action. The principal object the Romans had in view, was to counteract the lightness and celerity of the Carthaginian ships, by preserving the four divisions of their own fleet firm, and compact. To accomplish this, the two Consular galleys of six banks of oars, were stationed abreast each other in front, followed by the first and second squadrons on the right and left, in separate lines of battle, forming an angle whose apex was towards the admiral galleys. The Prows of the vessels were all turned outwards; and when the third division was drawn up frontways, extending from point to point, it formed a base to the triangle; by means of small boats, this division of the fleet towed the transports, with the horses and baggage. The fourth squadron, styled *triarii*, followed in the rear, and preserved a line parallel with the third division.—*How impossible, is it, exclaims Polybius, I do not say to behold so vast an Armament, but even to bear a bare description of it, without being fixed in admiration, both of the importance of the contest, and of the power and strength of the two great Republics that were thus engaged.*

The Carthaginian Seamen were sensible that the liberty of their country, and the safety of their families, depended on their present exertions; for their commanders *Hanno*, and *Hamilcar*, had employed every argument to animate the respective crews. The signal for sailing was therefore obeyed with cheerfulness; and they left the harbour of *Heraclea Minoa* full of hope and determined resolution. The disposition of their Fleet was calculated to surround the Roman triangle: three divisions were ranged in a single line; extending the right wing under *Hanno*, composed of all the *quinqueremes* and *galleys*, far out to sea with the prows turned towards the enemy; the remaining Squadron of observation was stationed under the command of *Hamilcar* near the shore, and was drawn up in the figure called *Forceps*.

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Notwithstanding the stratagem which *Hamilcar* executed by signal, in order to deceive and detach the Roman ships by an appearance of flight, and which separated the battle into three detached actions, victory at length declared for the Romans. *Hamilcar* was obliged to retreat; and *Hanno* seeing himself assaulted on all sides, at length closed a tremendous contest. The Romans, if their historian is to be credited, captured sixty-four vessels, and destroyed more than thirty; and this with only the loss of twenty-four ships which sunk during the engagement.

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In a subsequent Action between the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* fleets, which *Polybius mentions, the skill and enterprise of the latter were more successful; but the historian, in bearing witness to this event, seems with reluctance to yield the palm of victory to the enemies of his country. The siege of *Lilybaeum* in Sicily, now *Marsala*, had been carried on by the *Romans* for a considerable time with unwearied resolution; when during the Consulate of *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Junius Pullus*, the naval power of the republic experienced a severe wound. *Pulcher*, who inherited the pride and rashness of the *Claudian* family, became impatient of that caution which officers of greater experience had observed. Having gained the tribunes, he embarked at midnight with a fleet of 120 gallies, then lying at anchor before *Lilybaeum*; and carrying with him some of the bravest of the legionaries, he hoped to surprise the *Carthaginian* admiral *Adherbal* at *Drepanum*, now *Trepano del Valle*, a port on the western side of Sicily. The hour of midnight seemed propitious to this bold attempt: keeping the Island on his right, he proceeded in close order along the shore, unperceived by the enemy; and the break of day first rendered *Adherbal* sensible of the impending danger. The promptitude of his resources displayed the greatness of his professional character; his soldiers immediately embarked with ninety gallies, and the orders of *Adherbal* quickly circulated throughout his squadron—*Observe, and follow the course of your Commander!* Some projecting rocks concealed the inferiority of his force, until the *Romans* began to enter the harbour's mouth; and *Adherbal* afterwards supplied his deficiency in point of number, by a knowledge of the coast, the situation of the shoals, and the rapidity of his manœuvres. The disorder of the *Romans* was complete; but after considerable difficulty, *Claudius* was enabled to form in line of battle along the shore. The Consul *Publius*, who at first failed in the rear, and had been

Naval Action, ante
Ch. 237.
U. C. 511.

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*Lib. i.

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carried out to sea, took his station on the left. *Adherbal* passed him with five of his largest ships, and then gaining the open sea, turned the prow of his Galley towards the enemy: the remainder of his Squadron, as they came up, extended the line, and on the signal being given, advanced with rapidity against the *Romans*. The contest was for some time equal. But at length a considerable part of the Consular fleet being either a-ground on the shoals, or wrecked upon the rocks, *Pulcher* retreated with only thirty galleies. "The *Carthaginians*," says Polybius, "drew the victory to their side, by the help of many favourable circumstances, in which they were superior to the *Romans* during the whole engagement. Their Vessels were light, and swift in sailing: their rowers skilful and experienced: and lastly, they derived no small advantage from having ranged their Fleet in battle on the side of the open sea. Whenever they were closely pressed, as they had full room to retreat, so were they able also by their swiftness to transport themselves at once out of the reach of danger. If the enemy advanced too far in the pursuit, they then turned suddenly upon them, and making their attack with vigour and agility, now upon the sides, and sometimes on the stern, sunk many of the *Roman* vessels; which being unwieldy by their bulk, and incumbered with unskilful rowers, performed all their motions heavily and without success. When any of their vessels seemed ready to be mastered by the enemy, they advanced securely through the open sea, and by ranging some fresh Gallies in the stern of those that were engaged, rescued their friends from danger. But on the part of the *Romans*, every circumstance was contrary to these. When pressed, they had no room to retreat: for every vessel, that retired before the enemy, either stuck fast upon the Sands, or was dashed against the shore. As their Ships were also heavy, and their rowers destitute of skill, they were quite deprived of the advantage, the greatest that is known in Naval Battles, of sailing through the Squadron of the enemy, and attacking in stern the ships that were already engaged with others. Nor could they on the other hand send any succours, or support their own vessels from behind, as the distance was so narrow between them and the * land."

Previous to this celebrated Victory, a curious anecdote is recorded by the same historian, which may give the reader a further insight into the nautical skill of the *Roman* officers.

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* Hampton's Translation, vol. i. p. 108. Book the first.

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The inhabitants of Carthage had for a long time anxiously expected news from their countrymen at *Lilybæum*, without being able to elude the vigilance of the besiegers, when a person of rank in the metropolis, surnamed *Hannibal the Rhodian*, undertook to elude the blockade of the Roman admiral. This daring offer was accepted with joy; a quick sailing vessel, that belonged to him, was equipped without delay; and *Hannibal* with no small degree of exultation, left the port of *Carthage* amidst the prayers and acclamations of innumerable spectators. At sun-set he cast anchor near one of the small Islands opposite to *Lilybæum*. In the morning a favourable breeze carried him through the midst of the Roman fleet; the enemy in mute astonishment suffered his galley to pass. *Hannibal* glorying in his success, entered the harbour. In the morning he prepared to return. The Consul during the night had stationed ten of his swiftest ships with suspended oars, as near the harbour's mouth as the shallows would permit; and in considerable agitation waited the event. At length the *Rhodian* appeared: the indignant *Romans* eagerly pursued, but in vain. *Hannibal* glided without molestation over the calm surface of the Mediterranean, and even brought-to in order to insult the enemy; yet not a single ship would again advance. This perilous duty was repeatedly performed with equal success, and his example followed by others: when at length, either from rashness, or the exasperated spirit of the *Romans*, the brave *Rhodian* was taken after a severe engagement, by a galley considerably superior both in strength and numbers.

For nearly three hundred years, the Carthaginians had struggled to support the sovereignty of maritime Commerce, and their dominion of the sea, against the progress, and insatiate ambition of military power; when *Scipio Æmilianus* in the year 146 before the Christian æra, was enabled to satiate the revenge of his country. The choicest treasures of the ancient world were consumed in the august Metropolis of *Africa*; nor could its rising flames be viewed even by *Scipio* without emotion: he openly lamented the dreadful consequences of such implacable animosity, and, in the ruin of * *Carthage*, its conqueror was alarmed for the subsequent degradation of Rome.

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Roman Periods.*

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* Dr. Shaw, in his learned *Geographical Observations on the Coast of Barbary*, endeavours to ascertain the site of ancient *Carthage* (p. 150.). Neither hath *Carthage*, the next place to be described, much better supported itself against the encroachments of the N. E. winds, and

S E C T. IV. The learned geographer, so often cited in this memoir, * *M. Goffelin*, has rendered hydrography a particular service by illustrating the almost forgotten fragment

and the Me-jerdah (or river *Bagrada*, so famous in history), which together have stopped up its ancient Harbour, and made it almost as far distant from the sea as *Utica*. The place still continueth to be called (*El Mersa*) The Port, lying to the N. and N. W. of the city; and formeth, with the Lake of *Tunis*, the peninsula upon which Carthage was built. Upon the other side of the Peninsula, towards the S. E. *Carthage* hath been a loser to the sea; for, in that direction, near three furlongs in length and half a furlong or more in breadth, lyeth under water. A little to the northward of these ruins, but to the S. E. of *El Mersa*, are the traces of a Cothon, scarce a hundred yards square. This was probably the *New Port* which the *Carthaginians* built, after *Scipio* had blocked up the old; and might be the same that was called the *Mandracium* in the time of *Procopius*.

"The greatest part of *Carthage* hath been built upon three hills, somewhat inferior to those upon which *Rome* was erected. Upon that which overlooketh the S. E. shore, there is the Area of a spacious room, with several smaller ones hard by it. Some of them have had tessellated pavements; but neither the design nor the materials are worthy of our notice. The *Byrsa*, I presume, had formerly this situation. In rowing along the Sea Shore, the common sewers discover themselves in several places; which, being well built and cemented at first, time hath not in the least injured or impaired. The cisterns are other structures, which have submitted the least to the general ruin of this city. . . . Besides these, there are no other tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this ancient City, and rival of *Rome*: we meet with no triumphal arch, or sumptuous piece of architecture; no granite Pillars, or curious entablatures; but the broken walls and structures that remain to this day, are either built in the Gothick manner, or according to that of the later inhabitants.

"*Pliny* seems to make the Ancient Carthage much bigger, than when it was a Roman colony; which, according to what *Livy* informeth us, was twenty-three miles in circuit. *Strabo* circumscribeth the Peninsula upon which *Carthage* was built, with 360 furlongs, or 45 miles, but doth not assign any number for the extent of the city. According to an estimate made upon the spot, I judge the Peninsula to be about thirty miles round, and that the City may have taken up near half that space; and more, I presume, it could never lay claim to. For *Livy* telleth us, that *Carthage* was twelve miles nearly from *Tunis*; which is the distance that still subsists betwixt this city, and a fragment (we meet with near the greater Cisterns) of the old wall of *Carthage*. And as there are several Salt Pits immediately under this wall, which reach as far as the S. E. shore, *Carthage* could not have extended any farther to the W. or S. unless these pits, which cannot well be supposed, were received within the city. Nay, if *Polybius* is to be credited, who maketh the distance betwixt *Tunis* and *Carthage* 15 miles, the boundary this way will be thrown farther backward, and we may be induced to suspect, that the wall I have mentioned, was erected

* *Recherches sur la Geo. des Anciens* (tom. i. p. 106.).

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fragment in * *Pliny*, respecting the Voyage of Discovery by the historian *Polybius*, the tutor or confidential friend of *Scipio Emilianus*. Having studied with minute attention the different Nautical journals preserved by the *Carthaginians*, this historian indulged a hope that he should be able to pass beyond his predecessor *Hanno*.

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Upon the destruction of Carthage, the restless jealousy of Rome soon suggested an expedition to the Western Coasts of Africa, in order to destroy the celebrated city of *Lixæ*, and whatever colonies might remain that had been established by their rivals. *POLYBIUS* was the person appointed; and though it is probable he was considerably assisted by *Carthaginian* pilots, there
are

erected by the *Romans*, and took in a greater space of the Peninsula, than might be the *Area* of the ancient City. A large morass, that was formerly the Port, continues to be the same limit, it always was, to the N. and N. W., whilst, to the E. and N. E. the whole extent of the Capes *Carthage* and *Commart*, to the distance of one, sometimes two furlongs from the sea shore, do not appear to have been ever included in the city. If we may be then permitted to calculate the extent of the ancient Carthage from these Circumstances, fifteen miles I presume will be sufficient to circumscribe it.

" Adjoining to the Greater Cisterns, we see the first ruins of the ancient and celebrated Aqueduct, which may be traced, as far as *Zow-wan*, and *Zung-gar*, to the distance of at least fifty miles. It hath been a work of extraordinary labour and expence; and that portion of it, which runs along the *Peninsula*, was beautifully faced with hewn stone. . . . There was a temple erected, both at *Zow-wan* and *Zung-gar*, over the fountains which supplied this aqueduct with water. The aqueduct appears to be of much greater antiquity than the temple, having been probably a work of the *Carthaginians*."

* (*Africa Descriptio*, lib. v.) The reader may probably wish to compare the original, with the translation given in a subsequent page. ' *SCIPIONE EMILIANO res in AFRICA gerente, POLYBIUS annalium conditor, ab eo accepta classe, scrutandi illius orbis gratia circumvectus, prodidit à monte eo ad occasum versus, saltus plenos feris, quas generat AFRICA, ad flumen ANATIN CCCCLXXV. M. pass. Ab eo LIXUM CCV. M. passuum: à GADITANO freto CXII. M. pass. abesse. Inde sinum qui vocetur SAGUTI. Oppidum in promontorio MULELACHA. Flumina, SUBUR, et SALAM. Portum RUTUBIS à LIXO CCXIII. M. pass. Inde promontorium SOLIS: portum RISARDIR: GÆTULOS AUTOLOLES: flumen COSENUM: gentes, SCALATITOS et MASATOS. Flumen MASATAT: flumen DARAT, in quo crocodilos gigni. Deinde sinum DCXVI. M. pass. includi montis DARCE promontorio excurrente in occasum, quod appellat SURRENTIUM. Postea flumen PALSUM, ultra quod ÆTHIOPAS PIORSOS, quorum à tergo PHARUSIOS. Iis jungi Mediterraneos GÆTULOS DARAS. At in ora ÆTHIOPAS DARATITAS, flumen BAMBOTUM, crocodiles et hippopotamis refertum. Ab eo montes perpetuos usque ad eum, quem THEON OCHEMA dicemus. Inde ad promontorium HESPERIUM navigatione dierum ac noctium X, in medio eo spatio ATLANTEM locavit, à ceteris omnibus in extremis MAURITANIÆ proditum.'*

S E C T. are passages in his history, which would lead us to believe that he was
IV. fully qualified for the anxious duties of a circumnavigator: we also
Polybius. learn*, that contrary to the general opinion, he pronounced the Torrid
 Zone to be habitable, and composed a Treatise to justify this assertion.

In his third book of *General History*, we meet with the following † digres-
 sion. "The first and most general notion then, in which all mankind
 agree, and which even the vulgar apprehend, is that by which we conceive
 the heavens round us to be divided into the four quarters, of East, West,
 North, and South. The next step is, to consider the several parts of the
 earth, as lying beneath the one or other of these divisions: and thus we are
 able to refer, even the places which we have never seen or known, to
 some settled and determined conception. This being done with regard
 to the whole earth, it remains that we observe the same method of
 division, in speaking of that portion of it which we know to be inhabited.
 Now this consists of three separate parts. . . . *Africa* lies between the *Nile*,
 and the *Pillars of Hercules*: under that part of the heavens, which extends
 from the south, to the south west; and from thence, forwards to the west,
 which coincides with the *Pillars of Hercules*. . . . Opposite, on the north side
 of the same Sea, lies *Europe*; being extended also, without any interruption
 from east to west. . . . The rest of *Europe*, from these mountains westward
 to the *Pillars of Hercules*, is bounded partly by the *Mediterranean*, and
 partly by *The Ocean*, or exterior Sea. The Country which lies along the
 former is called *Spain*. But that which is washed by the *Exterior*, or *Great*
Sea, having been but lately discovered, has not yet obtained any settled
 name. It is possessed by a race of barbarous people, who are very num-
 erous; and of whom we shall take occasion to speak more particularly in
 another place. But as it has never yet been known with any certainty,
 whether *Aethiopia*, which is the place where *Asia* and *Africa* meet together, be
 a Continent extending forwards to the South, or whether it be surrounded
 by the Sea; so those parts of Europe likewise, that lie between *Narbo* and
 the *Tanais* towards the *North*, have hitherto been quite concealed from our
 Discoveries. In some future time, perhaps our pains may lead us to a know-
 ledge of those Countries. But all that has hitherto been written or reported
 of them, must be considered as mere Fable and Invention, and not the fruit of any
 real search, or genuine information."

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* Polyb. apud Geminum, *Elementa Astronom.* cap. xiii. in *Uranolog.* p. 31.

† Hampton's Translation, vol. i. p. 332.

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In a subsequent part of the same * book, Polybius resumes the subject: S E C T.
IV.
 “ Many will be ready to inquire from whence it happens, that we have made no mention of *The Straits* that are formed by the *Pillars of Hercules*, and of the Sea beyond; together with the properties and accidents that are peculiar to them: of *the British Islands*; with the manner of making Tin: and of the Gold and Silver Mines that are found in *Spain*: especially since other writers, who have treated of these subjects in a very copious manner, differ greatly from each other, in all that they report. It must indeed be acknowledged, that these things are by no means foreign to the design of history. But I considered with myself, that a separate discussion of every one, as they occurred, would too much break the course of the narration, and divert the reader from those transactions which are the proper subject of this work. . . .

Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

“ With † regard to the reasons that induced me to reserve the full consideration of all these Subjects for a professed and separate inquiry, there are many that might now be mentioned. But the chief and most considerable of them is, that by much the greater part of those Historians, who have ever treated of the situation and the properties of the extreme Parts of the Habitable World, *have fallen into numberless mistakes, in almost all which they relate.* It will be necessary therefore to refute and rectify their accounts, not by some slight and cursory remarks, but in a full and deliberate examination of them. We must be careful however to remember, that their labours deserve upon the whole rather praise than censure; and that their errors are always to be corrected in the gentlest manner: since it is certain, that they would themselves retract and alter many passages in their works, if they were now alive. For in former times, there were but few among the *Greeks*, that made any attempt to extend their search into those places which we call the boundary of the earth. The difficulties in their way were indeed almost insuperable. Many dangers were to be encountered by Sea; and more, and greater upon land. And when any, either by choice or accident, had gained an entrance into those countries; yet because some parts were destitute of all inhabitants, and others possessed by a race of men, whose manners were uncultivated and wholly barbarous, it was scarcely possible, that they should be able to examine with their own proper eyes, even into a small part only of the things that deserved their notice. Nor could they, on the other hand,

as

* Hampton's Translation vol. i. p. 366.

† Ibid. p. 367.

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Polybius.

as they were strangers to the language of the natives, ever gain the information that was requisite, in those which they had opportunity of seeing. And even those few, that were able in some degree to surmount these difficulties, were all disposed to enlarge their descriptions far beyond the bounds of probability : and having neither sense nor candour to be satisfied with the plain and simple truth, invented strange and incredible Fictions of prodigies and monsters ; reporting many things, which they had never seen, and many also, that had no existence. Since therefore all these circumstances concurred to render it not only difficult, but utterly impossible to gain any accurate and certain knowledge of those countries, we ought by no means to pass too severe a censure upon the old Historians, for their mistakes or omissions in these matters : but on the contrary, should rather be persuaded, that they deserve our acknowledgements and thanks ; on account even of the little information which they have left behind them ; and that, amidst those numerous difficulties, they were able as it were to lay the foundation of more genuine Discoveries.

“ But in these times, since *all Asia* has been opened to us by the arms of *Alexander* ; and *the other parts of the World* by the Roman victories, so that every Place and every Country is now become accessible either by Sea or Land ; and since men of eminence in the world have shewn great eagerness and zeal in making these researches ; employing in them all that leisure which they now enjoy from the business of War, and the care of public affairs ; it may with reason be expected, that, by the help of these advantages, we should at last be able to remove the obscurity, in which these inquiries have hitherto been involved, And this is the Task, which I shall undertake in its proper place : and shall endeavour to give those readers, whose taste is gratified by such descriptions, a clear and perfect insight into all these subjects. For I have exposed myself, without reserve, both to great fatigue, and many dangers, in traversing all *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Gaul* ; and in voyaging also upon the *EXTERRIOR SEA*, by which these parts of the World are bounded ; that I might be able to correct with some assurance the mistakes of former writers, and lay open the knowledge of these countries to the * *Greeks*.”

The

* *POLYBIUS*, in his fourth book, makes some remarks on the favourable situation of *Byzantium* with respect to the sea ; explains at large the causes to which it was indebted for the great advantages it enjoyed ; and offers many ingenious remarks relative to the *Pontus*, *Bosphorus*, and *Palmus Maotis*. “ We may also add, that the *Mæotis*, as all writers have

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Instead of beginning the Journal of *Polybius*, as Pliny did from *Atlas*, *M. Goffellin*, after restoring the rivers *Anates* and *Lixus* to their proper places in the narrative, conjectures with reason that the following is more calculated to describe the Course of our Navigator: since by introducing the name of *Atlas* so early in the Voyage, previous to his arrival at the Straits, *Polybius* could only mean that the Squadron sailed from that part of the northern coast of *Africa*, where the mountainous ridge called *Atlas* first arises.

The following is the fragment, according to the illustration of *M. Goffellin*, which contains some particulars of the Voyage conducted by this historian. "Whilst *Scipio Emilianus* governed in *Africa*, he gave *Polybius* the command of a squadron in order to explore the western Coast of that Continent."

Having reached *The Pillars*, and gained the *Atlantic*, *POLYBIUS* arrived at the gulf *Saguti*, which answers to the *Cotes* of *Scylax*, or rather to the Bay *Al-caxar*. He then doubled the promontory *Mulelacha*, which appears in the modern *Mallabat*; and observed on its summit, though he does not mention its name, the ancient city *Thymiaterton* founded by *Hanno*. The adventurous historian, before his arrival at the harbour of * *Rutubis*, which during the height of the *Carthaginian* Commerce was a flourishing city, passed the river *Lixus*, first discovered by *Hanno*, and afterwards named *Lucos*; the

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Introduction.
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Roman Periods.*
Voyage of
Polybius.

have declared, was anciently a Sea, and flowed intermingled with the *Pontus*." (*Hampton's Translation*, vol. ii. p. 85.)—In the same book a passage occurs, which informs us what the ancient Navigators really intended, when, in describing an unknown Coast, they used the technical expression of an *Horn*. "Now the water, coming from the *Pontus*, at first flows on in the same uniform and unbroken course, because the Coast on either side is smooth and equal. But as it approaches near *Hermum*, being now inclosed, as we have said, in the most narrow part of all the Strait, and driven with violence against this Promontory, it is suddenly struck back, and forced over to the opposite Shore of *Asia*. From thence it again returns to the side of *Europe*, and breaks against the *Hessian Promontories*. From these again, it is once more hurried back to *Asia*, to the place called *Bos*; where *Io* is fabled by the poets to have first touched the Land, when she passed this Strait. And lastly, falling back again from *Bos*, it directs its Course towards *Byzantium*: and there breaking into eddies, a small part of it winds itself into a *Pool*, which is called, the *Horn*." (*Ibid.* p. 90.) The reader will find this subject more fully discussed by *Tournefort* (*Voyage into the Levant*). His fifteenth letter contains a scientific account of the Canal of the *Black Sea*, with an occasional reference to the writings of the Ancients; and the sixteenth describes its Southern Coasts.

* Traces of which appear in the Fort of *Managan*, described by *Dapper* (p. 136.).

§ E C T.
IV.Voyage of
Polybius.

the *Sabur* and * *Sala*, now the rivers *Subu* and *Salee*; and the *Anatis*, the *Ommirabib* of *Leo*, which runs into the Sea at *Azamao*, a small port town of *Morocco*.

The Squadron then doubled the Promontory of the Sun, or *Cape Cantin*, and afterwards reached a second harbour called *Risardir*, which *M. Goffellin* assigns to *Safi* or *Asafi*, the Coast of which was inhabited by the *Getulian Autololas*. *Risardir*, which is the last Port mentioned in the journal, exactly corresponds with this situation; since *Edrisi* relates, that in the time of the ancients, *Asafi* was the last Station of their ships on the African Coast.—*Polybius* however having left this harbour, prepared to extend his Voyage towards the south; and having passed the mouths of the *Cosenum* or *Tenysit*, and the *Mafatat* or *Mogader*, he arrived off the promontory *Surrentium*, or *Cape Ger*, which forms the western extremity of the gulf where the *Portuguese* built their town of *Santa Cruz*. Our navigator then passes the river *Darat*, or *Sus*, which descends from *Atlas* into the above gulf, and also the river *Pallum* or *Affa*, flowing midway between *Cape Ger* and *Cape Agulon*. On the banks of the latter river *Polybius* found the *Perorsi* and *Pharusii Ethiopes*, who according to *Strabo* had destroyed the most remote of the *Phenician* settlements; and heard of the *Gatuli Daræ* further inland, who confine on the territory of the *Daratitæ Ethiopes*.

Having at length reached the river *Bambotum* or *Nun*, *Polybius* returned; and therefore, not being able to give an account of the Coast beyond this River, subjoins the best information he could procure:—that from the *Bambotum* to *THEON OCHEMA* the chariot of the gods, an unbroken ridge of mountains succeeds; it requires a voyage of ten days and nights to sail thence to the *Western Promontory* or *Horn*. This erroneous report is a sufficient evidence that the historian did not advance beyond the river *Bambotum*: since, if he had, he would have discovered an immense *Plain of Sand*, raised in some places towards the Sea by the action of the Winds and Waves, and also, that agreeing with the Journal of *Hanno*, it was only four days' sail from the chariot of the gods, to the *Western Horn*.

In a note, which *M. Goffellin* has subjoined to a subsequent Dissertation on the Geographical System of † *Polybius*, he favours us with the following additional

* The *Afnir* of *Edrisi* (*Geo. Nubiensis pars prima Climatæ tertii*, p. 77.), and the *Buragrag* of *Leo* (*Africæ Descrip.* lib. ix. p. 733.).

† *Recherches*, tom. iii. p. 1—30.

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additional argument, *that the ancients never passed the tremendous Bojadore.* S E C T.
 ' I am informed by the French Consul resident at *Mogador*, that a Sand IV.
 Bank extends seaward to the distance of more than two leagues, from the Introduction.
 mouth of the *River Nun*. This obstacle *entirely prevents small vessels from* Carthaginian and
keeping in shore, and has been the cause of many * Shipwrecks.' Roman Periods.

The different Colonies of the *Carthaginians* on the Western Coast of Atlantic
Africa, and whatever other Settlements, or Discoveries, they had made among Islands.
 the neighbouring *Atlantic Islands*, passed with the rest of their empire under
 the dominion of the Romans. It is therefore necessary, before we consider
 the progress of Maritime Discovery during the decline of the Roman em-
 pire, to take a brief view of the knowledge which the ancients possessed of
 the SOUTH ATLANTIC.

HERODOTUS is generally considered as the first writer, who has made any men-
 tion of the *Atlantic Ocean*, since he places on its Coast the *Hesperides* and
Gorgons : and yet his ideas in this respect could not have been taken from
 any maritime Discoveries of his countrymen ; for, according to the evidence
 of the † Greeks, it was not until three centuries afterwards, and about the
 year 639 before the Christian æra, that *Colæus of Samos* was driven by an
 easterly wind, without the Straits, to *Tartessus*, at the mouth of the river *Bætis*.

It is however I trust apparent from the preceding pages, that long be-
 fore the age of *Hesiod*, some of the illustrious navigators or *Murmedons*,
 whose exploits have been noticed, were either driven by adverse winds, or
 impelled by an enterprising disposition, to explore parts of the *Atlantic* ; and
 that such occasional trips, then attended with perils far beyond the present
 circumnavigation of the globe, gave rise to various traditions respecting the
 renowned country † *Atlantis*, the § *Fortunate Islands*, the gardens of the *Hes-*
perides,

* *Recherches*, tom. ii. (p. 28.).

† Herodotus, *Melpomene* (lib. iv.), ch. 152.—“ On leaving this island (*Platea*) with a
 wish to go to *Egypt*, the winds compelled them to take their course westward ; and conti-
 nuing without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of *Hercules*, till, as it should
 seem, by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at *Tartessus*. As this was
 a Port then but little known, their Voyage ultimately proved very advantageous.” (Beloe's
 Translation.)

‡ M. Gosselin terms it (*Recherches*, vol. i. p. 144.). ‘ L'île fantastique que le philosophe
 d'Athènes avoit créée, et qu'il avoit eu soin d'abîmer au fond de l'Océan, pour qu'on ne la
 cherchât plus après lui.’

§ M. Gosselin, to whose Dissertation, *des Traditions sur les îles de l'Océan Atlantique* (Ibid.
 p. 135.), I am greatly indebted, exerts his geographical learning to prove, that the term
Fortunates,

S E C T. *perides*, the Island * *Aphrodifias*, and other delightful solitudes; whose beauties were either heightened by the vanity of the discoverer, or accurately represented in a description of the rich scenery of *Madeira*.

IV.

Aristotle †, the disciple of Plato, in his account of the uninhabited Island beyond the Straits of *GADES*, which the Carthaginians ‡ discovered, must either allude to *Fortaventura*, or *Lancerota* among the Canary Isles, or else to *Madeira*. The great fertility of this country, when first visited, rendered the Carthaginians so anxious to emigrate, that the senate was compelled by a severe decree to repress the romantic spirit that prevailed.

Sertorius.

When **SERTORIUS**, a native of *Nursia* in *Sabinina*, fled before the arms of *Sylla*, and having passed the Straits of *Gades*, reached the coast of the river *Boetis*; he there met with some seamen, who were but lately returned from the *Fortunate Islands*, and spoke in the highest terms of the beauty of the country. This fact is identified by *Plutarch* in his life of *Sertorius*, with the additional information that the Islands mentioned were two in number, distant about § 10,000 *stadia* from the coast of *Africa*. These happy regions seemed to offer so much tranquillity to the harassed partizan of *Marius*, that *Sertorius* in a moment of despondency had resolved to embark; but the war which broke out in *Africa*, awakened the military talents he possessed in so eminent a degree. He therefore returned to scenes more congenial with his nature; delivered the *Mauritanians* from the yoke of a tyrant; and having accepted the proffered friendship of the || *Lusitanians*, was invested by them with absolute authority. The information which *Sertorius* had received respecting these Islands, and the disposition he had shewn to reside there, induced others to make the voyage: about twenty years afterwards

Fortunate, as given by ancient navigators, was advanced westward from one beautiful Country to another, until it at length was fixed on the *Canary Islands*, the final limit of their discoveries in the Atlantic (p. 139—142.).

* *Appendix*, p. 13.

† *Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscultat.* vol. i. p. 1157.

‡ See also *Appendix*, p. 16.

§ It is the opinion of *M. Gosselin* (*Recherches*, vol. i. p. 147.), that an error has in this place been introduced into the text of *Plutarch*. for *Libya* he proposes to read *Iberia*.

|| An excellent Memoir *On the State of Lusitania, till it became a Roman province*, was published by *M. A. C. Do Amaral*, in the first volume of *Memorias da Acad. R. das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 1797.

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terwards, *Statius * Sebefus* collected the various accounts that had prevailed, and whatever journals had appeared; but vainly attempting to make such different narratives agree, he was led into errors that required more than fourteen centuries to correct.

SECTION IV.

Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

Juba's Discoveries.

The short account which JUBA, the young king of *Mauritania*, composed respecting some Islands in the *Atlantic*, was preserved and confused by *Pliny*. The *Insula purpuraria*, where *Juba* established his manufactory of *Getulian* purple, are placed at the distance of 625 M. P. from the *Insula Fortunata*, described as situated to the south-west. In order to navigate a vessel from the former to the latter islands, seamen are to steer at first for the space of 250 M. P. towards the west, and afterwards 75 M. P. towards the east. In this royal Journal of maritime Discoveries, a new Island is added to the number which *Sebefus* had previously noticed. (1.) *Ombrios*, is described as being uninhabited; the Mauritanian seamen found a lake in the mountains, and also observed many curious trees, some of which yielded a bitter kind of water, whilst from others they procured water by no means unpleasant to the taste: a circumstance which induces D'Anville to style this the Island of *Ferro*, since a celebrated tree was afterwards found there which distilled water from its leaves. (2.) The second island is called *Junonia*; it presented nothing worthy of notice except a small stone temple. (3.) Near *Junonia*, they fell in with a smaller island, to which they assigned the same name. (4.) They afterwards visited *Capraria*, infested with enormous lizards. (5.) The Mauritanian navigators thence stretched across to an opposite island, which from the continual mist and snow that enveloped it they called *Nivaria*. (6.) Adjoining *Nivaria*, they discovered another island, to which they gave the name of *Canaria*, from the number of large dogs found upon it.

If to the above account that information is added, which the Chart of *Ptolemy* contains, we shall have considered the principal sources of hydrographical knowledge possessed by the *Romans* respecting the *Atlantic*. But in ascertaining the situation of the *Fortunata Insula*, *Ptolemy*, in point of correctness, must yield both to *Strabo* and *Pliny*; since these islands are placed by the former nearly fifteen degrees more to the south, than a learned † Geographer

* Stat. Sebefus, apud Plin. lib. vi. cap. 36, 37.

† Gossellin, tom. i. p. 156.

S E C T. IV. grapher will allow ; and this has induced some writers to think that Ptolemy had in view the Cape de Verde islands. *Strabo*, on the contrary, places the *Insula Fortunata* opposite the coast of *Mauritania*, and *Pliny* describes them as being situated over against the Libyan nation of *Autololes*.

The following table by *M. Goffellin*, at one view connects and elucidates these remarks, and will enable the reader to form a more correct idea of the subject.

ATLANTIC ISLANDS, KNOWN TO ANCIENT NAVIGATORS.

HANNO.	HESIOD.	PLATO.	ARISTOTLE.	SEPTORIUS.	PLUTARCH.	SEBOSUS.	JUBA.	PTOLEMY.	MODERN NAMES.
Cerne.	- -	- -	- - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Fedalle.
Gorgillz.	Gorgons.	- -	- - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	at the mouth of the river Nun.
		Atlantis.	Desert Isle.	Atlantic.	Fortunate.	Hesperides.	Purpuraria.	Aproposit.	Portaventura.
				Atlantic.	Fortunate.	Hesperides.	Purpuraria.	{ Junonia Autolola.	Lancerota.
						Junonia.	{ Junonia parva.	- -	Graciola.
						Pluvialia.	Ombria.	Phulalia.	Ferro.
						Capraria.	Cosperia.	Castoria.	Gomera.
						Convallia.	Nivaria.	Pinturia.	Teneriffe.
						Planaria.	Canaria.	Canaria.	Canary.
							Junonia.	Junonia.	Palma.
							Pena.	Pena.	Mazagan.
							Erythia.	Erythia.	Mogadore.

Hydrogra-
phical divi-
sions.

Though the Romans gave the name of *Mare* or *Sea*, to any large collection of water, they in general considered the Ocean as divided into *MARE EXTERNUM*, and *MARE INTERNUM*. The first of these was again separated into *Oceanus Septentrionalis*, or the Northern Ocean ; *Oceanus Eous*, or the Eastern Ocean ; *Australis Oceanus*, or the Southern Ocean ; and *Oceanus Hesperius*, or the Western Ocean. The second was subdivided into eight portions : *Mare Sardoum*, or Sea of Sardinia ; *Mare Inferum*, flowing between Sardinia, Corsica, and the fare of Messina ; *Mare Ionium*, extending from Sicily to Crete ; *Mare Egeum* ; *Mare Parthenium*, now the gulf of Satalia ; *Mare Lybicum*, refreshing the coasts of Tripoli and Biserta ; the *Pontus Euxinus* ; the *Palus Mæotis* ; and the *Propontis*, or Sea of Marmora.

To the FOUR WINDS, *Venti Cardinales*, which the ancients at first distinguished, and worshipped as deities ; intermediate divisions were soon added by their

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† Pliny
‡ Perip
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their earliest navigators ; and these points of the Compass were * increased until they amounted to 24. This subject is discussed at length by † *Pliny* and *Solinus*. Winds that blew off the land were called *altani* or *apogæi*, and those arising from the sea *tropæi*. To *HIPPALUS* is generally, though perhaps erroneously, assigned the first discovery of the *monsoon* ; and Dr. ‡ *Vincent* assumes the seventh year of *Claudius*, answering to the forty-seventh of the Christian æra, for this event. *Aulus Gellius* describes the names and regions of the winds, as discussed at the social table of his friend *Favorinus* ; but Mr. Bryant thinks that the whole of this Dissertation is a burlesque upon criticism, the chief speaker being so confused and inconsistent. The former author however afterwards discusses this subject in a more philosophical manner, and seems to give the opinion of the Roman navigators on the motion of the waves, and their different undulations, according to the blowing of the wind from the south or north.

“ A difference”, says || *Aulus Gellius*, “ has always been remarkable in the swelling of the Waves as affected by the north wind, and those blowing from that quarter of the heavens, and those from the south and south-west. The Waves raised by the north-wind are large and rapid as possible ; but as soon as the wind subsides they disperse and become calm, and the surface is almost instantly without any swell ; but it is not so when the south and south-west blow, which, if not very high, make the Swell continue longer ; and when the wind ceases to be felt the Sea continues for a long time tempestuous. The cause of this is supposed to be, that the Winds from the north coming to the Sea from the more elevated parts of the heavens, fall downwards perpendicularly, as it were, into the depths of the waters, and do not agitate the Waves so much from its outward impulse as its internal commotion, which continues

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* In Mr. Bryant's work, already quoted, *Observations relating to various parts of Ancient History*, the nautical reader will find many remarks connected with the above subject, in a treatise on that particular wind which St. Paul styled *Euroclydon*. In this Dissertation (p. 15.) Mr. Bryant introduces an account of the *Alexandrine* ships which conveyed corn to Rome, and composed a fleet called *Commeatus Alexandrinus* ; the light frigates that preceded the Squadron, received the names of *Prætorfœres* and *Tabellariæ*.

† *Pliny*, l. ii. c. 27. *Solinus ad Salmasium*, pages 1239. 1244, 5, 7, and 57.

‡ *Periplus of the Erythrean*, p. 46.

§ *Lib. ii. C. 22.*

|| *Lib. ii. C. 30. (Beloe's Translation.)*

S E C T. IV. continues no longer than its outward force affects the surface. But the *south* and *south-west*, acting in an horizontal direction, rather impel the Waves upon each other than raise them aloft. The Waves, therefore, not acted upon perpendicularly, but rather compelled against each other, retain, after the wind shall have subsided, for a short time, its original motion. What I intimate receives farther confirmation from the verses of *Homer*, if they are perused with suitable attention. Of the south winds he speaks thus:

• When the *South* impels the Wave of the Sea against a Rock.*

“ On the contrary, he says of *Boreas*, which we call *Aquilo*,

• And the calming *Boreas* rolling a great wave.†

“ He represents the *north winds* as acting in a more elevated and perpendicular direction, to raise the waves, as it were, from their inmost depths, whilst those from the south, which are lower, impell them with greater violence backwards and forwards.

“ It has also been remarked by the most accomplished philosophers, that when the *south winds* blow, the sea is of a blueish colour; when the *north* blows, it is dark and * black, the cause of which, as I have extracted it from the problems of *Aristotle*, I here insert: *Why, when the south wind blows, is the Sea blue; when the north, darker and more gloomy?—Is it because the north agitates the sea less? for every thing which is not moved seems black.*”

As the power of the *Roman Republic* hastened to its close, the wretched state of their Navy is apparent, from that extraordinary and daring manner, in which the sovereignty of the Mediterranean was entirely usurped by a squadron of Pirates, who acted under the protection of *Mithridates*. A thousand gallies defied all the legions of Rome, and for a long time insulted Italy unmolested. Its villas on the sea-shore were plundered; the ports of the Republic blockaded; a part of the consular Fleet was destroyed at *Ostia*; *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, two prætors, were surpris'd and carried off in their

* Virgil, adds *Mr. Beloe* in a note, speaking of the Waves as agitated by the *North Wind*, calls them *black*:

† Interea medium *Aeneas* jam et esse tenebat,
Certe iter, fluctusque atros aquilone secabat.

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their purple robes ; and a general scarcity of provisions was produced, which extended from *Europe* into *Asia* and *Africa* : so dreadful was the name of these ancient *Buccaneers*, whom the superior genius of *Pompey* at length extirpated in four months ; although a pusillanimous senate allowed him three years to accomplish what they deemed an *Augean* labour.

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Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

If from the haughty ambition or tyranny of the *Roman Republic*, we descend to the splendid yet meretricious annals of THE EMPIRE when a corrupt dissoluteness of character closed the tragedy of Military oppression, and avenged the cause both of *Carthage* and of *Corinth* ; we shall find but few events that display any zeal for naval enterprise, or which serve to mark the progress of maritime Discovery.—The learned *Warburton* considers *Virgil* as recommending to *Augustus*, in the ninth book of the *Æneis*, the great advantages of cultivating a Naval * power : “ Every thing in this poem points to great and public ends. The turning the Ships into sea deities, in the ninth book, has the appearance of something infinitely more extravagant, than the myrtle dropping blood, and has been more generally and severely censured ; and indeed, if defended, it must be on other principles. . . Yet here and there, our poet, to convey a political precept, has employed an ingenious allegory in passing. And the adventure in question is, I think, of this number. By the transformation of the Ships into Sea Deities, he would insinuate, I suppose, the great advantages of cultivating a Naval Power ; such as extended Commerce, and the dominion of the Ocean ; which, in poetical language, is becoming *Deities of the Sea*.

Roman Empire.

“ He explains the allegory more clearly in the following book, where he makes these transformed sea-nymphs accompany *Æneas*, and his fleet of auxiliaries, through the *Tyrrhene* sea. . . . This Ministerial hint was the more important and seasonable, as all *Octavius*’s traverses, in his way to Empire, were from his want of a sufficient Naval Power ; first in his war with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and afterwards with *Sextus*, the son of *Pompey* the Great. Nor was it, at this time, less flattering to *Augustus* ; to whom the *Alexandrians* erected a magnificent Temple, Porticoes, and sacred Groves, where he was worshipped under the title of CÆSAR THE PROTECTOR AND PATRON OF SAILORS.”

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* Warburton’s Works, 4to ed. vol. i. p. 233.

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The scattered events in history descriptive of the naval character of the Roman emperors, have been ably collected by * *Dr. Campbell*, who gave an interest to every subject he considered.—Augustus, according to this writer, reduced the *maritime* as well as the *civil* affairs of the Romans into a regular system: the former consisted in keeping three numerous squadrons, well equipped, constantly ready for sea. The first was stationed at *Frejus* on the coast of the *Narbonnensian Gaul*, in order to awe the *Spanish* coast, and the maritime districts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*; the second acted as guard-ships at *Cape Messina*; and the third commanded the upper, or *Adriatic* † *Sea*.

This emperor also, in order to obtain a correct knowledge of the distant provinces under his dominion, fitted out vessels for the purpose of making discoveries on the coast of *Africa*, towards the equator; others were sent to survey the coast of *Europe*, as far as the *Cimbric Chersonesus* (*Jutland*), whilst a third division, styled *Naves Lusoriae*, received orders to ascend the stream of some of the principal rivers in the Roman empire, whose course had not hitherto been explored.

Egypt.

The reduction of EGYPT to a province of the empire by AUGUSTUS, opened an extensive nursery for seamen, and an ample scope of commercial occupation to his subjects. The Prefect that sat on the splendid throne of the Ptolemies,

* Harris's Voyages, ed. 1764. (vol. i. p. 425.) THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRADE, AS CARRIED ON THROUGH EGYPT BY THE RED SEA, UNDER THE ROMANS.—1. The Romans little addicted to maritime affairs before the second Punic war, and incited thereto chiefly by the desire of destroying Carthage. 2. The progress of their Naval Power, till they became masters of the sea. 3. The extraordinary establishments of Augustus, for the support of the Maritime Force of the Roman empire. 4. His maxims for the government of Egypt, considered as inviolable laws by the succeeding emperors; and contributed greatly to the preservation of the province. 5. An account of the expedition of *Ælius Gallus* into Arabia, the many difficulties he met with therein; and the consequences which it produced. 6. The Ethiopians invade Egypt: are repulsed by *Publius Petronius*, the Roman Prefect, who penetrated as far as *Nepata*, the capital of Ethiopia. 7. The same of Augustus reaching the Indies, *Porus* sends ambassadors to desire his friendship. 8. The history of this Commerce continued to the end of the reign of *Vespasian*, including the Embassies of Indian princes. 9. An exact description of the annual fleets sent within this period to the Indies; the nature of their Voyages; the sums employed in them, and the profit. 10. Observations upon the State of that commerce, within this period; and the objections raised against it by *Pliny*. 11. Of the new channels of trade opened from Egypt by the Romans, within the compass of this period; and the advantages derived from them.

† *Dion. Halicarn.* lib. i.—*Veget. de Re milit.* lib. v.

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Cornelius of Egypt; b the station. whose govern the wilds of a ful expedition Arabian prin tions of *Gall* safe passage b and failed for port of the N dangerous, o fifteen days, *Campbell* obse taken effect, throughout t and as *Strabo*

* *Germanicus* and was afterw † *Tacit. An* ‡ *Dr. Vince* § This mari ¶ *Dion. Cal*

Ptolemies, to avoid the danger of a powerful rival was always selected from among the Roman knights; and such was the wakeful distrust of AUGUSTUS and his * successors, that no senator or other person of rank, was allowed to enter this province without a passport. The whole system of its government was considered as one of the great mysteries of † State: this, united to the jealousy of its former sovereigns, and the policy of the *Phenicians*, occasions the silence which prevails in history respecting any Discoveries that had been made in different parts of the *Indian*, or *Erythrean* Ocean. On this account, "whatever was done is not ‡ recorded; the Course of Discovery was doubtless in progression; but there is a great difference between effecting the discovery, and bringing it into general § knowledge." *Ptolemy*, who professed to derive his information from the best authorities, extended the coast of *Malabar* east and west; a memorable proof that science had derived but little benefit from the maritime commerce of his countrymen.

Cornélius Gallus, the poetical friend of *Virgil*, was appointed first præfect of Egypt; but either his talents, or principles, were not adapted to support the station. After four years he was succeeded by *Publius Petronius*, during whose government the troops of Augustus, in search of GOLD, first entered the wilds of *Arabia* under the command of *Ælius Gallus*. In this unsuccessful expedition the emperor was assisted by *Herod*, king of Judea; whilst an Arabian prince || *Obodas*, employed his minister *Syllaus*, to render the exertions of *Gallus* ineffectual. According to the crafty Arabian there was no safe passage by land; the Roman general therefore provided 130 transports, and sailed from *Cleopatra*, at the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, to *Lucocome* a port of the *Nabatheans*, on its eastern side. The navigation was found extremely dangerous, owing to innumerable rocks and shoals; but after a voyage of fifteen days, and the loss of many ships, the troops reached their destination. *Campbell* observes, "that it was undoubtedly a well laid design; and if it had taken effect, must have contributed greatly to the opening a free commerce throughout the whole gulph, from the city of *Arfinoe* to the city of *Ptolemais*; and as *Strabo* likewise suggests, it would have afforded a short and easy passage across

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*Carthaginians and
Roman Period.*

* *Germanicus* visited the province of *Egypt* without asking the permission of *Tiberius*, and was afterwards poisoned.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 59.

‡ Dr. Vincent's Periplus (p. 41.).

§ This maritime subject is considered by Gibbon (vol. vii. p. 95.).

|| Dion. Cassius, lib. iii. p. 512. Sueton. in Augusto, C. 66.

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across the Straights of *Babel-mandel*, to the region of the *Troglodytes*; the reduction of which must have been very advantageous, because, the Commerce of that Country when opened proved very beneficial to the *Egyptians*. One good effect, and perhaps the only one that followed from this expedition, was the spreading the fame of the *Romans*, and of *Augustus*, through the *INDIES*, which produced two several embassies; an honour the Romans never received before, and which might, very probably, operate favourably for their Commerce; and, if so, the expence of this undertaking (which fell, however, mostly on the allies) was not wholly thrown * away."

Though *Augustus* had according to *Gibbon* relinquished the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth; the expedition under *Gallus* proves, that he looked with an eye of curiosity or avarice, towards the regions of *Arabia* and *India*. In the tenth year of his reign he resolved to visit the eastern parts of the empire; and accordingly spent a winter in the island of *Samos*: there *Augustus* received the ambassadors from *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, and at their entreaty concluded a peace which continued for many years. From *Samos* the emperor sailed for the coast of *Syria*, and obtained a restitution of those Ensigns which the *Parthians* had taken from *Craesus*. The name of *Augustus* by these means reached the ears of *Porus*, who was monarch of *India*, on this side the *Ganges*: a remembrance of the exploits of *Alexander*, gave an additional terror to the report that circulated of the power of *Augustus*: and a solemn embassy was therefore prepared without delay: but of the persons whom *Porus* deputed to execute this important trust, only three lived to deliver his letter and presents to the emperor at *Antioch*. These were borne by eight slaves, and seem to have been calculated to deter the Romans from penetrating into the country. When *Augustus* had seen the Indian birds purposely selected of a prodigious size, he was shewn Serpents that measured fifteen feet in length, and shells of *Tortoises* four feet and an half across: but what must have been the terror of the Roman courtiers, when for the first time they beheld the bulk and fierceness of Indian Tigers: the curiosity of *Augustus* was satisfied, and having visited *Athens* he returned to Rome. Of these three ambassadors, who thus surmounted the perils and fatigue of the journey, *Dion* † *Cassius* mentions one, as being a *Brahmin*: delighted with the reception he had experienced, he followed *Augustus* to *Athens*; and having there ordered his funeral Pile to be raised

* Harris Collection, vol. i. p. 427.

† Lib. liii. p. 527.

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raised, the venerable *Indian* resolved to terminate an existence hitherto unruffled by either calamity or sickness. He accordingly anointed his body; advanced naked to the scene of death, and having extended himself with the utmost composure on the wood, was immediately consumed. In the same manner *Calanus* is reported to have expired in the presence of *Alexander*. A tomb was raised by the *Athenians* to the memory of the devoted *Brahmin*, and * *Strabo* has preserved the inscription: **HERE LIES ZAIMANOCHAGAN, AN INDIAN OF BARGOSA, WHO, ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM OF HIS COUNTRY, THE INDIES, VOLUNTARILY QUITTED THIS LIFE.**

The situation of *Phœnicia* under the Roman empire, was nearly like that of *Phœnicia* *Carthage* in the present day. * *Phœnicia* † and *Palestine* were sometimes annexed to, and sometimes separated from, the jurisdiction of *Syria*. The former of these was a narrow and rocky Coast; the latter was a territory scarcely superior to *Wales* either in fertility or extent. A sandy desert alike destitute of wood and water, skirts along the doubtful confines of *Syria*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Red Sea*.

Perhaps the only instance which *Caligula* displayed of being the son of *Germanicus*, was his constant attention to the interests of commerce, and the support he thus gave to the Maritime Force of the empire. Whatever were his motives, they at least produced a beneficial effect to the state, and raised the Roman navy to its greatest height. During the reign of *Claudius* his successor, the effect of the ‡ *monsoons* was discovered, and first made known

to

* Lib. xv. p. 686. † Gibbon, vol. i. p. 39.

‡ Some remarks are made on this subject by *Bacon* (vol. i. p. 368.). "It would appear he (*Sesostris*) revived, rather than first discovered, this way of carrying on the trade to the *East Indies*; which, though it was at times intermitted, (perhaps forgot by the Princes who were contending for the Sovereignty of the Continent of *Asia*), was nevertheless, perpetually kept up by the trading nations themselves, from the ports of *India* and *Africa*, and on the *Red Sea* from *Edom*. The Pilots from these Ports alone, of all the world, had a secret confined to their own knowledge, upon which the success of these Voyages depended. This was the phenomenon of the *TRADE WINDS* and *MONSOONS* (far from being synonymous terms), which the Pilots of *Sesostris* knew; and which those of *Nearchus* seem to have taught him only in part, in his Voyage afterwards. History says further of *Sesostris*, that the Egyptians considered him as their greatest benefactor, for having laid open to them the Trade both of *India* and *Arabia*. . . . I will not enter into the defence of the probability of his reasons for having built a ship of this size, and for such a purpose; as one of ten yards would have sufficiently answered. The use it was made for, was apparently to serve for a hieroglyphic of what he had accomplished, viz.

S E C T. to the Romans, by the freedman of *Plocamus*; prior to observations that
IV. afterwards reflected so much credit on the name of *Hippalus*.

Monsoons
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mans.

In order to receive the produce of the Egyptian customs, which probably were first farmed by *Claudius*, who also, according to *Suetonius*, projected Insurances on ships and merchandize; the freedman of *Annius Plocamus* visited the Coast in a revenue galley, and having passed the Straits of *Babel-mandeb*, his vessel was suddenly driven out to sea by an heavy gale from the north, that continued for fifteen days. The coast of *Carmania* at length presented the prospect of deliverance; but the fears of the Roman did not abate, until he had reached the more distant port of *Hippurus*, in a remote Island (*Ceylon*). The freedman of *Plocamus* was here most hospitably entertained, by the king of the country, for six months, who was delighted with the accounts he thus received of the Romans, and above all was astonished at the different specimens of their coin. At length, when a vessel was provided to carry back this interesting stranger, as a respect for the power of *Rome* four ambassadors were appointed to attend, with a person of superior rank, who, according to the opinion of *Paulino* and *Dr. Vincent*, was a * *Rajah*. "We must conclude that they came in an Indian vessel

that he had laid open the Gold and Silver-Trade from the mines in *Ethiopia*; and had navigated the Ocean in Ships made of wood; which were the only ones, he thereby insinuated, that could be employed in that Trade. The *Egyptian Ships* at that time were all made of the reed *papyrus*, covered with skins or leather, a construction which no people could venture to present on the Ocean."—It is singular that the real character of the Monsoon, should even at the close of the eighteenth century not be generally understood. For as *Mr. Copper* remarks, in his preface to an excellent Treatise on the subject (p. 19.), both *Bailey* and *Dr. Johnson* have given very erroneous explanations of the Trade winds and the Monsoon. "The Trade Wind blows always, not at certain times, from the East toward the West; and in all parts of the Ocean within the tropics, where it is beyond the influence of the Land, it is subject to very slight variations from that point: In the northern tropic, a few degrees beyond that side of the equator, it varies only a point or two, more or less, to the northward; and so likewise at the same distance to the south of the equator, it inclines occasionally rather more or less to the southward. But as these Winds are equally useful both to Trading Ships, and Men of War, they might, I think, with more propriety be called THE PERENNIAL WINDS, being the only currents of air which constantly moves the same way in any part of the world. The term MONSOON is not derived, as is often supposed, from the name of a famous Mariner, but from the Persian word *monsum* Season. There are two Winds of this name, distinguished in India by the N. E. and S. W. monsoons, which in some respects may be said to change alternately every six months, according to the situation of the Sun in the ecliptic."

* *Principe eorum Rachid* (*Pliny*). *Dr. Vincent's Periplus* (p. 55.).

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vessel to *Arabia*, and that the freedman learned the nature of the *monsoon* in the course of his Navigation; this is so near in point of time, that we cannot be mistaken in supposing it connected with the attempt of *Hippalus*, and in consequence of it, the revolution in the whole course of Oriental Commerce. The advantage which *Claudius* made of this discovery, and the prosecution of it so beneficial to Egypt, rendered his name dear to the *Alexandrians*; his writings were rehearsed in their Museum, and the account he gave of this Commerce is justly believed by *Dodwell* to be the source of *Pliny's* information."

According to the account drawn up by * *Pliny* of this curious maritime event, he had himself seen and conversed with persons who heard the report given by the *Rajah*. The remote Island whence he came, is described as containing no less than 500 extensive towns. Its capital was styled *Pakeimandum*; situated on the southern coast with a capacious harbour, and a population estimated at two hundred thousand inhabitants. A large promontory stretched out from the continent of *India*, at the distance of four days' sail from the Island; and midway, between both, there was an islet sacred to the Sun. The adjacent sea was remarkable for its deep green tint, and at the bottom were observed trees whose branches were often broke by the passage of vessels. The Coast of the *Rajah's* country that lay opposite to the *Indian continent*, extended for the length of 10,000 stadia, in a south easterly direction, beyond the *Emodian* mountains: within sight lay the region of the *Seres* (*Chinese*); and the *Rajah* affirmed that his father had traded with them. As to the name of this Island, *Pliny* declares that it was † *Taprobana*; and

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* Hist. Nat. lib. 6. c. 31.

† As the professed intention of this work is to bring into a more general view, the merits of those by whom my labours have been preceded, I shall here introduce the title and contents of another valuable Dissertation by *Dr. Campbell*, in *Harris's Collect. of Voyages* (vol. i. p. 493.). AN ACCOUNT OF THE DESCRIPTIONS LEFT US BY THE ANCIENTS OF THE EASTERN AND NORTHERN PARTS OF THE INDIES, THE NOTIONS THEY HAD OF THEIR RICHES, TOGETHER WITH AN ENQUIRY INTO THE REASONS WHICH HINDERED THE EXTENDING THEIR DISCOVERIES ON THAT SIDE. (1.) A brief description of the country of the *Sinns* or *Thine* from ancient authors. (2.) Observations on the foregoing description, proving that this Country was the Kingdom of *Siam*. (3.) Of the *Indian Islands*, as described by old authors; and more particularly of the famous Island of *Taprobana*, and their mistakes about it. (4.) This point more particularly inquired into, and the *Taprobana* of the ancients shown to be no other than the Island of *Ceylon*. (5.) Of the country called *Serica*, and the nation of the *Seres*, from the best

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and according to the report of the ambassadors, gold and silver; together with precious stones and pearls, were in high request among the inhabitants. It also produced fruit-trees in great abundance, but no vines. The Indian ambassadors on their arrival at Rome were particularly struck at their shadows falling to the north, and often mentioned the brightness of the star *Canopus*, that was visible in their hemisphere.

Hippalus.

We possess no information by which the date of the subsequent observations of the Pilot HIPPALUS, respecting the monsoon, can be correctly ascertained. Dr. Vincent prefers the seventh year of *Claudius*, answering to the forty-seventh of the Christian æra. “*Dodwell* says, in *primis annis Claudii*, and supposes that *Pliny* takes his account of *Hippalus* from a work which *Claudius* himself * wrote.”

Discoveries
on the east-
ern coast of
Africa.

The Roman commerce from *Egypt* to the *East Indies*, and their discoveries on the eastern coast of *Africa*, are admirably elucidated in the PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA, an ancient nautical journal which has recently employed the geographical abilities of the liberal and learned Dr. Vincent. The original text, as he informs us, was first printed at *Basse* in 1533; afterwards at *Zurich* in 1577; and then by *Hudson* at *Oxford* in 1698. It still however remains a doubt to whom this curious geographical Tract may be assigned. Dr. Vincent was at first inclined to † think that *Marinus*, who preceded *Ptolemy*, might have composed it, but changed his opinion on reflecting that *Marinus* was no navigator. The author, from internal evidence, seems to have been a Greek merchant of *Alexandria*, who sailed on board the fleet from *Egypt* as far at least as the gulf of ‡ *Cambay*. Its date may be fixed to the last years of the reign of *Claudius*, or beginning of *Nero*; and in the discussion of this point, Dr. Vincent introduces the following remark: ‘There is a *Diodorus*

Samius

writers of antiquity. (6.) An objection arising from the knowledge which the ancients had of the Chinese fully stated, and clearly resolved. (7.) A second objection taken from the Commerce of the ancient Chinese, stated and examined. (8.) A third objection from the seeming discordancy of these accounts, explained and refuted. (9.) An account of the island of *Panchaia* (*Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. p. 220.), and a full proof of its being absolutely imaginary. (10.) The high ideas which the ancients had of the riches of the undiscovered Indies. (11.) Their errors as to the possibility of establishing a regular commerce with those countries. (12.) The causes which impeded their Discoveries, and occasioned the decline of that Trade which they actually had to the Indies.

* Periplus of the Erythrean (p. 46.).

† Ibid. p. 186.

‡ Ibid. p. 5.

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Samius mentioned in *Ptolemy* from *Marinus*, who notices the course held by vessels from the *Indus* to the coast of *Cambay*, and from *Arabia* to the coast of *Africa*. He asserts that in the former Voyage they sailed with the *Bull* in the middle of the heavens, and the *Pleiades* on the middle of the main yard; in the latter that they sailed to the South, and the star *Canopus*, which is there called the *Horfe*. I can find no mention of this *Diodorus Samius* in any other author; but whoever he is, if the date of his work could be fixed, it would go farther to ascertain the progress of the ancients, the navigation of *Hippalus*, and the account of the *Periplus*, than any discovery I have been able to make. I have reasoned only from the materials before me; and if future inquiry should develop *Diodorus*, it is not without great anxiety that I must abide the issue of the *discovery.* This *Periplus* or circumnavigation is divided into two parts: one comprehending the *Coast of Africa* from † *Myos Hormus* to *Rhapta*; the other, commencing from the same point; includes the coast of *Arabia* both within the *Red Sea* and on the *Ocean*; and then passing over to *Guzerat* runs down the *Coast of Malabar* to *Ceylon*. It is the first part only which has yet been compared with the observations of modern navigators.

A Survey of the Eastern Coast of Africa, from the Straits of *Babel-mandeb* to the Cape of Good Hope, forms one of the great desiderata in the geographical researches of the present age; and our ignorance of a considerable part of this Coast, however attempted to be concealed, disgraces the Charts of the first commercial nation in the world. The country that extends from the Straits to *Cape Gardesfan* was ravaged by the *Portuguese*, under the command of *Soarez*, during the years 1516 and 1517; since which it has seldom if ever been visited by our ships. It may therefore be acceptable to my professional readers, if an abstract is given of that part of Dr. Vincent's, learned † work, which describes the establishments or marts on this coast, from the Straits of *Babel-mandeb* to *Rhapta*.

These

* *Periplus*, p. 183.

† Bruce remarks (vol. v. Appendix, p. 222.), that the name of this Ancient Port has been improperly translated by commentators, *The Port of the Mouse*, whereas it literally signifies, *The Harbour of the Myrak*: one of the three sorts of shell-fish in the *Red Sea*, which is sought after for PEARLS. (See *Introduction*, sect. ii. p. 79. note).

† THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA, Part the first, containing an account of the Navigation of the Ancients from the Sea of Suez to the Coast of Zanguebar, by Dr. Vincent: with Dissertations, 4to. 1800. (pages 314.)

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Eastern
coast of
Africa.

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Adel.

These tremendous * Straits, are called by *Ptolemy* *Dares*, or the Neck. The *Periplus* only observes, that the point of contraction is close to *Abalites*, or the *Abalitic* *Mari*, the first of the four *Marts*, or Anchorages on the African Side of the channel, called *Ta-pera*, or † *Marts* beyond the Straits. In the modern *Adel*, styled *Barbaria* in the *Periplus*, Dr. Vincent traces a resemblance to the ancient *Abalites*; and observes, that when the *Portuguese* first entered these Seas, they found the country and commerce in the same state, as the *Greeks* described it 1500 years before. *Abalites* only furnished a roadstead to the Roman ships, and the articles of merchandise were conveyed to and from the ships, in boats or rafts. The imports are described as being *Flint* *Glass* of various Sorts, *Tin* in small quantity, &c. Its exports, conveyed by the natives in small craft to *Kalis* and *Moesa*, on the Coast of *Arabia*, consisted of *gums*, *ivory*, *tortoise shell*, and a small quantity of the finest sort of *Myrrh*.

From

* *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea, p. 111.

† See also P. 129. A view of the Straits was given by *Mrs. Irwin* in the quarto edition of his dangerous Voyage up the Red Sea. They are thus described by *Bruce*, (Vol. I. P. 311—322,) "On the 30th (July, 1769,) at seven in the morning, with a gentle but steady wind at west, we sailed for the Mouth of the Indian Ocean. The Coast of *Arabia*, all along from *Mocha* to the Straits, is a bold Coast, close to which you may run without danger night or day. About four in the afternoon we saw the Mountain which forms one of the Capes of the Straits of *Babelmandeb*, in shape resembling a Gunner's *Quoin*. The 31st, at nine in the morning, we came to an anchor above *Tihel Rahon*, or *Pile's Island*, just under the Cape which, on the Arabian Side, forms the north entrance of the Straits. At noon, I made an observation of the sun, just under the Cape of the Arabian Shore, with a *Hadley's Quadrant*, and found it to be in Lat. $25^{\circ} 38' 30''$; but by many passages of the stars, observed by my large astronomical quadrant in the island of *Peris*, all deductions made, I found the true latitude of the Cape should be rather $25^{\circ} 39' 20''$ north.

"This Entrance begins to shew itself, or take a shape between two Capes; the one on the Continent of Africa, the other on the Peninsula of *Arabia*. That on the African side is a high land, or Cape, formed by a chain of Mountains, which run out in a point far into the sea. The *Portuguese*, or *Venetians*, the first Christian Traders in those Parts, have called it *Gardefui*, which has no signification in any language. But, in that of the country where it is situated, it is called *Gardefan*, and means the Straits of Burial. (or perhaps Cape, see Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, P. 131.) The opposite Cape is *Fartach*, on the east coast of *Arabia Felix*, and the distance between them, in a line drawn across from one to another, not above fifty leagues. The breadth between these two lands diminishes gradually for above 150 leagues, till at last it ends in the Straits, whose breadth does not seem to me to be above six leagues. After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two, by the island of *Perim*, otherwise called *Mebun*. The inmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian Shore, is two leagues broad at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathom of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathom. From this, the Coast on both sides runs nearly in a north west direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian Ocean grows straiter. The coast upon the left hand is part of the kingdom of *Adel*, and on the right, that of *Arabia Felix*. The passage on the Arabian Shore, though the narrowest and shallowest of the two, is that most frequently sailed through, and especially in the night; because, if you do not round the south-point of the Island, as near as possible, in attempting to enter the broad one, but are going large with the wind favourable, you fall in with a great number of low small islands, where there is danger. At ten o'clock, with the wind fair, our course almost north-east, we passed three rocky islands about a mile on our left. On the 2d, at sun-rise, we saw land ahead, which we took to be the Main, but upon nearer approach, and the day becoming clearer, we found two low islands to the leeward; one of which we fetched with great difficulty. . . . About four we passed a rocky island with breakers on its south end, we left it about a mile to the windward of us. The Rais called it *Crab-Island*. About five o'clock we came to an anchor close to a Cape of no height, in a small Bay, in three fathom of water, and leaving a small island just on our stern. While lying at *Crab-Island*, I observed two Stars pass the Meridian, and by them I concluded the latitude of that island to be $13^{\circ} 2' 45''$ north."

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† Dr. Vincen in the *Periplus*, that the Navig upon the eight but it certainly

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From *Malute* our navigator proceeded eighty miles to *Malab*, or *Delagua*, where he found the inhabitants of a more peaceable disposition than their neighbours. Among the imports are mentioned cloaks, or blanketing, manufactured at *Arfinoe* or *Suen*, with the knap on, and dyed. *Brass*, or *copper*, prepared to imitate gold. *Iron*; and *Cassia* or inferior cinnamon.—*Moendus*, the next anchorage may probably be fixed at the *Zeyla* of Bruce; and the succeeding grand Mart of the ancients, *Mesyllon*, distant two or three days' sail, at the town of *Barbers*, or *Bertera*. In the *Periplus* no description is given of this place, but it is twice mentioned by *Ptolemy* as a promontory.

The anonymous navigator on leaving *Mesyllon*, stood along the Coast for two days, and after a run of an hundred miles, arrived at *Nilo-Prolemtion*, (*Soel*), which seems to have been the last of the *Ta-pera*. The next places that occur are: *Tapatigé*, with the lesser *Daphnéin*, and the promontory *Arómata* or *Gardefan*, with its inferior capes *Elephant* and *Tabai*. The country is represented as having two rivers, one called the *Elephant* river, and the other the greater *Daphnéin*, or *Akannai*; these Dr. Vincent allots to the synonymous town and cape, and thinks they may be represented by the *Méid* river, and the *Rio da Santa Pedra* of the Portuguese. *CAPE ELEPHANT*, which presents itself the first, is formed by the land jutting up to the north from the direction of the coast, which is nearly east and west, and from its northernmost point the land falls off again south-east to *Cape Gardefan* the *Arómata* of the *Periplus*.

The Promontory of *Arómata*, which next succeeds, deserves particular attention. It is the extreme point east of the continent of *Africa*; it forms the southern point of entrance upon the approach to the *Red Sea*; and is the boundary of the *Monsoon*, from causes that are almost peculiar. * *Beaulieu*, who anchored within four leagues of *Gardefan*, describes it as a very high bluff Point, and as perpendicular as if it were scarped. The Current comes round it out of the gulph with such violence, that it is not to be stemmed without a brisk wind; and during the south-west *Monsoon*, the moment you are past the Cape to the north, there is a stark calm with insufferable heat. The *Periplus* marks in the most pointed manner, that the Coast falls in at *Arómata* to the south; and in another place specifies its southerly, or south westerly † direction, to the limits of Ancient Discovery. The author also expressly mentions that *Arómata* is the most eastern point of the Continent; the Anchorage, he adds, is totally exposed, and in some seasons very dangerous, because it is open to the north. The certain prognostick of an alteration in the weather is when the Sea changes colour, and rises turbid from the bottom. Upon the sight of this, the vessels which are at anchor here weigh instantly, and fly to *Tabai* for shelter. At *Arómata* terminates the modern kingdom of *Adel*, the *Barbaria* of the *Periplus*, and here the imaginary kingdom of *Aden* commences with the coast of *Ajan*, or according to the *Periplus Amanian*. If any accident should lead an English navigator again to this barbarous and neglected ‡ coast, it is very possible that the descriptions of places, brief as they are, may be recognised by a judicious observer, and the ancient narrative be established on modern investigation.

CAPE

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 726.

† Dr. Vincent notices the discordancy of the Points of the Compass, or rather of the quarters of the Heavens, in the *Periplus*, and corrects them, (p. 126, note 147. p. 127. m. 152); and in the *Appendix*, (p. 68,) observes that the Navigator had certainly not more than eight quarters of the Heavens, the same number as is marked upon the eight fronts of the Temple of the Winds at *Athens*. Not that the whole eight occur in the *Periplus*, but it certainly has not more than eight. He uses *Apartias* for the North, and *Dufis* for the West.

‡ A Fleet was sent to cruise at the mouth of the Red Sea in 1798 and 1799.

S E C T. IV.

Introduction.
Carthaginian and
Roman Periods.

Delagua.
Zeyla.

Soel.

Cape Ele-
phant.

Cape
Gardefan.

S E C T. IV. **CAPE TABAI**, the d'Orfui of the *Portuguese*, lies about 75 geographical miles south of *Gardefan*. Its *Exports* consisted of different sorts of cinnamon, and frankincense. The Coast that extends between *Arémata* and *Tabai*, is called the Bay of *Belba*, or *Beyla*.

The state of the inhabitants on the Coast of *Asania* is thus described in the *Periplus*: Every city was a separate government, and every government had its independent chief. Such they were, adds its learned *illustrator, in that age, and such they might have continued if an European power had not arisen, which overwhelmed them all in a period of less than twenty years. *Sofula*, *Mosambique*, *Quiloa*, *Angona*, *Ocha*, *Patè*, *Mombana*, *Brava*, and the *Zanguebar* islands, all submitted to *Diogo Almeida*, and *Tristan d'Acugna*, before the year 1508. *Melinda*, which had always been friendly, lost all her importance, and *Magadone* only resisted with effect.

Ptolemy's † *Asania* commences at *Zengisa*, which he places at Mount *Phalangia*, described as a forked mountain with three heads, answering probably to the *Morro Cabir* of the *Portuguese*, in 8° of N. latitude. The mention of a Current setting round *Tabai* or *Cape d'Orfui* down this coast, is in all probability consistent with the experience of the navigators of that age; but whether this Current is constant or changes with the monsoon, must be determined by those who visit this Coast in different seasons of the year. The first place mentioned in the *Periplus* on this Coast, is ‡ *Opónè*, or *Ban-del-Caus*, a bay or port, at the distance of forty miles from *Tabai*: both this navigator and *Ptolemy* honour it with the title of a mart. The exports were two sorts of cinnamon; fragrant gums; slaves of a superior sort, and principally for the Egyptian market; tortoise-shell in great abundance, and of a superior quality. The season for sailing from Egypt to all these ports beyond the Straits, is described as being in *Epiphi* or *July*; and many articles of commerce are mentioned as being regularly imported from the Marts of *Ariakè*, § *Malabar*, and *Barygaza*, *Cambay* or *Guxerat*; such as corn, rice; butter or ghee, being the former in a half liquid state; oil of sesamum; cottons coarse and fine; sables; honey from the Cane called || *Sugar*. The Navigator, adds, that many vessels are employed in this Commerce, expressly for the importation of these articles; and others, which have a farther destination, dispose of part of their cargoes on this Coast, and take in such commodities as they find here in return. This passage ** I have rendered literally, as containing one of the most peculiar circumstances in the Ancient Commerce of this Coast: It manifestly alludes to an Intercourse, totally distinct from the Navigation of the *Egyptian Greeks*, carried on by the native merchants of *Guxerat* and *Malabar*, with the inhabitants of the Coast of Africa, whom we shall presently find to be *Arabs*; it speaks of this Intercourse as established, and that seemingly previous to the appearance of the Greeks in the Country; and when it is immediately subjoined, that there is no Potentate who has an extensive influence, but that each Mart has its own peculiar Sovereign; it presents a picture both of the trade and country, identically the same as the *Portuguese* found them after an interval of fifteen centuries. I cannot contemplate this picture without indulging my imagination, in supposing that the *East India* trade existed in this form, as long before the

* Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 224.

† Lib. i. c. 17.

‡ Dr. Vincent, p. 143.

§ MALABAR is properly the coast lower down towards *Cape Comorin*; but the whole WESTERN COAST takes this name generally. *Ariakè* is confined to the part between *Gazerrat* and *Bembay* (Dr. Vincent, p. 143).

|| Μίλα τὸ καλούμενον τὸ λιγύριον σάκχαρι.

** Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 145.

the interest of Egypt; and two opposite as it continues.

The *PERIPLUS* of *OPONI*, along and the great *Arémata* is per promontory modern. It is knowledge of *Western Horn* *Southern Horn* *Horn* is the lay the *Southern Rhaps* before paring this *Periplus* is pri

The *PERIPLUS* of Africa. The Coast, amount cent; at the no name is m merce to be The second di specified at c can be precis that the Seve rivers, or pr as true. Th

* Dr. Vincent † In a subse "The Southern of AFRICA (C Southern Horn of the same extren the other, this Ocean, as taking the Atlantic Triangle of this ‡ SEVEN RIV north.

the interference of the *Greeks*, as it continued after the destruction of the Roman power in Egypt; and that the nature of the *Moscos* was perfectly known to the inhabitants of the two opposite Coasts, as many centuries before it was discovered for the *Greeks* by *Hippalus*, as it continued afterwards till the arrival of *GAMA* at *Majinda*.

The *PERIPLUS* then advances during a run of six days, and the distance of 300 miles from *Opis*, along the coast of *Anania*, tending still more to the south-west, to *Arókopa* the less and the greater: and it is evident from a previous passage in the *Periplus*, where *Cape Arimate* is peculiarly marked as more to the east than *Apókopa*, that the latter is itself a promontory; answering to the *Southern Horn* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Cape Banas* of the Moderns. It is worthy of remark, adds * Dr. Vincent, that the termination of ancient knowledge on the Western Coast of *Africa*, was a *Horn*, as well as on the Eastern; the *Western Horn* is a limit to the *Voyage of Hanno*, and the Geography of *P. Mala*, as this *Southern Horn* formed the boundary of the *Eastern Coast* in the age of *Strabo*; (*the Southern Horn is the last Promontory on this Coast*. Lib. 16. p. 774). Yet it is not quite certain that the *Southern Horn* of *Strabo* is the same as † *Ptolemy's*. But Discovery had advanced to *Rhapta* before the writing of the *Periplus*, and to *Prasum* in the time of *Ptolemy*: by comparing this progress of knowledge, it seems as well ascertained that the Author of the *Periplus* is prior to *Ptolemy*, as that he is posterior to *Strabo*."

The *PERIPLUS* next describes its two last divisions of the navigation of the Eastern Coast of *Africa*. The first occupied a Course of six days; along what is termed, *the little and great Coast*, amounting nearly to five degrees of latitude, and terminated, according to Dr. Vincent, at the modern *Brava*, which corresponds sufficiently with the *Essina* of *Ptolemy*: but no name is mentioned, neither is there an Anchorage noticed, or the least trace of Commerce to be found; even on the modern Charts only one place, *Magadasha*, is mentioned. The second division, which employed a Course of seven days, is marked by a river being specified at each anchorage; and the part of the Coast, now called the *Coast of Zanguebar*, can be precisely ascertained where these ‡ Streams begin to make their appearance. Not that the Seven Anchorages can be distributed to the Seven Rivers, but there are seven rivers, or probably more, and the general picture of the tract is all that is contended for as true. They are the more remarkable, because from *Cape Gardesun* to *Brava*, a space of

more

* Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 148.

† In a subsequent part of his work, Dr. Vincent offers further remarks on this subject. (p. 170.)
"The *Southern Horn* of *Ptolemy*, on the Eastern Coast, is in Latitude $4^{\circ} 50' 0''$ North, and the extreme Point of *AFRICA* (*Cape Agulhas*) is nearly in 35° South, making more than thirty-nine degrees difference; the *Southern Horn* of *Hanno*, on the Western Coast, is in Latitude 7° North, making two and forty degrees from the same extremity; but if we take both together, reckoning eighty-one degrees from one *Southern Horn* to the other, this is a space that *Pliny* reduces as it were to a Point, and considers the junction of the *Atlantic Ocean*, as taking place almost instantly; *Yuba* takes a much bolder flight, and reckons the commencement of the *Atlantic Ocean* from the Bay of *Mosyllon*, annihilating by this method, if it were possible, the immense Triangle of this vast Continent, and bringing his own *Mauritania* almost in contact with *Arabia*."

‡ SEVEN RIVERS are noticed on this Coast by *Rosende*, (Sheet 26, M.S. Brit. Mus.) commencing from the north.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Bou'a.</i> | 5. <i>Punta de Bagona.</i> |
| 2. <i>Jugo.</i> | 6. <i>Patte.</i> |
| 3. <i>Mane.</i> | 7. <i>Mandara.</i> |
| 4. <i>Quiaml.</i> | |

S E C T.
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more than 760 miles, water is found at only three places; at *Bandi d'Agua*, north of *Cape Banas*; at *Doura*, an obscure stream where we find *Bandi wijo*; and at *Magadaga*. The two first Anchorages are called *Scrapion*, and *Nicla*, both in Ptolemy, and the Periplus. The first must have been the name of an Egyptian, or an Egyptian Greek; and probably this place was so named from him, by some navigator, or he might have been himself a navigator on this coast. *Cleoro** mentions a *Scrapion* as a geographer, who contradicted *Eratosthenes*. Among the number of these STREAMS must be comprehended the mouths of the *Quilmanci*, or *Grand River* of d'Anville, (the Obii,) which falls into the Sea not far from *Melinda* by three mouths, or perhaps more. My own † desire is, to assume these spots surrounded by the divided streams of the River for the *Pyralian Islands*, and to make up the number of the Seven Rivers with those separate streams which occur previously on the coast. . . . The general character of the Coast is clearly marked by the actual existence of the Rivers; and the termination of the Seven Courses at the *Pyralian Islands*, points to *Mombaga* almost to a certainty.

Island of
Zanguebar,
or Monfia.

From the PYRALIAN ISLANDS, and the place called the NEW CANAL, the Course in the Periplus is ‡ described as not directly south-west, but something more to the south; and after two Courses of twenty-four hours (in this direction) you meet with the Island *Mentibefias*, lying almost directly south from the Pyralian Islands, at the distance of about thirty stadia from the continent. *Mentibefias* itself is low and woody; it has rivers, and abounds with a variety of birds, and with the mountain or land tortoise. It has no noxious animals, for, though it produces *crocodiles*, they are harmless. The natives use the *Rhapta* or sewen vessels, both for fishing and catching Turtle; and they have likewise another method peculiar to themselves for obtaining the latter, by fixing baskets instead of nets at the interstices of the breakers, through which the sea retires, when the Tide is going out.

Quiloa.

Rhapta (Quiloa) is mentioned as the last Harbour on the Coast of *Anania*, and the Periplus adds, that it obtained this name among the Navigators who were Greeks, from the greek *rhapta* to sew; which was applied to this place, because they found here Vessels not built like their own, but small, and raised from a bottom of a single piece, with planks which were § sewed together (with the fibres of the cocoa) and had their bottoms paid with some of the odoriferous resins of the country. The inhabitants are described as men of the tallest stature and the greatest bulk, and the Port as being subject to the sovereign of *Maphartis*, which is in *Yemen*, lying between *Moofa*, and the Straits; besides this power of the king, the merchants of *Moofa* likewise exacted either a tribute, or demanded custom; for they had many ships themselves employed in the trade, on board of which they had *Arabian* Commanders and Factors, employing such only as had experience of the country, or had contracted marriages with the natives, and who understood the Navigation and the language. The Imports at *Rhapta* were, *Javelins*, more especially such as were actually the manufacture of *Moofa*; *batchets*, or *bills*; *knives*; *awls*; *crown glass* of various sorts; besides a store of *corn* and *wine* carried out by the traders to ingratiate themselves with the natives.

* Epist. ad Atticum, lib. 2. Ep. 6.

† Dr. Vincent, p. 232.

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‡ Dr. Vincent's Periplus (p. 232.), and Appendix (p. 75.).

§ "Is it not," exclaims Dr. Vincent, (p. 154.) "one of the most extraordinary Facts in the History of Navigation, that this peculiarity should be among the first objects which attracted the admiration of the Portuguese upon their reaching the same Coast, at the distance of almost fifteen Centuries? They saw them first at *Mombique*, where they were called *Almeidas*, but the principal notice of them in most of their writers is generally stated at *Quiloa*, the very spot which we have supposed to receive its name from Vessels of the same construction."

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 IT HIMSELF; FOR THE MARVELLOUS USUALLY COMMENCES WHERE Carthaginian and
 KNOWLEDGE ENDS. Roman Periods.

The HYPERBORREAN, or *Scythic Ocean*, occupied at different periods the attention of the Roman Navigators; their progress of Maritime Discovery on the northern coasts of Europe, may in some measure be compared with the more daring and successful exertions of our own countrymen in the *Pacific*. In the remote darkness of the north *Great Britain* was heard of at Rome the *New Holland* of the ancient world; but it was not until the reign of *Domitian*, that a squadron was purposely fitted out, under the directions of *Agricola*, to circumnavigate the Island, during which expedition many of the adjacent islands were discovered. Previous to this event, as we learn from † *Dio*, a cohort of *Uspians* levied in Germany, having slain their centurion, embarked in three vessels from the eastern Coast of *Britain* with the vain hope of reaching their own country. A refractory spirit, increased by the obstacles which every hour presented, at length incited them to murder the pilots whom they had forced into this service: thus they were abandoned to the mercy of the winds and waves; and after sustaining the greatest hardships, completed the circumnavigation of *Britain*, and landed on its western Coast.

During the reign of the noble and upright *Pertinax* many oppressive restrictions were removed that had been laid on commerce: but the Pretorian guards soon levelled an authority which had dared to respect the maritime interests of Rome, and these military tyrants, having first murdered their emperor, proceeded to offer the purple to the highest bidder, who according to history was the lawyer *Didius Julianus*.

Whilst † *Diocletian* and his three associates divided and distracted the government, the appearance of BRITAIN as a Maritime Power, whose Fleets rode

* Dr. Vincent, p. 161.

† Lib. 66. p. 754.

‡ During this reign, *Alexandria* wasted by the sword of *Diocletian*, and by famine, experienced the cruel severity of its conqueror; and, with the ancient cities of *Byziris* and of *Coptos*, increased the triumph of a Nation, whose ambition was unsatiated by the ruins of *Carthage* and *Corinth*.

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rode triumphant in the Channel, and carried terror beyond the *Straits of Gades*, afforded no unfavourable presage of its future pre-eminence. The skill of *Carausius* as a Pilot, and his valour as an Officer, are noticed by the * historian, who will not allow with Dr. † *Sidkeley*, that he was a native of St. David's and a prince of the blood royal. The Roman fleet, under the command of this admiral, had been for some time stationed at *Gessoriacum*, or *Boulogne*, when *Carausius* was induced through his ambition, or fear of *Maximian*, to assume the Purple in Britain. The power of *Carausius* was afterwards acknowledged by the other emperors; and for the space of seven years the Naval Character having regained an ascendancy, was not oppressed by the military despotism of Rome. But the celebrated Island of *ALBION* which thus early raised the ‡ trident, was afterwards enveloped with other Maritime Discoveries of the ancients, in the obscurity, that pervaded the world on the fall of the *Roman empire* in the west. "The § dark Cloud, which had been cleared by the *Pœnician discoveries*, and finally dispelled by the arms of *Cæsar*, again settled on the shores of the *Atlantic*, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous Islands of the Ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of *Honorius*, the gravest historian of the times describes the wonders of a remote Isle, whose eastern and western parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and death, or, more properly, of Truth and Fiction. The East is a fair country, inhabited by a civilised people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the West, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with Serpents; and this dreary Solitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of Fishermen, the subjects of the *Franks*, are excused from tribute, in consideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these *Charons* of the Ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the Ghosts; he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown, but irresistible power. After this

* Gibbon, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 124.

† Hist. of *Carausius*, p. 62.

‡ From the time of *Diocletian* the appointment of a Naval officer is noted to protect the Coast of *Kent*, who was styled *Count of the Sea Coast*.

§ Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 400.

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this Dream of Fancy, we read with astonishment, that the name of this Island is BRITIA, that it lies in the Ocean, against the mouth of the Rhine, and less than thirty miles from the Continent; that it is possessed by three nations, the *Frisians*, the *Angles*, and the *Britons*; and that some *Angles* had appeared at Constantinople, in the train of the French ambassadors."

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Introduction.
Cartaginian and
Roman Periods.

Such were the visions of that dreary night which so long continued throughout the civilized kingdoms of the earth, concealing amidst its darkness the various Maritime narratives we have now reviewed. It may, therefore, on concluding the present Section, be interesting to the reader to glance at some leading events in the *Naval History** of the *Goths*, and mark the eruption which, during the third century of the Christian era, burst forth from the *Euxine*.

Goths.

We find the *GOTHS* first mentioned when *Decius* was emperor of Rome, during the year 250: their swarms, according to *Jornandes*, issued originally from the peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which comprised *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finmark*, imagined by the ancients to have been an island. From the ninth to the twelfth century, the *Goths* and *Swedes* divided the inhospitable regions of the north. Their celebrated temple at *Upsal* was enriched by Spoils of the *Scandinavian Pirates*; and at their general festival that was held on every ninth year, its sacred grove displayed the horrors of paganism. The *Vandals* and *Goths* are allowed to have been originally the same: the first branched out into the *Heruli*, the *Burgundians*, and *Lombards*; whilst the latter were termed *Ostrogoths*, or *eastern Goths*, *Visigoths*, or *western Goths*, and *Gepidæ*; for, according to *Jornandes*, as cited by † *Gibbon*, "when they first departed from *Sweden*, the infant Colony was contained in three Vessels; the third being a heavy sailer lagged behind, and the crew, which afterwards swelled into a nation, received from that circumstance the appellation of *Gepida*, or *Loiterers*."

Naval power
of the
Goths.

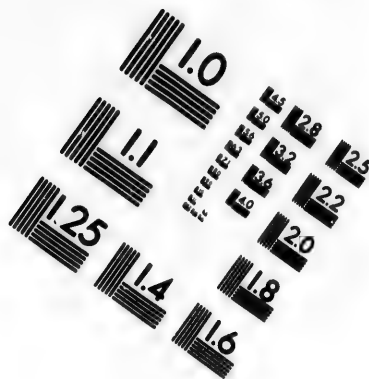
The origin of the Naval Power of the *Goths* is beautifully illustrated by the same † historian, in the three expeditions which they made from the ports on the *Bosphorus* between the years 253, and 260. The construction of the Vessels they employed partook of the daring character of the nation: their

* The naval history of the *Goths* is considered by *Burchet* (p. 183.), and the general narrative by the writers of the *Universal History* (*Ancient*), vol. xvii. p. 166. *Gibbon* has combined the different facts, and given an elegant diction to the confused narrative of their traditions, particularly in his first and seventh volume.

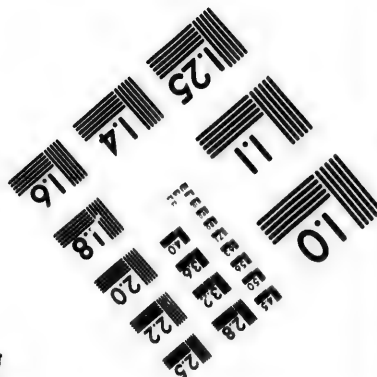
† Vol. i. p. 393. (note).

‡ Ibid. p. 423-430.





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their *Camera*, as they were called, were merely flat-bottomed boats, of a very slight construction, without any iron-work; over which a shelving roof was occasionally fitted, as some defence against the weather. Their Mariners consisted of trembling fishermen who were pressed into the service; and a striking contrast was formed between the daring spirit of the northern warriors, and the timid apprehension of their guides, who were accustomed only to embark in a settled calm. "When we are informed that the *third* Fleet, equipped by the *Goths* in the Ports of *Bosphorus*, consisted of 500 sail of ships, our ready imagination instantly computes and multiplies the formidable armament; but, as we are assured by the judicious † *Strabo*, that the Piratical Vessels used by the barbarians of *Pontus* and the *Lesser Scythia*, were not capable of containing more than twenty-five or thirty men, we may safely affirm, that 15,000 warriors, at the most, embarked in this great expedition. Impatient of the limits of the *Euxine*, they steered their destructive course from the *Cimmerian* to the *Thracian Bosphorus*. When they had almost gained the middle of the Straits, they were suddenly driven back to the entrance of them; till, a favourable wind, springing up the next day, carried them in a few hours into the placid sea, or rather lake, of *Pro-pontis*. Their landing on the little Island of *Cynicus*, was attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble City. From thence issuing again through the narrow passage of the *Hellespont*, they pursued their winding Navigation amidst the numerous Islands scattered over the *Archipelago*, or the *Aegean Sea*. The assistance of captives and deserters must have been very necessary to pilot their vessels, and to direct their various incursions, as well on the coast of *Greece* as on that of *Asia*. At length the Gothic Fleet anchored in the Port of *Piræus*, five miles distant from *Athens*, which had attempted to make some preparations for a vigorous defence. *Cleodamus*, one of the engineers employed by the emperor's orders to fortify the Maritime Cities against the *Goths*, had already begun to repair the ancient walls fallen to decay since the time of *Sylla*. The efforts of his skill were ineffectual, and the Barbarians became masters of the native seat of the muses and the arts. But while the conquerors abandoned themselves to the license of plunder and intemperance, their fleet, that lay with a slender guard in the harbour of *Piræus*, was unexpectedly attacked by the brave *Denippus*, who, flying with the engineer *Cleodamus* from the sack of *Athens*, collected a hasty band of volunteers,

* Gibbon, vol. i. p. 498.

† L. xi. p. 495.

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volunteers, peasants as well as soldiers, and in some measure avenged the calamities of his Country.

But this exploit, whatever lustre it might shed on the declining age of *Mibens*, served rather to irritate than to subdue the undaunted spirit of the northern invaders. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece. *Thebes* and *Argos*, *Corinth* and *Sparta*, which had formerly waged such memorable wars against each other, were now unable to bring an army into the field, or even to defend their ruined fortifications. The rage of war, both by Land and Sea, spread from the eastern point of *Junium* to the western coast of *Epirus*. The *Goths* had already advanced within sight of *Italy*, when the approach of such imminent danger awakened the indolent *Gallienus* from his dream of pleasure. The emperor appeared in arms; and his presence seems to have checked the ardour, and to have divided the strength, of the enemy. *Naulobatus*, a chief of the *Heruli*, accepted an honourable capitulation, entered with a large body of his countrymen into the service of *Rome*, and was invested with the ornaments of the consular dignity, which had never before been profaned by the hands of a barbarian. Great numbers of the *Gombi*, disgusted with the perils and hardships of a tedious voyage, broke into *Mafia*, with a design of forcing their way over the *Danube* to their settlements in the *Ukraine*. The wild attempt would have proved inevitable destruction, if the discord of the Roman generals had not opened to the barbarians the means of an escape. The small remainder of this destroying host returned on board their vessels; and measuring back their way through the *Hellespont* and the *Bosphorus*, ravaged in their passage the shores of *Troy*, whose fame, immortalized by Homer, will probably survive the memory of the Gothic conquests. As soon as they found themselves in safety within the basin of the *Euxine*, they landed at *Anchialus* in *Thrace*, near the foot of Mount *Hemus*; and, after all their toils, indulged themselves in the use of those pleasant and salutary hot baths. What remained of the Voyage was was a short and easy navigation. Such was the various fate of this third and greatest of their Naval Enterprises.

Amidst the subsequent havoc of Military ambition as at intervals it burst forth in all its fury to chastise the despotism of Rome; whether appearing in the ravages of *Alaric* the Goth, in the conquests of *Attila* the Hun, or in the splendid victories of the *LOMBARDS* under their renowned but inhuman *Al-*

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bein; the mind is occasionally gratified, and relieved, by the gradual re-establishment of Maritime Power. The emigrants who fled before the ferocity of the *Huns*, abandoning the fertile country which, under the name of *Venetia*, extended from the confines of *Pannonia* to the river *Addua*, and from the *Po* to the *Rhetian*, and *Julian Alps*; found an asylum at the extremity of the gulf, where, to use the appropriate expression of * Gibbon, 'the Adriatic feebly imitates the Tides of the Ocean.' In their retreat they were, seventy years afterwards described by *Cassiodorus* the minister of *Theodoric*, as *water fowl who had fixed their nests upon the waves*. This infant dominion of the *Venetians* was composed of the numerous Islands that extend from *Grado* to *Chioggia*. *Cassiodorus* notices their twelve maritime tribunals, who were chosen annually, and presided over the twelve principal Islands.

From the nature of so complex and extensive a subject as the progress of Maritime Discovery among the Ancients, I have been unable to pay any great attention to their Commerce; and therefore subjoin the following valuable Dissertation, not generally known, originally printed in Dr. Taylor's *Elements of Civil Law*; who styles it *a curious discourse by a very good hand*; I may add with more propriety than this learned Chancellor did, "which my Reader will perceive, without my information, to be the best thing in this performance."

* * The reader may here be reminded, that he will find further remarks in a Dissertation by Mr. Caverhill, entitled, *Some attempts to ascertain the utmost extent of the knowledge of the Ancients in the East Indies*, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1767: See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, (768. vol. 38. p. 499. and 547.) for a criticism on the above Dissertation, with Mr. Caverhill's reply.

* Vol. vi. 8vo. edit. p. 127.

DISCOURSE

DISSERTATION * on the COMMERCE of the ROMANS, by the late Rev. WIL- S E C T.
LIAM CLARKE of CHICHESTER. IV.

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By the Roman law, whosoever lent money to repair or re-build a house in the city of Rome, had, without any farther agreement, a tacit pledge or mortgage (*jus tacita hypothecae*) of such house (a): so as to be preferred to other creditors (b). And this is said to be enacted for the public utility, that the aspect of the City might not be deformed by ruins; for the Romans with incredible pains and care promoted the splendour, ornament, and magnificence of their City; and to this end many laws were made by the *Decemviri*, the emperors *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Marcus*, and that remarkable law of *Vespasian's*, mentioned by *Suetonius*, in his life of that emperor (c), by which it was lawful for any one to "build up all empty shells of houses, and enjoy them as his own, if the owners of them left them unfinished."

Most interpreters of the Civil Law are of opinion, that the same law obtained in favour of Commerce, and that Ships, built or refitted with money lent, were tacitly pledged or mortgaged to the lender. But, with great deference to learned names, I believe the contrary may be proved to be true, and beg leave to observe, that such a law would most certainly be prejudicial to Navigation; for so it might often happen that Ships would be detained by creditors, and Commerce hindered. *Constantine* the emperor, in three constitutions, which are extant in the *Theodosian Code*, forbids the detaining or damaging of Ships, so as to prevent or retard their Voyage, on any pretence whatsoever (d). And it was wisely provided by the laws of *Athens*, that all law-suits relating to Commerce should be carried on in those six months only in which Ships were not used to put to Sea, that so they might not lose their Voyage by the impediments of law-processes: husbandry-tools, and instruments likewise were forbidden to be pledged, and whosoever detained them on any pretence was fined fourfold the value of them, lest by such detention the Lands should lie uncultivated.

It is most certain that the Romans did not take the same care of Ships as they did of Houses, since they appointed particular officers called *Aediles*, whose business it was to see that the buildings of the City were kept in good repair: but where do we find that they ever appointed any magistrate, whose particular business was to inspect the affairs of Navigation? Not one law was made in favour of Commerce, in the times of the commonwealth: on the contrary, it was greatly discouraged, as introductory of riches and luxury, which were esteemed to ill suit with the severity of their manners.

Livy (e) and *Cicero* (f) inform us, that in the year of Rome 535, a law was made, that no senator, or the father of a senator, should have any Ship above the burden of 300 *amphoras*, (a Ship of that size was held to be large enough to carry all his own corn and fruit); and all Gain was held scandalous in a senator. This law was confirmed by *Julius Caesar*, when

* Reprinted by Mr. Nichols, in his Miscellaneous Tracts by Mr. Bowyer, and several of his learned friends (p. 275.) See also Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law, 4th. p. 497.

[a] D. 20. 2. 1.

[b] D. 20. 4. 5. l. 6. cod.

[c] § 8.

[d] Tit. de Naviculariis.

[e] XXI. 63.

[f] Verr. VII. 15.

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when he was dictator (g). The *Thebans* also made a law, that no person should be capable of any office in the state, unless he had desisted for the space of ten years from all Trade. The *Romans* went still farther, when they absolutely forbid all merchandising to the nobility (h). Nay sometimes Merchants themselves were compelled to refrain from Trade by way of punishment, though no man could be compelled to be a Merchant (i). Moreover the *Romans* were prohibited to trade beyond *Nisibis*, *Callinicus*, and *Artanata* (k). And confiscation of goods, and perpetual exile, was the punishment of the offenders (l).

It may be asked, why so many laws against Trade? I answer, because it was so far from being serviceable, that it was prejudicial to the *Roman State*. This will seem very strange to the inhabitants of this Island, who every day find the benefit and advantage of Commerce. It is expressly said (m), that merchandising is pernicious to cities. The reason of this will appear hereafter.

Commerce may be advantageous to a State for divers reasons. *Plutarch* says, it is of service in gaining the friendship of Princes, and the good-will of foreign states; besides, it increases the public customs, and revenues of a State; and the more Merchants flock to any city, the greater tribute and gain is acquired, as *Xenophon* expresses it in the beginning of his book *de Rebus*. And lastly, hence proceeds plenty, and affluence of riches, and the multitude of people in a State. *Diodorus Siculus* (n) tells us, that *Themistocles* persuaded the people of Athens to build so new ships every year, and to grant privileges and immunities to artificers, that so the number of inhabitants might be increased, and variety of arts be introduced; for he looked upon both these as conducive towards establishing a power at Sea.

But the *Romans* went another way to work. They, by humanity, terror, triumphs, tributes, and taxes, imposed on the conquered countries, increased the riches of their City. They drew all nations to Rome, by the splendour of their buildings, and the magnificence of their public games and spectacles, and the freedom of the City, which they granted to strangers. And such was the vast concourse of people to Rome, that they sent above six colonies into Italy alone:

* Jam pabulum Syrus in Tyberim defluit Grontes (o)."

It would be very idle to cite passages from ancient writers to prove that the *Romans* were an immensely rich people. It is a well-known saying of *Cicero*, that "no man ought to be esteemed rich that could not maintain an army out of his own revenue:" but so far was commerce from adding to their riches, that it greatly diminished them.

Pliny gives a remarkable instance of this (p), where he complains that the *Judæes* and *Arabians* took away every year from the *Roman* empire near 30,000,000 l. sterling of our money (Qu. not half a million?). Add to this the great sums of money sent to so many other provinces, from whence the *Romans* had "in exchange the most delicate things that could in any wise contribute to luxury," according to *Sidonius Apollinaris* (q). For all these things they paid silver and gold, having nothing of the product of their own Country to exchange for merchandises. Hence it was that the Emperors forbade the people

[g] D. 50. 5. 3.

[h] C. 4. 63. 4.

[i] XI. 43.

[j] Carm. V. 43.

[k] C. 4. 63. 3.

[l] l. ult. cod.

[m] *Juvenal* III. 62.

[n] D. 48. 19. 9.

[o] l. 3. cod.

[p] VI. 23.

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[r] C. 4.
[s] XIII.
[t] D. 4.
[u] Ner.

to send gold to the Barbarians (r); which law was in force before, as appears from Cicero's oration for L. Flaccus (s): *Exportari aurum non oportere, cum sacro antea fœdus, tum mo consula, gravissime iudicavit.* The reason of this discouragement given to Commerce was, that it carried away their money, and brought them nothing in return but luxury, the bane of virtue and destruction of empire. I need not observe that, after the conquest of Asia, all sorts of luxury were introduced into Rome, and utterly enervated and overturned an empire, which seemed to be eternal.

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"Sæclor armis

"Luxuria incubuit; victumque ulciscitur orbem (t)."

I expect it will be objected that many passages of the Roman Law, and of the ancient writers, seem to contradict what is here advanced. We read in *Suetonius* (u), that the emperor granted great privileges and immunities to Ship-builders and Merchants, particularly that if any trading ships were cast away, or damaged by storms, the State should bear the loss. We also find in *Tacitus* (x) mention made of a constitution of *Nero's*, that the Ships of Merchants should not be entered in the books of rates, nor any customs paid for them. *Lampridius*, in the life of *Alexander Severus*, tells us, that emperor granted to Merchants divers immunities. And *Ulpian* (y), speaking of a certain privilege granted to Merchants, gives this general reason, because "Navigation is of the greatest advantage to the State."

In answer to this I observe, that all these passages relate to Corn-Merchants, who imported provisions in their own Ships for the use of the City. *Claudius* gave great and certain advantages to Merchants for this reason: that once, in a time of great scarcity of provisions, he was stopt in the Forum by the populace, and so disagreeably entertained with scandal and cruelties of bread, that he with great difficulty got out of their clutches by a back-door; and from that time he made it his great care and concern to get corn imported even in the winter. The same *Claudius* granted the freedom of the City to him that built a Ship capable of 10,000 *modii* of bread-corn, and had applied it to that service for six years, as *Ulpian* informs us (z). And to this may be referred the *senatus consultum* produced in the Digest (a).

It is said that *Nero* granted privileges and immunities to Merchants and traders: but what sort of Merchants and traders they were, *Sævola* (b) informs us, viz. such as built Ships for the importation of corn, capable of 50,000 *modii*. So long as they were employed in that service, or others in their room, such persons were exempted from public offices. It is certain that this privilege granted by *Nero* extended to none but the traders for corn, as appears from *Tacitus* (c).

The occasion of this constitution we learn from *Suetonius* (d), where he says, the populace were highly incensed against that emperor, because, in a time of great scarcity, a Ship

from

[r] C. 4. 63. 2.

[s] XIII. Annal. 5. 1.

[t] D. 47. 9. 3. 8.

[u] Ner. § 45.

[v] § 18.

[y] D. 14. 1. 1. 30.

[b] D. 50. 5. 3.

[d] Juven. VI. Sat. 292.

[z] Tit. III. 6.

[c] XIII. Annal. 52.

[e] Claud. § 18.

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from Alexandria, instead of *Corn*, was said to have brought nothing but a cargo of *Dust* for the Court wrestlers.

The same may be said of the immunities granted by *Alexander Severus*. They extended only to Corn-Merchants, as appears from *Callistratus* (e), who lived in the emperor's time; and *Paulus* (f), to whose counsel *Severus* paid a very great regard, and from *Ulpian* (g), who was in good repute with that emperor. These Corn Traders were likewise a corporation, which enjoyed many privileges and immunities (h), which to entitle themselves to, they were obliged either to navigate Ships in person, or to employ the greatest part of their substance in the Corn Trade.

The same immunities were granted to the same sort of people by the emperor *Constantine*, as appears from a whole title of the Theodosian code (i). This law seems to have been made, that the city of Constantinople, which *Constantine* had built about four years before, might be the more readily supplied with provisions.

From what has been said it appears that these privileges were granted in favour of the Corn Trade, and extended no farther. But it may be asked, why so many provisions made, and encouragements given, for the importation of Corn? I answer, the Roman territory did not produce sufficient for the sustenance of so great a number of inhabitants, for which reason it was imported from Sardinia, Sicily, Africa, and Spain (l). At first the *Aediles* distributed Corn at a very low price, in process of time *gratis*. *Cleodius* was the author of a law by which Corn was to be distributed to the people *gratis*; nor was the expense of it small. *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Cato's* time there were spent in that commodity 1250 talents. *Julius Caesar*, after the conquest of Africa, imported 1,200,000 bushels for the use of the people. A bushel weighed ordinarily about 25 pounds. *P. Victor* relates, that *Augustus* imported yearly from Egypt 20,000,000 bushels; double the quantity was sent from Africa, as *Josephus* informs us. In the times of the emperor *Justinian*, 8,000,000 bushels were carried from Egypt to Constantinople (l). Of so great concern was the provision of Bread-Corn, that *Augustus*, finding in the granaries but enough for three days, determined to kill himself by poison, had not the Corn Fleets arrived from the provinces within that space of time.

'I have but little,' adds * *Dr. Taylor*, 'to subjoin to these just Reflections. I would only add, that every branch of the Roman History and character justifies the truth of these Observations. A People of Soldiers, whose Trade was their Sword, and whose Sword supplied all the advantages of Trade; who brought the Treasures of the World into their own Exchequer, without exporting any thing but their own personal bravery; who raised the Public Revenues, not by the culture of Italy, but by the tributes of Provinces; who had Rome for their mansion, and the World for their farm; a people,

I say,

(e) D. 50. 6. 5. 3.

(f) D. 3. 4. 1.

(g) Tacit. XII. Annal. Plin. Paneg.

• Elements of Civil Law, 4to. p. 501.

(h) D. 50. 5. 9. 2.

(i) De Navicularia.

(j) D. 14. 1. 1.

(l) Edict. Justin. XIII. 8.

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I say, of this Discipline and Constitution, could have no leisure to set forwards the article of Merchandize, nor were they very likely to pay any regard to the character of its Professors.

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No employment with these people was reputed honourable but the Plow and the Sword. It was the original Trait of the Constitution, and of the appointment of the founder himself, that his subjects should be brought up to those two professions alone; and that the illiberal counter and Ship-board, though ever so necessary, should be consigned to Aliens and Slaves; because he imagined that the domestic and sedentary Arts would tend to break the spirits, and enervate the limbs of a people, that he destined to be masters of the world. And my * Author adds, that for a long period the mercantile professions were looked upon as unsuitable to the Roman Character: and not a citizen was found to practise them. Every Roman therefore was a *Soldier* by Birth, and a *Gentleman Volunteer* by nature. . . .

* The *Romans* were indeed Adventurers, but of another sort: their Gain was Glory, and tradesmen were little better than Sutlers. For it is but a cold compliment that † Tully pays to Commerce, when he says, that it is impossible for the counting-house to admit of any thing ingenuous: that Trade, when confined to a narrow circle was sordid and illiberal; and the most extensive, *sin magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans, non admodum vituperanda*. . . .

* But it was not the National *Genius* of this people alone, that turned aside their attention from trade. The terms of Defiance, upon which they lived, in consequence of it, with all mankind, would have prevented all the good effects of Commerce, had their Martial Spirit given them leave to pursue it. That restless spirit *Imperii propagandi*, which kept their Levies a-foot, and their Swords in their hands, for a succession of centuries, was fatal to Factories and Correspondence. The World was in Arms, and Insurances, and Under-Writing were but a dead letter. . . . It is no wonder, therefore, that in all the magnificence of Rome, and the splendour of some very unnecessary buildings, we meet with nothing like a *Burse*, or public Exchange for the resort of Merchants, and the circulation of Commerce. And upon this principle it is, that all the terms of her traffic amount to no more than the articles of Farming and Excising.

* Dionys. Hall. II. 28.

† I. De Offic. 42.

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* It is not to be understood by this, as if they never put to sea, and neglected all intercourse with their neighbours. The contrary is true in many instances. And I come now to give some account of their Navigation.

* They began with *Sicily*. When *Demosthenes* said of *Athens* (and he said it more than ^{once}), *There is no country in the world, that imports so much Corn as they did*, he had no idea of the people I am concerned with: to whom it might be applied with much greater propriety. The attention, therefore, which they had to *Sicily*, their interest in securing the tenure of it, both from the commodiousness of its situation, and the growth of the soil, made a very considerable part of their history. . . .

* But their dealings were not confined to *Sicily* alone: for so far back as A. V. C. 244., the very Aera of the Common-Wealth, we † find them carrying on a kind of illicit trade upon the Coasts of *Africa*. . . . *Polybius* very justly observes, that they never made any figure by Sea. Indeed they never engaged in a Naval Action before the Punic War, A. V. C. 493., or scarce knew the first principles of Ship-Building. For some time after this, so far down as the year 363., when they were engaged with *Antiochus*, it was remarked of them, that they were very unskilful in the Art of Navigation. And when they arrived at their utmost perfection, the general use they made of their Fleet was, to convoy home the Spoils of ruined Provinces, and bring to the *Roman* Market the Corn from the several Granaries of *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Aegypt*.*

* C. Leptin. p. 17. T. III. and pro Corona, p. 501. T. II. Edit. Cant.

† See preceding page, 155.

THE
P R O G R E S S
OF
MARITIME DISCOVERY.
M,CCCC.

Portuguese Voyages.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF COMMERCIAL HISTORY, AS CONNECTED WITH THE PROGRESS
OF MARITIME DISCOVERY. REVIEW OF THE CHARACTER OF THE PORTUGUESE
MONARCHS. DEVELOPEMENT OF THE EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF THE ATLANTIC,
AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE INDIAN OCEAN BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY IN THE SEAS OF INDIA, BY THE PORTU-
GUESE, TO THE DECLINE OF THEIR SUPREMACY IN THE EAST.

Then from ancient gloom emerg'd
The rising world of Trade! the Genius then
Of Navigation, that in hopeless sloth
Had slumber'd on the vast ATLANTIC DEEP
For idle ages, starting, heard at last
The LUSITANIAN PRINCE, who, heaven-inspired,
To love of useful glory rous'd mankind,
And in unbounded Commerce mixt the world. THOMPSON.

SUCCESSION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF MARITIME STATES

DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The different Kingdoms are arranged according to the rank they held in the progress of Maritime Discovery.

KINGS OF PORTUGAL.

John the Bastard, to	—	—	—	—	1493.
Edward, to	—	—	—	—	1498.
Alphonso V. to	—	—	—	—	1481.
John II. to	—	—	—	—	1495.
Emanuel the Great, to	—	—	—	—	1500,
					and beyond.

KINGS OF CASTILE, OR SPAIN.

Henry III. to	—	—	—	—	1406.
John II. to	—	—	—	—	1454.
Henry IV. to	—	—	—	—	1474.
Isabella and Ferdinand V. to	—	—	—	—	1500,
					and beyond.

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Henry IV. to	—	—	—	—	1413.
Henry V. to	—	—	—	—	1422.
Henry VI. to	—	—	—	—	1461.
Edward IV. to	—	—	—	—	1483.
Edward V. to	—	—	—	—	1483.
Richard III. to	—	—	—	—	1485.
Henry VII. to	—	—	—	—	1500,
					and beyond.

KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

Robert III. to	—	—	—	—	1406.
James I. to	—	—	—	—	1437.
— II. to	—	—	—	—	1460.
— III. to	—	—	—	—	1488.
— IV. to	—	—	—	—	1500,
					and beyond.

KINGS OF DENMARK.

The Monarchs of this Kingdom early engaged in Maritime Expeditions.

Margaret, to	—	—	—	—	1412.
Eric VII. to	—	—	—	—	1439.
Christopher III. to	—	—	—	—	1448.
Christian I. to	—	—	—	—	1481.
John, to	—	—	—	—	1500,
					and beyond.

KINGS OF FRANCE.

Left among the great European powers, its national character being always rather military, than commercial.

Charles VI. to	—	—	—	—	1422.
— VII. to	—	—	—	—	1461.
Louis XI. to	—	—	—	—	1483.
Charles VII. to	—	—	—	—	1498.
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					and beyond.

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BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

I. Illustrations of Modern Commercial History to the beginning of the fifteenth century, connected with the Progress of Maritime Discovery. II. Consideration of the Rise and Progress of Maritime Interests, as cherished by the different Monarchs of Portugal to the reign of John the First, father of the illustrious Prince Henry, Duke of Viseu, the great Patron of Discovery.

SECTION I.

Reflections.—Beginning of the fifteenth century the commencement of the liberties of Europe.—Prevailing ignorance in the early periods of Modern History.—Rise of the Maritime Character.—Connection between Europe and India preserved.—Constantinople.—The Italian States.—Trade of Alexandria.—Mediterranean sea not favourable to a renewal of the progress of Maritime Discovery.—Seven United Provinces.—Netherlands.—Hanseatic League.—View of the early Maritime Character of the Normans and Danes.—France, England.—Spain.—General view of European Commerce.

To illustrate the course of the renovated spirit for Maritime Discovery, which, during the more remote periods of modern history that preceded the fifteenth century, cheered the gloom that had chilled or

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I.

overshadowed the commercial genius of Europe, is the arduous task I shall next endeavour to perform. Looking forward with a becoming diffidence of my own abilities, and feeling a respectful anxiety for the suffrage, or gratified perusal of my readers.

We have contemplated the progress of maritime discovery from the remotest ages; and, having beheld its devious or uncertain course, struggling with surrounding obstacles in the confined limits of the ancient world, which the superior mind of Alexander first attempted to pass; have seen its benign spirit sink amidst the more than Egyptian darkness, into which the irruption of the northern hordes plunged the nations both of Europe and Asia. The rude and destructive clans that poured in from Scandinavia, and the Cimbrian Chersonesus, came, like the visitation of Divine wrath at Babel, to confound the language of all the earth, and to scatter its different nations. Human pride and vanity were thus arrested in their career; but at the same instant an awful pause was formed in the history of mankind: *these were times*, says Rymer, in the dedication of his third volume of the *Fœdera, of great struggle and disorder all Europe over, and the darkest period of times*.—Perhaps it was an interval of repose, which infinite wisdom had decreed for the restless mind of man: like the long dreary night of winter, it preceded discoveries of the most momentous consequence, which the ensuing day of science

has

* Many instances of the almost stagnation of human reason and improvement in the middle ages, are selected from different authors by Dr. Robertson, in one of his notes (page 391, 8vo. ed.) to the first volume of Charles V.—At the beginning of the twelfth century, the Monks of Ferrières, in the diocese of Sens, did not know that there was such a city as Tournay in Flanders; and the Monks of St. Martin of Tournay were equally unacquainted with the situation of Ferrières. The mutual interest of both monasteries prompted each to find out the situation of the other. After a long search, the discovery was made by accident. The most ancient geographical chart, which now remains as a monument of the state of that science in Europe during the middle ages, is found in a manuscript of the *Chronique de St. Denis*. There the three parts of the earth then known are so represented, that Jerusalem is placed in the middle of the globe, and Alexandria appears to be as near to it as Nazareth.

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has displayed. The compass^b encouraged the mariner to leave the shore, and trust his spreading canvas to the wind: astronomy taught him to detect its variations, to determine the correct situation of countries that were hitherto but imperfectly known; and by what course the expectation of hope, as it led him onward through unfrequented seas, might be gratified with the fairest prospect of aggrandisement or renown.

Ch. I. § 1.

*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

The necessity of repelling the disciples of Woden, and the milder Arabs of the east, early incited the revival of maritime enterprise. The great improvements that were made in ship-building, during the fourteenth century, soon encouraged that hardihood, or spirit of adventure, which the invention of the compass had such a tendency to call forth; and impelled men to lay the foundations of the future commerce, and naval power of their respective countries, on a wider basis than those which the ancients had constructed: though the Feudal System, and the inquisitorial supremacy of the Court of Rome, created many obstacles against the renewal of maritime science and discovery; the persevering energy of its character gradually levelled the tyranny of the feudal powers, and even surmounted the caballing jealousy of the Jesuits.

Voltaire dates the commencement of the liberties of Europe, and the abolition of servitude, from the reign of King Charles the VIIth; who succeeded to the throne of France in 1422, and died in 1462: commerce

^b Dr. Robertson places this discovery soon after the close of the Holy War, 1291; and is of opinion that the Arabs, who gave it the Italian name *Bussola*, had it from Europeans. Others date this invention from the year 1200, and think it originated with the French, as the north is always marked by a fleur de lis, the arms of France. Most authors fix on the year 1302, and give the credit of the discovery to Flavio de Gioia, a native of Amalphi in the kingdom of Naples. For a more minute discussion of this interesting subject, I must refer the curious reader to the *Essays on Philosophical and Astronomical Instruments, as employed for the purposes of Navigation*, in the Appendix, H.

BOOK I. commerce, and navigation, had then cemented their illustrious union, and rapidly prepared to form

The goodly golden chayne, wherewith yfere
The vertues linked are in lovely wize,
And noble mindes of yore allyed were
In brave pourfuit of chevalrous emprize.

SPENSER.

I shall therefore take a cursory view of the maritime state of Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and shall consider some of the preceding events, as connected with the subject of this work, which combined to reveal the naval character in the earlier periods of modern history.

The city of Constantinople was above all places well adapted by its situation, to preserve or renew, during more than two centuries, the commercial intercourse which subsisted between Europe and Asia, after the port of Alexandria had been shut to the Europeans by the Arabs^c; who, inspired with the enthusiastic ardour of Mohammed, had wrested Egypt from the Greek empire, and had also added the extensive kingdom of Persia to the empire of their caliphs.—Constantinople, says Huet^d, had all Asia in its front, and all Europe behind it. The factors who supplied the Greeks, having purchased their goods of the caravans that travelled from India through Candahar into Persia, exposed them for sale at the great fairs, on the frontiers of the two empires; a considerable part also of the Indian commerce, carried on by the northern routes, and the Caspian sea,

^c The curious and early voyages of two Mohammedan merchants in the ninth century, (see Appendix, D.) from the Persian Gulf towards the east, preserved by Monf. Renaudot, will give the reader an accurate idea of the early attention paid by the Arabians to the progress of maritime discovery. The Journal des Scavans is of opinion it was written in the twelfth century.

^d History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, p. 252.

^e The Abbe Raynal has some ingenious remarks relative to the Caspian, (vol. i. p. 43.) "The Caspian Sea alone has preserved its station within the limits of this vast tract of land (the continent of Asia), which has been emerging from the deep through a series of ages. It is evidently the reservoir of those large rivers that fall into it. Some philosophers have imagined, but without any foundation, that it communicated with the Ocean and the Black Sea by subterraneous passages. Against such conjectures it may be urged, that the evaporation would be

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^f Universal H
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sea, found its way to ' Constantinople. So far back as the age of Ch. I. & 1.
 Charlemagne*, the Italians, particularly those of Amalphi and Ve- Early periods of
 Modern History,
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 fifteenth Century.
 nice, established an intercourse with the Greek cities for the spices of
 India, and were soon imitated by the inhabitants of Marseilles.

This maritime spirit, together with their mutual exertions in supporting the crusades, established, at an early period, a friendly alliance between the Greek emperors, and the northern sovereigns of Europe; and thus diffused a general desire to participate in the lucrative trade with India: which after being carried on, first by the Tyrians, then by the Greeks of Alexandria, and afterwards by the Romans, centered, for a considerable time, in the Constantinopolitan empire; until the Venetians, finding the ascendancy which the Genoese had acquired at Constantinople, obtained the sanction of the Pope to conclude a treaty of commerce with the infidel subduers of Egypt; and, thus sanctioned, resorted to Alexandria, which the Soldan of the Mamelukes under certain restrictions had rendered a free port.

Constantinople affords a memorable instance of the gradual decline of the first emporium in the world, through a neglect of cherishing and maintaining her naval power. Contented with the immense riches arising from her Indian commerce, she suffered the Italian States, particularly those of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, to derive, from the conveyance of this merchandise to the different ports in the
 Mediter-

sufficient to carry off the water, as fast as it was conveyed there by the rivers; and that subterraneous passages might easily be obstructed by the mud and sand which the waters would carry along with them. It is for this reason also that the Caspian Sea is salt, as all lakes are which receive the waters of rivers without pouring them out again. It appears certain from the observations made with the barometer at Astracan, that the surface of the Caspian is below the level of the two neighbouring seas; consequently, it is equally probable that it should communicate with those seas by overflowings from their surface, as that it should furnish them with water by means of subterraneous canals." See also the oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian traveller of the tenth century, translated by Sir W. Ouseley, 4to, page 183, for the sea of *Khozr*; and the valuable chart translated from the original Rufs, under the direction of Arrowsmith.—Obs. by Buffon, vol. i. 37—253. vol. ix. p. 99. Smellie's edit.

* Universal Hist. Modern, vol. viii. last 8vo. ed.

† Robertson's Charles V. vol. i.—Murat. Antiq. Ital. vol. ii. p. 882.—Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. p. 279. for the trade of Amalphi.

BOOK Mediterranean, the source of a maritime force, so necessary to the

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security or continuance of the Greek empire. Accordingly, in the year 1204, Venice, confederated with the leaders of the fourth crusade, aimed a severe blow at the Imperial crown, and placed the sceptre in the hands of Baldwin Earl of Flanders; "every one," as Anderson observes^a, "plucking a feather out of that declining imperial eagle's wings." The rival republic Genoa, when a space of fifty-seven years had elapsed, wrested the prize from the Venetians and their allies in 1261, notwithstanding the excommunicating thunders of the Vatican; and placing Michael Palæologus on the throne, obtained the suburb of^b Pera at Constantinople. But the effects of that poison, which their own indolence had prepared, were only suspended for a time; in the year 1453, the final overthrow of the^c venerable emporium of Indian commerce was complete. Mohammed the second besieged Constantinople, with an army of three hundred thousand men, and established the seat of the Turkish government in that city; by which means an intercourse with the East reverted entirely to Venice, through the port of Alexandria.—It is singular, that in this downfall of the great mart of Indian trade, and in the late overthrow of the tyrant of Mysore, who made such powerful exertions to injure the more modern system of European intercourse with the East, circumstances occur that have a striking similarity with each other: Constantinople, like Seringapatam, was taken by storm after a most bloody resistance; and the Greek emperor, who, like Tippoo Sultan, resolved not to survive his empire, was found under one of the gates, trampled to death by the multitude.

The fifteenth century early claimed the pre-eminence, which it gradually established over preceding ages, in the improvement of commerce, and

^a Anderson's Commerce, page 189, vol. i. 4to. edit.

^b Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 390.

^c The Greek or Constantinopolitan Christian Empire had existed one thousand one hundred and twenty three years.—The Siege, April 26—May 29, is given by Mr. Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 209.—To the same historian, vol. xii. p. 142. I refer the curious reader for a description of Constantinople as given by the learned Emanuel Chrysoloras, whose ancestors migrated with Constantine.

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VOL. I.

and in the attention paid to navigation: owing to the superior construction of ships, remoter voyages, even prior to the discovery of India, were undertaken; the names of at least the eight principal winds, or points of the compass, were then ascertained by the merchants of Bruges; the advantages of the mariner's compass began to be known, though not generally established; the states of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, had obtained an high maritime character, and nursed its rising powers with peculiar solicitude. The country of Columbus was the first to obtain an ascendancy at sea: so early as the year 1064, a fleet of merchant ships from Genoa arrived at Joppa, as we are informed by Ingulphus abbot of Croyland in his voyage to Jerusalem; and

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

¹ This curious voyage of Ingulphus is preserved by Hackluyt in his second volume, page 9, and is thus quaintly rendered by him into English from the original Latin.—“I Ingulphus, an humble servant of reverend Guthlac, and of his monastery of Croyland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautiful cite of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterwards sent to the universitie of Oxford.—And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne native soyle, I affected the courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare brave and costly attyre. And loe, at the same time WILLIAM our sovereigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troupe of followers and attendants, came unto London (1051), to conferre with King Edward the Confessour, his kinsman. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my service for the performance of any speedy or weightie assayes, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloved by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie.—When as therefore, being carried with a youthfule heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie even of this place, wherein I was advanced so high above my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that divers archbishops of the empire, and secular princes were desirous for their foules health, and for devotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.—Where we were received by the most reverend, aged, and holy patriarche Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch light, and were accompanied unto the most divine church of our Saviour his sepulchre, with a solemne procession as well of Syrians as of Latines.—Howbeit, the theevish Arabians lurking upon every way, would not suffer us to travell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the Spring there arrived at the port of Joppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet, when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places, wee all of us embarked, committing our selves to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arrived at Brundisium: and so with a prosperous journey travelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul.—From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire travelling to- wards

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and throughout the twelfth century, the dominion of the sea on their own coasts was so decided, that the government granted licences to different states or merchants to trade on the coasts¹ of Genoa. Nor was their supremacy in the Mediterranean disputed by any other powers, than the republics of Venice and Pisa, who shared with them the commerce of that sea. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, Marquis of Provence, and Duke of Narbonne, yielded to Genoa, in 1174, the cities of Marseilles and Monaco, and all the ports between the castle of Turbia and Narbonne; and was obliged to prohibit the merchants of his dominions from going themselves, or sending others to sea, on account of trade, without the consent of the consuls, and majority of the counsellors of Genoa; under forfeiture of all the profits of their voyage, and of one-third of the principal or stock exported. Having taken Ceuta on the Barbary coast, opposite to Gibraltar, in the year 1231, the Genoese gained a complete ascendancy over their rivals; and seem to have merited the following encomium of Baptista Burgus²—"so superior was the maritime skill of the Genoese in those days, that authors have preferred them before all other nations whatever: and indeed our city has so excelled in maritime skill at all times; that no commander of any other state can scarcely be found, who has taken so many towns, subdued so many isles and barbarous nations, or so frequently brought home the enemies' ships and spoil triumphantly, as many of our commanders have done."—The dominion of Genoa extended from Marseilles westward; to Tuscany eastward; the isles of Sardinia and Corsica were among their possessions;

wards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaves with unspeakable thanks and courtesies. And so at length, of thirty horsemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolicque, we returned thither scarce twenty poore pilgrims of us, being all footmen, and consumed with leanness to the bare bones."

¹ Pet. Baptist. Burgus de Dominio serenissimæ Genuensæ reip. in mari Ligustico; Lib. ii. cap. 14.

² Ibid. Lib. ii. cap. 13.

essions; and they bore, moreover, a considerable sway in the East through the favour of the Greek emperors. During this height of their mercantile skill and power, an attempt was made by the Genoese, in the year 1291, to renew the progress of maritime discovery, but without effect: both Baptista Burgus and De Mailly affirm, that at this time two galleys were sent from Genoa under the command of Theodosius Doria, and Ugolin Vivaldo, to search for a new world: they were directed to sail far westward, without the Straits of Gibraltar, but never returned to relate the story of their perils.

Ch. I. § 1.
Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

The advantageous situation of the ancient city of Theodosia on the shore of the Pontus Euxinus^a, or Black Sea; induced the Genoese, when in the thirteenth century they carried their arms into the Crimea, the Taurica Chersonesus of the ancients, to restore it to its former eminence as the emporium of the Euxine. The Genoese had already founded Azoph and Jambold; when, perceiving the advantages they would derive from rebuilding Theodosia, they sent a colony thither of their own countrymen about the year 1261, whose posterity form its present inhabitants, and at the same time changed its name from Theodosia to Caffa. To this celebrated staple, the spices, and costly produce of India, conveyed by different routes across the extensive plains of Asia, traversing the Caspian and its adjacent rivers, were first brought to Sinope^b, Trebifond^c, and other cities

^a Its more ancient name was *Ashkenus*, from Ashkenaz the son of Gomer, who settled near it. The latter Greeks, when its original was forgot, explained the appellation from *Ashkenos*, inhospitable; and since the inhabitants of the adjacent countries had become more civilized, the later term *Euxinus* was preferred.

^b *Sinope*. This had been the most famous of the Pontic cities, and, according to Strabo, possessed an excellent port on each side of the isthmus on which it was built: It was a city of very great antiquity; its origin by this geographer is referred to the Argonauts: but it did not rise into note until a colony of Milesians settled in it. It obtained the surname of *Julia Augusta* on receiving a colony of Romans. This was the birth-place of Diogenes the Cynic.

^c Anciently styled *Trapezus*, a colony from *Sinope*: a radiated Apollo was impressed on their

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I.

cities on the Black Sea. This lucrative station the Genoese preserved for near two centuries; and many remains of their magnificence are yet visible.

The naval power of Genoa, which, during the whole of the thirteenth, and part of the fourteenth centuries, had held the balance of commerce in Europe; subdued Smyrna, vanquished Pisa, cleared the Mediterranean sea of pirates, and overcome the combined and superior fleet of Venice, Arragon, and the Greek Emperor John Cantacuzene, gradually declined towards the year 1390—"from the violent contests," says De Mailly, "between her old and new nobles, and between the nobility and plebeians: several of her own nobles had now usurped the sovereignty of sundry places in her ancient dominions; such, for instance, as the Grimaldi family did of Monaco, and the Interiani of Portovenere."—Owing to these intestine

commotions,

their coins, to indicate their Greek origin and institutions, and application to learning. *Mela* mentions its splendour and magnificence. *Eusebius* speaks of it as a great staple for commerce; and *Pliny* as situated on a peninsula surrounded by mountains. *Burchet* in his naval history says, that when *Mucianus* was sent by *Vespasian* to support his pretensions to the empire, *Anicetus*, who took up arms for *Vitellius*, invented a new kind of ships, something resembling the description we have of Noah's ark, and having got together a considerable number of vessels of that build, seized on *Tropæus*. Mr. Gibbon describes the manner in which this city was taken by the Goths; and the successful exertions of its Duke to render himself independent of the Greek empire (vol. i. ed. 8vo, 485. xi. 254). *Anderson* cites a curious passage from *Grotius's Annals of the Netherlands*, in which the *Seres* *Teana* is traced to *Trebisond*. About the year 1013, according to this author, (book xv.) the Chinese, who had great dealings all over India, got possession of the *Spice Islands* after much bloodshed: yet they quitted them in about sixty years. Next the people of Malacca possessed them; but they were driven out by the natives. The Arabians and Persians succeeded them, and introduced Mahometanism amongst them. These isles were utterly unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans; yet they enjoyed the merchandize of cloves, by means of the people of the East. Long after the fall of the western empire, when the Genoese got the port of *Caffa*, in the peninsula of the *Taurica Chersonesus*, they for a time enjoyed the spice trade; and so they succeeded the Venetians. When a new Greek empire was established at *Trebisond*, that trade was drawn thither through the *Caspian Sea*; and on the increase of the Turkish power, they brought the spices from thence by caravans to Aleppo. The Soldans of Egypt restored the trade by the *Red Sea* to India, and back again to Alexandria down the Nile. The Portuguese obtained possession of the *Spice Islands* in the year 1512.

§ Sir John Chardin's Voyages.

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commotions, the power of Genoa was gradually diminished; and was obliged to become subject to Charles the VIth of France for protection, from 1396 to the year 1411: her former splendour afterwards revived, like the doubtful flame of the expiring taper; but the effort was feeble and transient: having ventured to encounter the fleet of Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, four out of six of the Genoese galleys were captured; and the state of Genoa found itself obliged to submit for a short period to that Prince. A Genoese armament of eighteen galleys, was in 1424 sent out by the Duke to oppose the superior force of Alphonso King of Arragon, combined with that of the Florentines: this fleet was also unsuccessful; and thus the commerce of the state received a fresh wound, which was rendered more fatal by the final overthrow of the Greek empire.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
sixteenth Century.*

Venice, so called from *Venetia*, a Roman province in Italy, was founded about the year 452, and succeeded Genoa in a maritime point of view: she had already excited the jealousy of the Italian states, and the admiration of Europe. Her consular power yielded to that of the tribunes, about thirty years after the building of the city; and this was succeeded by the authority of the doge or duke in the year 697. The Doge Sebastian Zani having taken a successful part with Pope Alexander the third, against the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, his Holiness as a pledge of gratitude, during the year 1173, presented him with a gold ring, in token of his marriage with the Adriatic; adding, *Take this ring, and bind the Adriatic Sea therewith to thee in wedlock; which ceremony, you and your successors shall annually perform, that latest posterity may know you have acquired the dominion of this sea by right of conquest; and that as the wife is subject to her husband, so is this sea to your republic.* About the middle of the fourteenth century, the commerce of Venice was very extensive in conveying the spices of the East from Alexandria, to the different marts of Europe; which the great fairs, first established by Charlemagne, circulated throughout their respective kingdoms.

BOOK
I.

kingdoms. The use of cannon was introduced by the Venetians during the siege of Tenedos in the Archipelago (1376), then attacked by the Genoese: Machiavel, in his history of Florence, is of opinion that these guns were invented by the Germans.

Even the Crusades, which so much exhausted the strength and resources of other European kingdoms, augmented the commerce and maritime power of Venice, and of the principal Italian states. The fleet that conveyed the troops, or attended the motions of the army, was supplied by them: Tasso beautifully introduces this at the close of his first canto—

Along the sands his armies safe they guide,
By ways secure, to them well known before;
Upon the tumbling billows fraughted ride
The armed ships, coasting along the shore,
Which for the camp might ev'ry day provide
To bring munition good, and victuals store:
The isles of *Greece* sent in provision meet,
And store of wine from *Scio* came, and *Crete*.

Great *Neptune* grieved underneath the load
Of ships, hulks, galleys, barks, and brigandines;
In all the *Mid-earth* seas was left no road,
Wherein the *Pagan* his bold sails untwines;
Spread was the huge armada wide and broad,
From *Venice*, *Genoa*, and towns which them confine,
From *England*, *Holland*, *France*, and *Sicil* sent,
And all for *Juda* ready bound, and bent.

FAIRFAX.

The Crusades, though the historian may consider them at this distance of time with too scrutinizing an eye, were of great importance in removing the absurd prejudices respecting foreigners, which injudicious statutes had so much encouraged: navigation and

La Gerusalemme Liberata, Canto I. 78, 79.

"Conduce ei sempre alle marittime onde
"Vicino il campo per diritte strade—"

¹ Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 395. By the ancient laws of Wales, three sorts of persons might be murdered with impunity; a madman, a stranger, and a leper.

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and commerce were indebted to them for an early support. Different cities that had long traded with India were subdued; and Antioch and Tyre were opened to the merchants of Europe.—The pilgrims of Europe, who in crowds visited the Holy Land both before and after the crusades, concealed the character of a merchant, like the Faquirs of India, under the cowl of a devotee; and thus were of service in furnishing information respecting the riches or countries of the East.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early period of
Modern History,
preceding the
Sixteenth Century.*

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Venice was rapidly increasing her commerce and territory: she at this time possessed, on the eastern side of the Adriatic, a considerable part of the ancient Greek empire; was also mistress of the Moors, as well as of many of the Greek islands; and had possessed herself of Vicenza, Feltro, Bassano, Verona, and Padua, to which she soon added the island of Cyprus; in consequence of the assignment of Catherine, daughter of Marco Cornaro, a noble Venetian, the widow of James, bastard son of John the last king. Venice was at this time more connected with the potentates of Europe, than any other of the Italian states, except the Papal See*. The jealousy of its government did not extend to the naval department; and though it only trusted foreigners in the more splendid stations of military allegiance, it readily allowed the nobles of Venice to become admirals or merchants.

As the spice trade was long carried on by the Venetians from the port of Alexandria, and was at this time the great support of their maritime power; I shall here subjoin the curious remarks concerning this branch of commerce at Alexandria, which the diligent Hackluyt has preserved†.

“ Alexandria in Egypt is a free port; and when a man cometh within the castles, presently the Ermyn sends aboard to have one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboard; and then

* Robertson's View of the State of Europe; Charles V. vol. i. ed. 8vo.

† Vol. ii. page 176.

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I.

then hee will set guards aboard the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermyn you goe to the Bye (another officer) onely for that he will inquire newes of you; and so from thence to the consul's house, where you lie. The Venetians have a consul themselves; but all other nations goe to the French nation's consul, who will give you a chamber for yourselves apart, if you will so have it.

"The custome inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, and the custome is paid in wares also that you buy; for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for money, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd money; for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for money, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

"The waight of Alexandria is called *Pois Forforelne*, which is a kintal in that place; which maketh at Marseils 109 li. of Marseils' weight, at fifteen ounces the pound, which is 103 li. of sixteen ounces to the li. There is another waight called *Pois Gervin*, which is 150 li. of Marseils' waight, by which are sold all things to eate; but spice is sold by the former waight. From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies journey, but you must take a Janissarie with you; and to go up thither by water it is eight dayes journey. Roials of Spaine are current money there, and are the best money you can carry; and four roials are woorth thirteen medins; and two medins are three aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France, and dollers, will goe, but of all roials are best. Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but

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" All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made ; and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people, and not ill disposed. And after you be searched, and have leave to passe, you must presently depart out of the port ; and if you doe not, they will search you againe ; and you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the consul is two in the hundred for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good, when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Silver is better currant than gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

" Commonly the caravans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices ; and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the consul's houses. Yet oftentimes the Christians go up to Cairo to buy drugs and other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kerfies, but the most part blewes ; and of clothes all colours, except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is usually sold for twenty-four ducats the quintal ; ginger for fourteen ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commodities in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of buffe hides."

The celebrated republic of Florence, on whose history so much light has been thrown by the genius of Mr. Roscoe, continued to support an high maritime character throughout the whole of the fifteenth century. Situated in the centre of contending powers, she had constant opportunities of increasing her wealth or influence ; whilst commerce, conducted under the munificent auspices of the illustrious House of Medici, gave a favourable distinction

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I.

to the naval profession. Mr. Roscoe informs us, that a considerable commerce arose from their trade carried on, in the early part of the fifteenth century, to Alexandria for the productions of the East, at the earnest entreaty of Taddeo di Cenni; who was ambitious that his countrymen should, in this respect, rival the States of Genoa and Venice: Cosmo de Medici was at this time the chief of the republic. Six maritime consuls were accordingly appointed to prepare at Leghorn, which had been lately purchased from the Genoese, two large galleys, and six guard ships. "A public procession," says Mr. Roscoe, "took place, and the Divine favour, which had always accompanied their domestic undertakings, was solicited upon their maritime concerns. At the same time, the first armed vessel of the republic was fitted out on a voyage for Alexandria, in which twelve young men of the chief families in Florence engaged to proceed, for the purpose of obtaining experience in naval affairs. Carlo Federighi, and Felice Brancacci, were appointed ambassadors to the Sultan, and were provided with rich presents to conciliate his favour. The embassy was eminently successful. Early in the following year the ambassadors returned, having obtained permission to form a commercial establishment at Alexandria for the convenience of

¹ I here follow with confidence the authority of Mr. Roscoe, who in this respect seems to differ from Anderson, and Mr. Robert Lewis in his work styled "*The Treasure of Traffic*." These writers are of opinion (vid. Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 410.) that the French, assisted by the Genoese and Florentines, conquered the Republic of Pisa in the year 1405; that the town and port of Leghorn were then given up to the *Genoese*, who held it until the next century, when it was purchased by the Duke of Florence for one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

² Vol. i. page 136.

³ Dr. Robertson, in his *Historical Disquisition respecting India*, remarks—That the Florentines, originally a commercial democracy, in their first mercantile transactions, when they did not possess any commodious sea-port, most probably confined their exertions to the improvement of their manufactories; and did not partake of the commerce with the East, until the commonwealth, by the conquest of Pisa, had acquired a communication with the ocean.

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of their trade, and with the extraordinary privilege of erecting a church for the exercise of their religion. In this branch of traffic, which was of a very lucrative nature, and carried on to a great extent, the Medici were deeply engaged; and reciprocal presents of rare, or curious articles, were exchanged between them and the sultans, which sufficiently indicate their friendly intercourse."

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Yet although the situation of Florence was thus advantageous in a political, and commercial point of view, it was by no means favourable towards a renewal of the progress of maritime discovery. The Mediterranean Sea conveyed the treasures of the East from Alexandria to the different marts, whence they were afterwards exported to the colder regions of the North; but there was little in this sea calculated to awaken the daring resolution and spirit of maritime enterprise: already explored by the patient industry of other ages, its limits were narrow and determined. The inhabitants of Florence, continually viewing an expanse of water whose boundaries were ascertained; on which the gigantic billow and mountainous swell of the ocean were seldom if ever seen; enjoyed no incentive to the spirit

7 The Mediterranean is what seamen term a *short hollow sea*; soon down from the proximity of the shores: when the wind has spent its fury, it immediately becomes smooth. The sailors of the different states, whose shore is washed by this sea, to the present hour never stand out a gale; but, having always some good harbours under their lee, they immediately resort thither. It is even difficult for the more experienced mariners of the north to keep this sea in a gale of wind, the popple is so considerable. The storm which Virgil, in his first book, describes Eneas to have been in, is an exact representation of a gale of wind in the Mediterranean; such as the poet must have often beheld:

"Hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
Terram inter fluctus aperit; furit æstus arenis."

The great epic poet of Indian commerce, as translated by Mickle, when describing the boundaries of Europe, accurately marks the difference between the roaring of the Northern and Western Oceans, and the generally smoother undulation of the Mediterranean:

"Around her northern and her western shores,
Throng'd with the finny race, old ocean roars;
The Midland Sea, where tide ne'er swell'd the waves,
Her richest lawns, the southern border, laves." Book iii. p. 86. 8vo. ed.

B O O K spirit of discovery, no object adapted to create that train of searching
 I. doubt and bold conjecture, which the boundless sweep of the Atlantic so much tended to encourage in the mind of Henry Duke of Viseo.

It is however probable, that among the innumerable manuscripts, and antiquities, collected by the diligence of the family of Medici, their classical erudition often led them to preserve or illustrate such works of the Greek philosophers and geographers, as became of essential service to the heroic monarchs of Portugal in prosecuting their designs. A continued intercourse subsisted between Florence and Constantinople : and in the library of S. Marco, founded by Cosmo de Medici with the books collected by Niccolo Niccoli, we are informed by Mr. Roscoe, that the Greek and oriental manuscripts formed a distinct class. The recovery of the three first books, and a part of the fourth of the Argonautics, the interesting naval poem of * Valerius Flaccus, by Poggio Bracciolini in the convent of St. Gallo, during the year 1415, must soon have been known throughout Europe ; and have had its effect on the inquisitive and learned minds of the maritime princes, who so much adorned the reign of their illustrious father John the First, king of Portugal.

The Seven United Provinces, consisting of the northern part of the Netherlands, more commonly known under the general appellation of HOLLAND, were not yet incorporated by that bond of amity which they formed in the succeeding century ; when the memorable league at Utrecht (1579) opposed the tyranny and oppression of Philip II. of Spain. Probably at this early period, the very coast of districts that afterwards composed so powerful a maritime state, was

* This naval poet, who flourished under Vespasian, and who in point of merit has been placed by critics next to Virgil, continues to be strangely neglected in the first commercial kingdom of Europe—

“ *Ira maris, vastique placent discrimina ponti.*”

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was different from what it appears in the present day. Sir William Temple is inclined to believe, that the Bay which now separates the provinces of Holland and Groningen, under the name of the Zuyder Zee, was formerly a tract of land consisting of low swampy marshes: the Netherland historians affirm, that it was for the most part dry land, and a well inhabited country. Morisotus, who published his *Orbis Maritimus* in 1643, places the date of the dreadful inundation in 1421, whilst others on the contrary make it still later, in the year 1446.—After the fall of the empire of Charlemagne, the provinces which now form the Republic of Holland experienced frequent revolutions: the great Lords and officers of the crown rendered their governments hereditary; some provinces were under the authority of dukes, others were subject to counts; whilst that of Friesland was termed a kingdom, and that of Utrecht a bishoprick. Voltaire is of opinion that the foundation of the Republic of Holland, during the succeeding century, was laid without design, and against all the rules of probability.—“A little corner of the world,” says that lively writer, “almost buried under water, and which subsisted only by its herring fishery, became a formidable power; made head against Philip the Second; stript his successors of almost all their possessions in the East Indies, and in the end became the protectors of them.” So early as 1408, the towns of the province of Holland possessed a naval force respectable for that age: since pensionary De Witt, in his *Interest of Holland*, informs us, “that the seas being infested by certain East Friesland pirates, those of Amsterdam, and some of the cities of North Holland, with the assistance of the Lubeckers, Hamburgers, and Campeners, suppressed these robbers.” In 1441, we find the Hollanders and Zealanders with the Spaniards, Venetians, and Prussians, as their allies. Eleven of their associated towns, in which Dort, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, are mentioned, having fitted out a formidable squadron

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* De Witt's *Interest of Holland*, part ii. chap. 1.

to

BOOK to chastise the depredations committed by the Hanseatic Easterlings,
I. overcame them twice at sea; and at length brought them to agree to a truce for twelve years with the Hollanders, Zealanders, and their confederates.

In the year 1444, when King Henry, the Sixth of England^b, renewed her ancient commercial correspondence and friendship with the places, countries, and dominions of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, it is remarkable that there is no mention of any prince or sovereign of these countries; which confirms what Pensionary De Witt, Sir William Temple, and others relate concerning the great independent power of the states of those provinces in old times. In the same year, as Mr. Anderson informs us, the old French book, intitled the *Grand Cbronique de Hollande, Zelande, &c.* relates, "that Henry Bursele, or Van Borselen, Lord of Veere, or Campveere in Zealand, did in that year fit out several large merchant ships, with which he traded far and near on the seas, and thereby gained a vast estate in lands and lordships in Zealand; and by which means likewise the city of Veere became flourishing in navigation and commerce."

The city of Amsterdam, which in the year 1585 enjoyed a complete triumph over its rival Antwerp; when the latter was for three days abandoned without remorse to the merciless soldiers of the Duke of Parma; was originally, in 1203, a small castle named *Amstel* from the river whose banks it defended. Some peasants, induced by the liberality of its lord, *Gisbert*, to build their cottages near its walls, began a considerable traffic by means of their fishery. These labours being crowned with success, the rising hamlet, which had cheered the gloom of the adjoining castle, soon lost all traces of its former poverty: the fishing boats were turned into merchant ships, and the fishermen into merchants. The new town was soon surrounded with

^b Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 67.

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with bridges and a dyke: when the term *Dam* was added to that of *Amstel*; since corruptly turned into *Amsterdam*.

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That extensive territory, which in general is styled the Low COUNTRIES, or NETHER-LANDS, from their situation in respect to Germany, came under the dominion of the House of Burgundy in 1433. Its commerce was of such a magnitude, that, according to the anonymous author of the *Annales Flandriae*, no less than one hundred and fifty merchant ships were seen in the year 1468, arriving at once at the port of Sluys, which was then the harbour of Bruges. The alliance made by the maritime cities of Hamburg and Lubec to open a trade with the Baltic, encouraged other towns to follow their example; and thus was formed the famous 'Hanseatic League, consisting of eighty of the most celebrated cities situated in the

* Werdenhagen the historian of the Hanseatic League, according to Anderson, fixes on the year 1370, as the period when this famous confederacy was at the summit of its glory. Their exact number was generally fluctuating. Werdenhagen, in his second volume, page 89, gives the following curious list of sixty-four of these cities, with the annual sum paid by each into the public treasury:

		Imperial Dollars.	
Lubeca	-	100	Lubeck.
Colonia	-	100	Cologne.
Brema	-	60	Bremen.
Hamburgum	-	80	Hamburg.
Rostochium	-	50	Rostock, in Mecklenburg dutchy.
Straelsunda	-	50	Straelsund, in Pomerania.
Wismaria	-	25	Wismar, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg.
Magdeburgum	-	40	Magdeburg.
Brunsviga	-	50	Brunswick.
Dantiscum	-	80	Dantzick.
Lunenburgum	-	60	Lunenburg.
Stetinum	-	40	Stetin, the capital of Pomerania.
Gryphiswalda	-	25	Grypswald, in Pomerania.
Hildeshemium	-	30	Hildesheim.
Goslaria	-	30	Goslar, in the dutchy of Brunswick.
Gottinga	-	30	Gottingen, in the same.
Einbecca	-	10	Einbeck, in the same.
Hanovera	-	25	Hanover.

Hamela

BOOK the countries, that extend from the bottom of the Baltic, to Cologne
 I. on the Rhine. Of the different towns where they established
 staples for the support of their commerce, Bruges was the most cele-
 brated :

		Imperial Dollars.	
Hamela	- -	20	<i>Hamelin, in the dutchy of Brunswick.</i>
Colberga	- -	25	<i>Coleberg, in Pomerania.</i>
Stargarda	- -	25	<i>Stargard, in Pomerania.</i>
Anclamum	- -	18	<i>Anclam, in the same.</i>
Stada	- -	20	<i>Staden, in the dutchy of Bremen.</i>
Boxtehuda	- -	20	<i>Boxtehude, in the same dutchy.</i>
Golnowia	- -	8	<i>Golnow, in the dutchy of Pomerania.</i>
Thoruna	- -	20	<i>Tborne, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Elbinga	- -	20	<i>Elbing, in the same.</i>
Koningsberga	- -	60	<i>Koningberg, the capital of Brandenburg, Prussia.</i>
Braunsberga	- -	20	<i>Braunsberg, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Riga	- -	50	<i>Capital of Livonia.</i>
Revalia	- -	50	<i>Revel, in the same.</i>
Dorpatum	- -	20	<i>Dorpt, in the same.</i>
Parnovia	- -	20	<i>Parnaw, or Pernaw, in the same.</i>
Culmenum	- -	10	<i>Culm, in Polish Prussia.</i>
Neomagium	- -	35	<i>Nimeguen, in Guelderland.</i>
Davantria	- -	50	<i>Daventer, in Overysfel.</i>
Campenum	- -	40	<i>Campen, in the same.</i>
Schwolla	- -	23	<i>Sewoll, in the same.</i>
Zutphania	- -	30	<i>Zutphen, in Guelderland.</i>
Arnhemia	- -	30	<i>Arnhem, in the same.</i>
Bommelia	- -	10	<i>Bommel, in the same.</i>
Thiela	- -	10	<i>Tiel, in the same.</i>
Hardervicum	- -	30	<i>Harderwick, in the same.</i>
Duisburgum	- -	20	<i>Duisburg, in the dutchy of Cleves.</i>
Stavera	- -	35	<i>Stavern, in Friesland.</i>
Groninga	- -	35	<i>Groningen, in the same; since made a distinct province.</i>
Bolswerda	- -	30	<i>Bolswerd, in Friesland.</i>
Ruremunda	- -	25	<i>Ruremonde, in Guelderland.</i>
Venloa	- -	20	<i>Penloo, in the same.</i>
Emericum	- -	30	<i>Emmerick, in the dutchy of Cleves.</i>
Osnabrug	- -	30	<i>Osnaburg, in Westphalia.</i>
Susatum	- -	35	<i>Soest, in the same.</i>
Tremonia	- -	30	<i>Dortmunde, in the same.</i>
Monasterium	- -	40	<i>Munster, in the same.</i>
Vesalia	- -	30	<i>Wesel, in the dutchy of Cleves.</i>
Minda	- -	30	<i>Minden, in Westphalia.</i>

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brated: to this port the Lombards conveyed the productions of India; which rendered it the great emporium of trade, and the intermediate store-house for merchandise, between the more northern countries of Europe, within the Baltic Sea, and the most remote southern parts, within the Mediterranean. When the glory of the Netherlands was at its summit, and its extensive woollen manufacture without a rival; their illustrious chief, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, established in the year 1429 at Bruges, the splendid order of the Golden ^d Fleece; on the day of his marriage with

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<i>Imperial Dollars.</i>		
Paderborna	20	Paderborn, in Westphalia.
Hervorda	15	Hervorden, in the same.
Lemgovia	15	Lemgow, in the same.
Lippeftadium	10	Lipftadt, in the same.
Unna	20	Unna, in the same.
Hamma	25	Hamm, in the same.
Warbergum	15	Warberg, in the same.
Bilefeldia	10	Bielefeld, in the same.

The four great COMPTOIRS of the Hans Towns were, *Bruges, London, Novogrod, and Bergen.*

To the above sixty-four cities and towns, the historian adds forty-four, who did not pay any annual contribution, and may therefore be termed allies: to these many more were afterwards added.

⁴ It is singular that Dr. Robertson, in his interesting View of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire, to the beginning of the sixteenth century, should not notice this celebrated institution; and also that he should entirely pass over the kingdom of Portugal, which by this marriage formed an alliance with the first maritime prince in Europe. The institution of this Order, as founded by one of the earliest of the modern maritime states; and on account of its alliance with Portugal, the parent of maritime discovery; deserves our particular attention. This Order, in every point of view, must be considered as a commercial and naval institution; and though it afterwards was bestowed as a reward for the valour of military men, it surely cannot properly be deemed a military order. May we not express a wish to see this celebrated institution, or one established on a similar plan, kept apart in our own country, as the badge of merit for the naval profession? The Golden Fleece was the prize of Jason and the Argonauts!—OLIVER DE LA MARCHE, says “that he suggested to Philip I. Archduke of Austria, that the Order was instituted by his grandfather Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, with a view to that of Jason.” The Order consisted at first of the Sovereign and thirty Knights. Charles XII. augmented them to fifty-one; but at present the number is undetermined. SEVENTY-FOUR seems to be the number to which the Knights Companions of any naval order should be limited. The King of Spain is the

BOOK with Isabella, daughter of John the first, king of Portugal, by Philippa,
I. eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

In the year 1469, the Netherlands had attained to such a pitch of maritime strength, that the Duke of Burgundy possessed the most formidable naval power in Europe. "His navy," says Philip de Commines, "was so mighty and strong, that no man durst stir in these narrow seas for fear of it; making war upon the King of France's subjects, and threatening them every where: his navy being stronger than that of France, and the Earl of Warwick's joined together. For he (the Duke of Burgundy) had taken at Sluys, many great ships of Spain, Portugal, and Genoa, and divers hulks of Germany."—Thus the associating spirit of Commerce, which had arisen in the thirteenth century, combined to establish the colossal power, that prepared the way for the maritime discoveries of Europe: but we shall find that the progress of the latter, though greatly assisted by such an impelling force, chiefly depended on the daring efforts of individuals; who, amidst a variety of perplexity and disappointment,

Chief, and Grand Master of this Order, as having inherited the rights of the House of Burgundy. The Emperor also creates Knights of the Golden Fleece, in virtue of his pretensions to the same rights. The habit of state is most brilliant: it consists of a splendid crimson velvet cloak, lined with white satin, open on the right side, and tucked on the left arm; under this cloak is a robe of silver tissue. The head is covered with a chaperon or hood, fashioned as it was worn at the time of the institution of the order, and is of violet coloured velvet. The cloak is bordered with an embroidery of gold, imitating the great collar. The COLLAR of the Order is composed of double steels, and flint stones emitting streams of fire; imitated in enamel in their proper colours, on gold, with these words, *Ante ferit quam flamma micat*.—MOTTO of the Order, *PRETIUM NON VILE LABORUM*!—If the crimson cloak was changed into one of dark blue, and anchors were embroidered on the collar, it might with singular propriety be established in this country as the reward of naval merit; and the Order of the Bath, remain what it always was—a Military Order. I avail myself of this opportunity, to mention another order of great antiquity; which in some respects might perhaps claim a preference as a Naval Order; it was styled *The Order of the Oak of Navarre*, and is said to have been instituted by Garcias Ximenes so early as the year 722. The badge was an oak tree proper, on the top a cross moline gules. An oak saved the person of royalty, and has long preserved the sceptre: why not then institute The most honourable Naval Order of the Royal Oak?

• Book iii. ch. 5.

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pointment, at length taught the world to respect the bold conceptions of genius; which the *profanum vulgus*, "both the great vulgar and the small," is always prone to neglect, and ever ready to despise.

Ch. I. § 1.
Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

My intention at present is to take a general view of the principal maritime states in Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century; giving a retrospective glance at the earlier periods of modern history, as connected with the subject of this work: in order to assist the reader in carrying back his ideas with greater facility, from the improvements of the present age, to the remote period of the Portuguese discoveries. I shall therefore now confine myself, in this respect, to a brief survey of the then naval character of Norway, Denmark, France, England, and Spain; reserving for another section that of Portugal; from whom I date the origin of maritime discovery among the moderns, and whose voyages will consequently be first considered.

The NORMAN Mariners who early ventured on the ocean from the frozen regions of Norway, and who, towards the decline of the power of the Saracens, laid waste the coasts of the more southern countries of Europe; until they compelled the French to assign to the followers of Rollo, the genial and fertile province of Normandy; have not been sufficiently considered, as renewing the progress of maritime discovery in periods so far back, that they are almost lost in oblivion. The Normans were the first Europeans who explored

¹ See Appendix, F. for Mr. Glas's observations on the discovery of the Canary Islands.—The author of an *Introduction to the literary history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* also notices these early navigators; whose maritime discoveries have escaped the observation of many writers: "Scarcely could a reasonable hope be entertained of these Gothic governments acquiring order and stability, when fresh tribes of barbarians made their appearance from the old and yet exhausted storehouse of nations. Their numbers appear to have suffered little diminution; but they chose a different element for their exploits, better calculated for sudden invasion, and expeditious retreat. The *Normans*, a name which includes Scandinavia, and the shores of the

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explored the north-west coasts of Africa, nearly a century before the voyages of the Portuguese; and formed settlements on that continent, which continued until the year 1410: the Portuguese were in many respects, as Mr. Glas^a observes, the revivers of the Norman discoveries.—There is a chasm in the history of ^b Norway for six hundred years, viz. from A. D. 200 to 800: in the year 837, they were acquainted with a country, on the north side of Davis's Straits, called GRONELAND, or Greenland, which the Danish Chronicle declares to have been discovered about the year 770. These forgotten navigators continued to be idolaters until 994; when their King Olaus was converted and baptized in England: he was nevertheless murdered in 1006 by his pagan subjects; and has since been regarded as the patron saint of Norway.

The kingdom of Denmark, one of the most ancient ^c monarchies in Europe, so early as the eleventh century possessed a powerful maritime force; when its ships under the conduct of Canute the Great, who succeeded Olaus on the throne of Norway, invaded England: and by breaking through that bulwark, which has since become invincible, placed this celebrated monarch upon the throne. The original inhabitants of Denmark, the gloomy and cruel disciples of WODEN, who, with those of Sweden and Norway, were styled Scandinavians or Saxons, displayed a formidable naval character, which struck the coasts of Europe with awe, and subdued some of
its

Baltic, free-booters and pirates, from the owners of ships became the masters of fleets, extended their visits of slaughter and depredation, and kept the most powerful kingdoms of the west, in a state of terror and alarm. Charlemagne saw, dreaded, and repressed their power; his death was the signal for bolder and better concerted attempts." (P. 50.)

^d Ibid. Appendix.

^e Werdenhagen's tractatus de rebus-publicis Hanseaticis, folio. Francof. 1641. Anderson's Commerce, vol. i.

^f A series of kings may be traced from the year 1038 before Christ; forming the space of two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years.

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its most fertile ^a kingdoms. The Danes, almost from the foundation of their empire, possessed a considerable maritime force: and, though it appeared in the garb of piracy, they in this respect pursued only the same course, which all naval powers in their infancy have held; which the heroes of Greece ennobled, and their bards selected as the classic subjects of their song.

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At the beginning of the fifteenth century Denmark sustained its commercial character with considerable ability and renown: and perhaps it was more owing to the favourable situation of Portugal for renewing the progress of maritime discovery, than to any superior skill, or love of enterprise, that she took the lead of her northern sister in the developement of unfrequented seas.

Queen Margaret at the period whence the present work commences, sat on the triple throne of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and she held its sceptre with so much firmness, and issued her decrees with such profound wisdom, as to be styled, **THE SEMIRAMIS OF THE NORTH**. This astonishing character, who proved to what an height the female understanding may be raised, not only repressed the daring attempts of piracy, but curbed the ¹ domineering spirit of the Hanseatic Association, by the celebrated union of Calmar; which her abilities and eloquence conspired to form during the year 1397. In the preceding year her attentive solicitude for the maritime interests and ^m character of her subjects particularly appears: she declared

that

^a One of their kings named FAOTHO, who reigned about the year 761 before Christ, is said to have conquered all Britain, Sleswick, Russia, Pomerania, Holstein, &c.

¹ A striking instance of this is recorded in the eighth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, (p. 722) King Henry the Fourth of England complains, during the year 1412, "that about five years before, one hundred fishermen of Cromer and Blakeney in Norfolk, flying from their enemies into the port of Windford in Norway, were assaulted by 500 armed men belonging to the Hanseatics residing at Bergen: who bound the poor Englishmen hands and feet, and threw them into the sea; where they all perished."

^m It is a curious circumstance, and one that is particularly interesting to the British mariners of the present age, that the government of Denmark, some years subsequent to the reign of

Margaret,

BOOK *that all ports lately opened to the prejudice of established marts, should*
I. *be shut up; that no duties should be exacted but where they were im-*
posed by law; that all manner of assistance should be given to foreign
merchants, and sailors, particularly in case of Shipwreck and misfortune;
without expectation of reward, except what was provided for by law:
in a word, that every circumstance enjoined by humanity and sound po-
lity, should be strictly observed with respect to strangers.

During the reign of Margaret's successor, the impolitic Eric the tenth; who though formed to reign by the counsels and example of this distinguished woman, yet was irresolute, imprudent, and disregarding of the laws and liberties of his subjects; the commerce of the Hans-Towns was considerably * affected by the active genius of the Hollanders; who taking advantage of the disturbances in the North, rendered their trade so considerable, that they resorted to all the ports of Muscovy, Livonia, and Prussia. On the renewal of their ancient treaties; which in 1426 took place between Eric the tenth, and James the first, of Scotland; we find that the right to the Isles of

Margaret, though at that time one of the most powerful, if not the first maritime state in Europe, yet did not respect the Neutrality of other powers. In the reign of Christian, the first prince of the illustrious House of Oldenburgh; which to this day continues seated on the throne of Denmark; the Danish fleet in the year 1469 attacked a rich fleet of Lubeckers, under pretence of their supplying with provisions and warlike stores the enemies of Denmark. The booty was prodigious, and the Lubeckers sent deputies to demand restitution; but Christian answered, that it was impossible; the booty having been divided among his whole fleet and army: an answer with which the Lubeckers were forced to remain * satisfied.

* UNIVERSAL HISTORY, MODERN. Vol. xxix. page 148. — Mr. Anderfon in his valuable work on Commerce, seems to have fallen into an error, by saying "that about the year 1403, Eric the VIII. king of Denmark, being engaged in a desperate war with the Hanseatic League, called in the Zealanders and other Netherland ships to his aid, whose assistance enabled him to humble the Hans-Towns." If I am correct, for I speak with deference of one to whose labours I am so much indebted, Eric the X. succeeded to the dominions of Margaret about the year 1412; and Eric the VIII. surnamed the Pious, succeeded his dissipated parent Eric the VII. in 1286, and died in 1318.

* Meursius, p. 10. — The passage is cited by the writers of the Modern Part of Universal History, vol. xxix. p. 198, Note — (Ed. 1783.)

of Man and Sodor, or Icolmkill, and that to the Orkney Isles, was ceded by the king of Denmark to James; who annulled the treaty by which the sovereigns of Scotland were engaged to pay tribute for these islands: the original treaty, *super insulis Æbudis*, had been formed by Alexander the third, of Scotland, and Magnus the fourth, king of Norway. The maritime force of the vandalic Hans-Towns, which during the whole of the fifteenth century continued very great, was in 1428 directed against the kingdom of Denmark. A fleet of no less than two hundred and sixty ships, on board of which 12,000 men embarked, sailed from the usual station, the port of Wismar, to attack Copenhagen: they were however obliged to return, without succeeding in their bold design. Eric, throughout the whole of his reign, proved an inveterate enemy to the confederacy. During the violent war which this monarch carried on with the Holsteiners, and the vandalic Hans-Towns; the English and other foreign nations, as well as the Hollanders, began to appear in the Baltic; which gave a fatal wound to the maritime ascendancy of the Hanseatic Association. This wound, once inflicted, was considerably increased by Eric's successor, Christopher the third; who, from his inveterate hatred towards the combination, granted in 1443 a free commerce throughout his kingdom of Norway, formerly almost entirely monopolized by the Hanseatics, to the people of Amsterdam; and also to those of Zirickzee in Zealand. This monarch also, in the same year, removed the seat of government from the bishoprick of Roschild, which had hitherto been the capital of Denmark; and on account of the fine harbour, and favourable situation of Copenhagen, established it at the latter city, originally the property of the bishop of Roschild.

The genius of France appeared late, when compared with other nations, in the progress of maritime discovery; and for this reason

among

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* Meurf. Hist. Danica, lib. v.

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among others, because a maritime character was never congenial with the habits or employments of its inhabitants: their minds were too volatile, and too fond of military parade, to find any charms in the plain manners and patient abiding of the mariner. The crews of her ships were intrepid, skilful, and enterprising; but yet it was not the enterprize, or skill, or intrepidity of seamen: like those of the present day her mariners were rather military, than naval; the latter appellation was lost, in the more brilliant pageantry of the former.

The commercial spirit of trade which Dagobert had excited in the seventh century, and which ^p Charlemagne, at the conclusion of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth, had revived; by various wise institutions; by repairing the cities of Genoa and Florence, and particularly by rendering Hamburg a place of consequence; was considerably injured and abated at the period we are now considering. The unfortunate state into which Charles the sixth was thrown, by the irritation and fatigue of his mind, increased by the imprudent follies of a masquerade, at which he with difficulty escaped from being burnt to death; fatally prepared the way for that confusion and anarchy, which the implacable spirit of the houses of Burgundy and Orleans combined to strengthen.—The institution of a NAVAL ^q ORDER in France, called the SHIP AND ESCALLOP-SHELL, or as it was sometimes styled, the order of the SHIP AND DOUBLE CRESCENT, was celebrated by St. Louis in the year 1269: yet even this had little effect in creating a maritime spirit, or in rewarding

^p Charlemagne succeeded his father Pepin in 768, and died in 814.

^q This order was instituted by St. Louis, in commemoration of the hazardous naval expedition which he undertook with his three sons, PHILIP, JOHN, and PETER, to assist the Christians against the Infidels. The collar was composed of gold escallop shells intermixed with double crescents; to which was pendant a *ship rigged argent, floating upon waves of the same*. The escallop shells are supposed to represent the port of *Aigues-Mortes*, where St. Louis and his sons embarked; and the crescents, his intention of waging war with the Turks.

warding what had appeared : most writers are of opinion, that the Order did not survive its founder.

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The Negotiation which was opened between the crowns of France and England, on the accession of Henry the fifth, of Lancaster, (20th of March 1413,) instead of promoting the general interests of trade, or tending to renew the progress of maritime discovery, served only to deceive both kingdoms : it involved them in the miseries of war ; and even rendered the conqueror the dupe of his own ambition. It was an age of military expeditions and conquest ; without an Alexander or a Nearchus to render them subservient to the purposes of commerce. Yet notwithstanding the turbulence that prevailed, we have a memorable example given us in France, about the year 1449, of what the diligence of a single individual may produce : it is recorded in the preface to the memoirs of the Dutch trade, which is believed to have been written by Bishop Huet. Charles the seventh, having resolved to regain Normandy,

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if possible, from Henry the sixth; Jacques Couer, intendant general of the French finances; and who at the same time, as appears, was the most celebrated merchant, not only of France, which indeed had very few merchants in those times, but of all Europe; became the leading instrument of that great revolution in Normandy: and though he supplied King Charles with an army, and with several millions of money, he yet had considerable wealth remaining. Couer was such a patron of commerce, that even whilst he held this high station under the crown, he had a great many large ships trading to the Levant, to Egypt, and Barbary; whence he imported gold and silver stuffs, silks of all kinds, and furs: which merchandise he sold by his factors, clerks, and agents, at the Hotel Royal; in all the principal cities of France; and in foreign courts: where the people greatly admiring them, they were purchased at high prices. He employed three or four hundred commissaries or factors; and gained more in one year than all the merchants of the kingdom together.

A very considerable increase of strength was given to the maritime power of France, in 1453, by the taking of Bourdeaux from the English by Charles the seventh: who besides the reduction of the dutchy of Normandy, subdued Aquitaine, or Gascony. In three months the expence of blood and treasure, which the English had lavished for a century, was rendered of no avail; their only acquisition that remained was the town of Calais, and the adjacent town and country of Guines. In 1457 the French even ventured to turn the miseries of invasion on their enemies; and distressed their trade, by burning the considerable town of Sandwich in Kent, and that of Fowey in Cornwall.

Lewis the eleventh, who assumed the title of MOST CHRISTIAN KING, and to whom the appellation of Majesty was first given in the addresses offered by his own subjects and foreigners; notwith-

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standing his innumerable crimes, and the errors in the early part of his reign; which on his death-bed he acknowledged to the Dauphin, had brought him within an hair's breadth of destruction; had scarcely succeeded to the throne, before he displayed a keen attention to promote the maritime power of his subjects. In 1462 he established the fairs at the city of Lyons, which afterwards became so famous for the assistance they gave to commerce. Under this monarch's reign the kingdom of France, which from the time of Hugh Capet had been of little or no consideration, and had been almost entirely destroyed by the English, became a considerable state: but this greatness was purchased by ingratitude and treachery; by the poniard and poison of the assassin; and the tortures of a Bastile.

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A disposition for maritime enterprise appeared in England about the reign of Alfred; but its efforts were weak, and expired when the sun, that called forth such powers, had set. Even the law made by the Saxons, that if a merchant crossed the wide sea three times, he should be honoured with the title of Thane; must have had its influence during the turbulent periods of that barbarous age. Henry^r cites a passage from *Offian*^{*}, whom he justly styles the BRITISH HOMER; which informs us of the name of the daring Prince who first invented ships, and led a colony into Ireland. *Larthon, the first of Bolga's race, who travelled on the winds.—Who first sent the black ship through the ocean, like a whale through the bursting of foam? I see him dark in his own shell of oak!—Sea-tossed Larthon, thy soul is strong! He mounts the wave on his own dark oak in Cluba's ridgy bay. That oak which he cut from Lumon, to bound along the sea.—Now he dares to call the winds, and to mix with the mist of ocean.*

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^r Rapin, page 15.—History of England, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 266.

^{*} *Offian, Temora*, p. 129—131. 4to. and the note. The best edition of this poet is that first published in quarto; the octavo is very inferior. The Highland Society has it in contemplation to print the original. The Italians have published an excellent translation in two small volumes.

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The fisheries of Europe most effectually conspired to entice the genius of navigation from its long night of slumber; and to cherish that maritime character which they have since so much continued to support. Both England and Scotland had their share in promoting this extensive nursery of naval power: and the herring fishery, which began in Holland about the year 1164, became a considerable source of wealth to the town of Yarmouth, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. King Edward the first, in a charter at the close of his reign (1306), thus notices the herring fishery of this port, as well as that carried on by the adjoining towns of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston: *quod semper, retroactis temporibus, naves ingredientes portum illum in seifona piscationis allecis, discurrere solebant.* The dispute ran high at this time between Great Yarmouth, and the men of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston; the latter claiming a privilege time out of mind, to have ships load and unload in their harbours; but the former prevailed, as being a free burgh: and it is curious also to remark, that great complaints were made, even at this period, in the town of Yarmouth against the inhabitants forestalling each other in the sale of imported merchandise".--Rymer in his *Fœdera* informs us of the capture of a Yarmouth ship sailing from Rouen (1308), by a French pirate; the cargo of which, consisting of woollen and linen cloth, iron, canvas, cables, gold, and silver, was valued at four hundred pounds sterling.

The town of Hull, founded in 1296, by King Edward the first, soon established a considerable trade to the Baltic, and became a place of general resort for the North Sea fishery. The more ancient and neighbour-

* Anderfon, vol. i. p. 273.

† The statute of herrings made in the year 1357, is a memorable record of this. King Edward the third enacts, "that herrings should be brought freely and unfold, into the haven of Yarmouth, where the fair was kept; and that none shall buy any herrings to hang in their houses by covin, nor in other manner, at an higher price than forty shillings per last, containing ten thousand herrings."

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neighbouring port of Heydon in Yorkshire was thus entirely deserted. In Sir Robert Cotton's * abridgement of the records, King Henry the sixth, in the year 1440, directs the fees and liveries of his justices, attorney, and serjeants, to be paid yearly out of the customs of the ports of London, Bristol, and Hull: which seems to indicate at that period a leading superiority in their commerce. But owing to subsequent disputes with the Hanseatic towns, the port of Hull, at the close of the fifteenth century, lost much of its maritime influence. We are informed by Rymer † that in the year 1484, "King Richard the third—in consideration of the ruin, decay, and poverty, which his town of Hull had lately fallen into; and also on account of the great expences and services, which the magistrates and people of that place had been at, and done to him, in his voyage to Scotland, when Duke of Gloucester, and on other occasions; grants them for their relief, and for the repair of their harbour, a licence for twenty years to come, to ship, and export as much merchandise (wool and woolfels excepted) as will make the customs and subsidies of exportation, and the duties on the exportation of other merchandise in return, amount to sixty pounds per annum; without paying any of the said customs, subsidies, and duties, during the said term."

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The city of Bristol, mentioned by Gildas under the appellation of BRISTOU so early as the year 430, received its charter in 1165 from Henry the second; at which time it was styled the king's own town. Camden is of opinion that it took its rise on the decline of the Saxon government.

Hackluyt gives the following account of what William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time (about 1139) to Bristowe, in his fourth booke *de gestis pontificum Anglorum*, after this manner: "In the same valley stands the famous towne of Bristowe, with an haven belonging thereunto; which is a commodious and safe recep-

tacle

* Page 623.

† Vol. xii. p. 213.

B O O K
I. tacle for all ships directing their course for the same; from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate, and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon, should not be destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands." Towards the close of the fourteenth century it became a place of considerable commerce; and was esteemed of such importance, that in 1374 it obtained a charter from King Edward the third, constituting it a county within itself: *in consideration*, says that great monarch, *of the good services done to us by their shipping*. In 1461 Bristol was become so considerable, as to obtain a charter from Edward the fourth, in the first year of his reign; exempting both the city, and its district, from the jurisdiction of the king's admiral both by land and water.

London, founded about the year 52, during the reign of Claudius, is mentioned by Tacitus who resided there for some time, as a place of commerce—*Londinum, copia negotiatorum et commeatu, maxime celeberrimum*: owing to this circumstance it made a more rapid progress than its rival Paris, and by the year 1355 had increased near a tenfold degree in the number of inhabitants. Its coal trade with Newcastle, which forms another valuable nursery for seamen, began to be established about the year 1379.—In the eighth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera* ², we find the following mention of a merchant ship from London being detained at Lisbon. King Henry the fourth complains to king John of Portugal, that the ship Thomas of London, of two hundred tons burden, had been violently seized in the port of Lisbon; having besides the commander, a merchant, and a purser (*bursæ-magister*) belonging to her: her lading, taken in at Lisbon, was oil, wax, and sundry other wares; and the owner valued her freight at six hundred crowns.

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¹ Anderson, vol. i. p. 370.

² Page 727.

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It might be deemed inattentive to notice a maritime occupation, so much connected with the interests of Great Britain as the coal trade, and which certainly has a considerable effect on the character of its navy; without giving some account of its beginning, and increase. The town of *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* was founded in the year 1078 by Duke Robert, son of William the Conqueror; who caused a fort or castle to be built in what had been previously called the Village of Monkcester. The quantity of pit coal which abounded in its neighbourhood, opened a valuable trade with foreign countries, long before the demand for that article in the port of London became considerable.

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King John, who though a slave himself, was the origin of liberty to others, first incorporated the town of Newcastle in 1213: he granted to the honest men, the *probi homines* of Newcastle, and their heirs, his said town, with all its appurtenances, to fee-farm for one hundred pounds yearly; saving to the king the rents, prizes, and affizes in the port thereof. He also granted and confirmed to them one hundred and ten shillings and sixpence rent in the said town; which they had, by the said king's gift of escheat; to be divided amongst such of the townsmen, who lost their rents by occasion of a ditch, and the new work made under the castle towards the river. He also granted, that in nothing they should be answerable to the sheriff, nor to the constable, for what belonged to them: that they should hold the town, with all the liberties and free customs, which they enjoyed in the time of Henry the second.

King Henry the third confirmed this charter of his father to Newcastle in 1234: whereby the inhabitants obtained leave to dig coals and stones, in the common soil without the walls, called the Castle Moor, and to convert them to their own profit; in aid of their fee-farm rent of one hundred pounds *per annum*. To this Edward the third, in 1357, added an absolute grant from the Crown
in

BOOK in favour of the rising town; assigning to the burgessees the Castle
I. Moor, and Castle Field in propriety, for the purpose of digging
 coals, stone, and slate.

The first statute relative to the coal trade is an act, the ninth of Henry the fifth (c. 10.) 1421: in which it is enacted; "That whereas there is a custom payable to the king of twopence *per* chaldron on all coals sold to people not franchised, in the port of Newcastle upon Tyne; and whereas the keels (or lighters) which carry the coals from the land to the ships in that port, ought to be of the just portage of twenty chaldron, according to which burden the custom aforesaid is paid; yet many now making their keels to hold twenty-two or twenty-three chaldrons, the king is thereby defrauded of his due: Wherefore it is now enacted, That all keels are measured by commissioners, to be appointed by the king; and are also marked of what portage they be, under pain of forfeiting all the said keels which shall be found not marked." This, as Anderson remarks, is a proof that the coal trade of Newcastle at this period must have been very considerable: they were not however brought into common use until the reign of Charles the first.

Hakluyt informs us^b, that towards the close of the fourteenth century, an English ship from Newcastle of 200 tons burden; on her voyage up the Baltic Sea towards Prussia, was captured by some ships belonging to Wismer, and Rostock. This circumstance is thus quaintly noticed, in the state paper drawn up as a pacific agreement between Henry the fourth, and the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and Griepswold: "About the feast of Easter in the yeere of our Lord 1394, Henry Van Pomeran, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Howfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others; with them of Wismer and of Rostok; being of the societie of the Hans, tooke by maine force a ship of
 Newcastle

^b Vol. i. page 166.

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Newcastle upon Tine, called GODEZERE, sailing upon the sea towards Prussia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging unto Roger de Thornewton, Robert Gabiford, John Paulin, and Thomas de Chester: which ship, together with the furniture thereof, amounteth unto the value of foure hundred pounds: also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the summes of money contained in the said ship, amounted unto the value of 200 marks of English money: moreover they unjustly slew John Patanson, and John Russell, in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaide, and there they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and, to their utter undoing, detayned them in prison for the space of three whole yeeres." The ship's cargo was worth about one thousand pounds of our present money.

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This maritime state paper tends to illustrate the naval character of Great Britain during the reign of Richard the second; and clearly proves that its enterprising spirit struggled with a most powerful obstacle, in the domineering supremacy of the Hans-Towns. This alone was sufficient to repress whatever the glowing mind of our mariners might have attempted, or the industry of our merchants might have explored; and certainly had a considerable influence in restraining the genius of our countrymen from taking an early ^e lead in the progress of maritime discovery: ships that sailed from the principal commercial

* Even when Camoens wrote the first books of his *LUSIAN*, which his elegant translator Mickle conjectures to have been about the reign of Henry the VIII, of so little importance did *England* appear in the commercial and maritime scale, that the poet in his description of Europe (*book the third*.) entirely omits this country: and in the beautiful episode (*book the sixth*) respecting the chivalry of the twelve English knights, so intimately connected with the history of Portugal, which *VELOSO* introduces to cheer his companions of the mid-watch, Camoens merely notices England as being always covered with snow:

"Là na grande Inglaterra, que de neve
Boreal semper abunda—"

BOOK

I.

mercantile marts in the kingdom were plundered without remorse, and their crews murdered. King Henry cites no less than twenty-eight instances in his treaty of pacification: but I shall only add the following, to the one already given: "Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402, certaine of the Hans, of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke upon the coast of England neere unto Plimmouth, a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master), laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130 wayes, and with a thousand canvasse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the saide goods in their possession; the saide Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800 nobles; and the foresaid master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, *canvas*, and *armour*, 200 nobles." Owing to these depredations which were encouraged by the Hans Towns; to the^d piracies and cruel conduct of the seamen of the Cinque Ports; and to the prevailing dislike for merchant strangers, who were alone supported by the^e favour of those in power; England was later than the kingdoms both of Portugal and Spain, in renewing the progress of maritime discovery: yet still, even before this period, she had formed a most respectable naval force. Richard Cœur de Lion in the year 1189, when he joined the crusade, drew up at Chinon in France some curious^f regulations for his navy; which

Hackluyt

^d "The mariners of the Cinque-Ports having provided a powerful fleet, scoured the seas, and greatly interrupted trade; seizing every ship they met, and barbarously butchering their crews, whether they were foreigners, or their own countrymen; they threw their bodies into the sea, and applied the ships, and cargoes, to their own use." *Chronicon Tho. Wykes*, ad ann. 1264; cited by Henry, vol. viii. p. 338. 8vo. ed.

^e Henry's Hist. vol. viii. p. 336.

^f *The Laws, and Ordinances appointed by Richard the first for his Navy.*

1. That who so killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

Hackluyt has inserted (vol. ii. p. 21.) from Foxe's acts and monuments of the church of England. This monarch also on his return, after being released from his cruel imprisonment in Germany, enacted in 1194 the famous code of marine laws, styled **THE LAWS OF OLERON**; which shall be noticed more fully in another part of this work. These laws succeeded to the statutes of Rhodes, and at present form the foundation of our judicial proceedings in maritime causes: they occupy forty-seven chapters, and are inserted in Godolphin's view of the admiralty jurisdiction.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
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fifteenth Century.*

The brilliant action off Sluys in the year 1340, would bear a comparison even with the glorious achievements of the present age; but this must at present be deferred, until an illustration of English voyages shall induce us to take a more minute view of the early maritime character of our countrymen. Henry dates ^a the origin of the gold coin, called the noble, from this action, and differs from Evelyn ^b; who, though he styles it the golden royal of Edward the third, gives it rather a later date in 1360; and thinks it was struck when the treaty between that monarch and John king of France, was confirmed at Calais in Picardy. As being the earliest of our naval medals, it becomes valuable not only in an historical, but also
in

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shall be convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

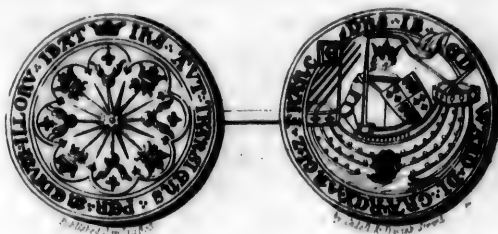
5. Item, whofo speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen, being lawfully convicted, shall have his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred upon his head, and feathers or downe straved upon the same, whereby he may be knownen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast up.—(Rymer's Fœdera, tom. i. p. 65.—Brompt. Chron. Col. 1173.)

^a Henry's Hist. of England, vol. viii. p. 346.

^b NUMISMATA. A discourse of medals, ancient and modern, page 85.

BOOK I. in a maritime point of view : an exact copy is therefore subjoined from the ' engraving in Evelyn's discourse of medals.



EDWARD. DI. GRĀ. REX. ANGL. Z. FRĀN. DNS. IB.

We have also the testimony of the monk of Malmsbury, in favour of the high character of English sailors, so early as the year 1315—" *English ships visit every coast, and English sailors excel all others, both in the arts of navigation, and in¹ fighting.* But the greatest singularity of the age is the naval parliament, which King Edward

¹ King Edward is represented as standing completely armed in the centre of a ship at sea ; holding a sword in his right hand, and the shield, with the arms of England and France, in his left. The royal standard is arboured, and displayed at the stern. A rose, thence called the rose noble, with many rays extending to four *lions passant* ; over them a ducal coronet, and as many *fleur de lis*, in a compartment of eight goderoons, inscribed

IBS AVT. TRĀNSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORV. IBĀT.

" Which some " says Evelyn " interpret *enigmatically* of the secret of the famous *elixir*, by which the gold was made : others for an *amulet*, superstitiously applying the words of the gospel, which rendered the wearer thereof invulnerable. But this remark is obvious, that we find no such pretence by any authentic medal or claim of the French kings, or of any other potentate : that stamp in the late wapon or arms of *Zeland*, being nothing to this purpose ; as importing only the situation of those few islands : concerning which, and of all that is said of *Alebus* to corroborate our claim and ancient right, see the learned *Selden's Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. cap. 25.

" There was another of Henry the fifth, and queen Mary, of less value, which likewise bore the same shield, and a cross in the midst of a ship ; *reverse*, St. Michael and the dragon ; but neither of these, or of the former, have I seen in silver." Mr. Pinkerton in his work on Medals, has inserted a similar coin that was struck in Scotland, during the reign of James.

² Mon. Malmf. Vita Ed. II. an. 1315. p. 157.

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Margat—

Motus—

Feversham—

¹ Page 1
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ward the third summoned in the year 1344: every sea port sent a certain number of commissioners to the metropolis, who brought up an exact statement of the navy. London and Yarmouth were the only towns that returned four commissioners; Bristol and Newcastle sent two, and many only one.

Ch. I. § 1.
Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

In order to give the reader a more general view of the maritime power of England about the middle of the fourteenth century, the following naval document is inserted from the first volume of Hackluyt¹.

The Roll of the huge fleets of Edward the third before Calice (1347), entant in the king's great wardrobe in London; whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those dayes may appeare.

THE SOUTH FLEETE.

<i>The Kings—</i>	Shippes	-	25	<i>Sandwich—</i>	Shippes	-	22
	Mariners	-	419		Mariners	-	504
<i>London—</i>	Shippes	-	25	<i>Douer—</i>	Shippes	-	16
	Mariners	-	662		Mariners	-	336
<i>Aileford—</i>	Shippes	-	2	<i>Wight—</i>	Shippes	-	13
	Mariners	-	24		Mariners	-	220
<i>Hoo, or Morne—</i>	Shippes	-	2	<i>Winchelsey—</i>	Shippes	-	21
	Mariners	-	24		Mariners	-	596
<i>Maydfone—</i>	Shippes	-	2	<i>Waymouth—</i>	Shippes	-	15
	Mariners	-	51		Mariners	-	263
<i>Hope—</i>	Shippes	-	2	<i>Lyme—</i>	Shippes	-	4
	Mariners	-	59		Mariners	-	62
<i>New Hiths—</i>	Shippes	-	5	<i>Seton—</i>	Shippes	-	2
	Mariners	-	49		Mariners	-	25
<i>Margat—</i>	Shippes	-	15	<i>Sydmouth—</i>	Shippes	-	3
	Mariners	-	160		Mariners	-	62
<i>Motue—</i>	Shippes	-	2	<i>Exmouth—</i>	Shippes	-	10
	Mariners	-	22		Mariners	-	193
<i>Feuerham—</i>	Shippes	-	2	<i>Tegmouth—</i>	Shippes	-	7
	Mariners	-	25		Mariners	-	120

Dartmouth

¹ Page 118.—The curious reader may also refer to the *seventeenth* page of the same volume; where he will find *The State of the Shipping of the Cinque Ports from Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror, down to Edward the first (1272), drawn up by William Lambert from the most antient records.*

PROGRESS OF

BOOK
I.

<i>Dartmouth—</i>	Shippes	31	<i>Hoke—</i>	Shippes	11
	Mariners	757		Mariners	208
<i>Portsmouth—</i>	Shippes	5	<i>Southampton—</i>	Shippes	21
	Mariners	96		Mariners	576
<i>Plymouth—</i>	Shippes	26	<i>Leymington—</i>	Shippes	9
	Mariners	603		Mariners	159
<i>Loo—</i>	Shippes	20	<i>Poole—</i>	Shippes	4
	Mariners	315		Mariners	94
<i>Tulme—</i>	Shippes	2	<i>Warham—</i>	Shippes	3
	Mariners	47		Mariners	59
<i>Forwey or Foy—</i>	Shippes	47	<i>Swanney—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	770		Mariners	29
<i>Bristol—</i>	Shippes	22	<i>Ilfercombe—</i>	Shippes	6
	Mariners	608		Mariners	79
<i>Tenmouth—</i>	Shippes	2	<i>Patrickstowe or</i>	Shippes	2
	Mariners	25	<i>Padflow</i>	Mariners	27
<i>Hastings—</i>	Shippes	5	<i>Polerwan—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	96		Mariners	60
<i>Romney—</i>	Shippes	4	<i>Wadworth—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	65		Mariners	14
<i>Rye—</i>	Shippes	9	<i>Kardife—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	156		Mariners	51
<i>Hübe—</i>	Shippes	6	<i>Bridgewater—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	122		Mariners	15
<i>Shoreham—</i>	Shippes	20	<i>Kaermarthen—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	329		Mariners	16
<i>Soford or Seford—</i>	Shippes	5	<i>Cailechefsworth—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	80		Mariners	12
<i>Newmouth—</i>	Shippes	2	<i>Mulbrooke—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	18		Mariners	12
<i>Hamoowlbooke—</i>	Shippes	7			
	Mariners	117			
<i>Summe of the South Fleete</i>			Shippes	493	
			Mariners	9630	

THE NORTH FLEETE.

<i>Bamburg—</i>	Shippes	1	<i>Walcrich—</i>	Shippes	1
	Mariners	9		Mariners	12
<i>Newcastle—</i>	Shippes	17	<i>Hertilpoole—</i>	Shippes	5
	Mariners	314		Mariners	145
				<i>Hull</i>	

Hull—

Torks—

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Barton—

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Saltflee

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MARITIME DISCOVERY.

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<i>Hull</i> —	Shippes	-	16	<i>Donwich</i> —	Shippes	-	6	Ch. I. § 1. Early periods of Modern History, preceding the fifteenth Century.
	Mariners	-	466		Mariners	-	102	
<i>Torks</i> —	Shippes	-	1	<i>Orford</i> —	Shippes	-	3	
	Mariners	-	9		Mariners	-	62	
<i>Rauenser</i> —	Shippes	-	1	<i>Gosford</i> —	Shippes	-	13	
	Mariners	-	27		Mariners	-	303	
<i>Woodboufe</i> —	Shippes	-	1	<i>Herwich</i> —	Shippes	-	1	
	Mariners	-	22		Mariners	-	28	
<i>Strokbiths or</i>	Shippes	-	1	<i>Ipswich</i> —	Shippes	-	12	
<i>Stockbith</i>	Mariners	-	10		Mariners	-	239	
<i>Barton</i> —	Shippes	-	3	<i>Mersey</i> —	Shippes	-	1	
	Mariners	-	30		Mariners	-	6	
<i>Swingfleete</i> —	Shippes	-	1	<i>Brighteingsfey,</i>	Shippes	-	5	
	Mariners	-	11	<i>now Brickelfey</i>	Mariners	-	61	
<i>Saltfleet</i> —	Shippes	-	2	<i>Colebester</i> —	Shippes	-	5	
	Mariners	-	49		Mariners	-	90	
<i>Gringfey</i> —	Shippes	-	11	<i>Whitbanes</i> —	Shippes	-	1	
	Mariners	-	171		Mariners	-	17	
<i>Wayneffete</i> —	Shippes	-	2	<i>Malden</i> —	Shippes	-	2	
	Mariners	-	49		Mariners	-	32	
<i>Wrangle</i> —	Shippes	-	1	<i>Derwen</i> —	Shippes	-	1	
	Mariners	-	8		Mariners	-	15	
<i>Lenne or Linne</i> —	Shippes	-	16	<i>Boston</i> —	Shippes	-	17	
	Mariners	-	382		Mariners	-	361	
<i>Blackney</i> —	Shippes	-	2	<i>Swinbumber</i> —	Shippes	-	1	
	Mariners	-	38		Mariners	-	32	
<i>Scarborough</i> —	Shippes	-	1	<i>Barton</i> —	Shippes	-	5	
	Mariners	-	19		Mariners	-	91	
<i>Ternmouth or</i>	Shippes	-	43					
<i>Ternmouth</i>	Mariners	-	1950 or 1075					

The Summe of the North Fleete - Shippes - 217
Mariners - 4521

The summe totale of all the English Fleete - Shippes - 700
Mariners - 14151

ESTRANGERS THEIR SHIPPES AND MARINERS.

<i>Bayon</i> —	Shippes	-	15	<i>Spayne</i> —	Shippes	-	7
	Mariners	-	439		Mariners	-	184
							Ireland

PROGRESS OF

BOOK I.	Ireland—	Shippes	1	Gelderland—	Shippes	1
		Mariners	25		Mariners	24
	Flanders—	Shippes	14			
		Mariners	133			
	- The summe of all the Estrangers			Shippes	38	
				Mariners	805	

To the CINQUE PORTS Hastings in Suffex, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich in Kent, were added in 1268 Winchelsea and Rye as principals, and some other towns as members; though they still retained the original appellation. Their merchants were styled barons; four of whom had the privilege of supporting the king's canopy at his coronation, and dining at a table on his right hand.

The comiercial treaty with England and Portugal in the year 1308, the first that appears in Rymer's *Fœdera* " between these two powers, restored a friendly intercourse which had long subsisted between them; but which the conduct of the Spaniards interrupted, who, under English colours, had attacked and plundered the ships of Portugal. In 1381 King Richard the second, during the fourth year of his reign, passed the * first navigation act that had been made in England: this was of essential service to the naval interest, and the augmentation of maritime power; as it in some measure broke through the pernicious custom that had hitherto prevailed of employing foreign ships, for the purposes of commerce or security. It enacted, " that for increasing the shipping of England, of late much diminished, none of the king's subjects shall hereafter ship any kind of merchandise, either outward or homeward, but only of ships of the king's subjects, on forfeiture of ships and merchandise; in which ships also, the greater part of the crews shall be the king's subjects."

During the fourteenth century, and for a considerable time afterwards, the ships of war were merchant vessels, partly hired by the crown, and partly

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 107.

* The first commercial treaty, on record, between England, and a foreign power, was concluded by Henry the third in his minority, 1217, with Haquin king of Norway.

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partly supplied by the Cinque ^a Ports: the bullets used for their cannon were long made of stone: there is preserved in ^o Rymer an order of Henry the fifth, to the clerk of the works of his ordnance, for making seven thousand stone balls for his cannon, of various size, from the quarries at Maidstone in Kent. But the benefits arising from the navigation act of Richard the second, were considerably abated before the following year had elapsed; since it then appears, that where no English ships were to be had, merchants might export, or import in foreign ships.—Thus did indolence, and ignorance, co-operate to depress the naval character of England during ^p infancy: it however possessed an energetic spirit, which no obstacle could subdue; and like Hercules in the cradle displayed an early promise of future renown.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

The legendary tale of Macham, who is reported to have discovered the island of Madeira in the year 1344, and which in another part of

^a Anderson extracts from the *Fœdera* a mandate by king Richard the second, in the year 1394 to John Beauchamp, constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, relative to this service: the number of ships to be thus supplied was fixed at fifteen, well armed; each having a master and twenty men. After sailing to whatever port the king should appoint, and continuing there fifteen days at their own costs, they were to receive the following pay:

1. The Master of each ship sixpence *per* day.
2. The Constable, the same, who probably was commander in chief.
3. Each of ship's company threepence *per* day.

Henry estimates, that three halfpence in the fifteenth century, contained as much silver as threepence; and would purchase as many of the necessaries of life, as fifteen pence of our money would do at present. (Vol. x. p. 262. 8vo. ed.) When wheat was 6s. 8d. *per* quarter, a famine was dreaded, and the ports were opened for importation.

^o Vol. ix. p. 552.

^p A remarkable instance of the imperfect state of navigation, and of the ideas that prevailed respecting the perils of a voyage, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, occur in the tenth volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*; where a licence is preserved, which Henry the sixth gave the bishop of Hóla in Iceland, to hire the master of a London ship going thither; who was to be his proxy to visit that bishoprick for him: he, the said bishop, being afraid of the great distance by sea.

BOOK
I.

of this work shall be considered more fully, might have had, whether true or fabulous, a considerable effect in calling the attention of his countrymen to the subject of maritime discovery. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the commerce of England was so much increased; that in 1413 several merchant ships sailed from London to the ° western parts of Morocco, laden with wool, and other articles, to the value of twenty-four thousand pounds; and in 1481, two Englishmen, under the auspices of Edward the fourth, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, undertook a trading voyage to those parts of the coasts of Africa, which had then been lately ° rediscovered by the Portuguese. During this century the English, by studying the construction of the Venetian and Genoese carracks, made considerable improvements in their naval architecture; and though their attempts in this science were probably but few, the persons who thus exerted their abilities were treated with a marked respect. Kennedy bishop of St. Andrew's is celebrated ° for constructing a vessel of uncommon magnitude, called the *Bishop's Berge*; and John Tavernier of Hull was pointedly distinguished by Henry the sixth, for constructing a ship as large as a great carrack—*navem adeo magnam sicut magnam carrakam, seu majorem, says Rymer*.—The king ordered it to be called, on account of its superior dimensions, *the Grace Dieu Carrack*; and licensed it (1449) to carry merchandise from the ports of London, Southampton, Hull, and Sandwich, belonging either to English or foreign merchants, and freely to export it through the Straits of Morocco ° (Gibraltar) to Italy.

The

° *Versus partes occidentales per districtos de Marrok*, without mentioning any port. These ships were captured by the Genoese.

° See page 27, for the discoveries of the Normans.

° Henry's History, vol. x. p. 274.

° Gibraltar was at this time in the hands of the Moors, but was soon afterwards, in 1463, taken from them by the Castilians. In the geographical tract of Ebn Haukal (10th century) it is termed *Jabal al Tarek*, and is described as a well inhabited mountain, with villages or small towns on it; the extreme point and last pass of *Andalus*, or Spain. P. 25.

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The Commons of England in 1442 began to turn their attention towards the maritime interests of their country, and brought forward a Bill for the Guard of the Sea; in which they ascertained the number of ships, assessed the wages of seamen, and made an arrangement for the sale of prizes. During the reign of Edward the fourth, we first meet with ships that actually belonged to the king; yet even these were employed by him more in the capacity of a London merchant, than to sustain the character of a naval monarch.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

That the English, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, began to indulge an ambition of sharing the sovereignty of the seas, though then surpassed by other kingdoms in maritime experience, we have indubitable and interesting proof, from the quaint rhymes of an anonymous author in the year 1433. This venerable portraiture of the commercial character of our ancestors, which Hackluyt has preserved, is termed *The Prologue of the Proesse of the Libel*

* Dr. Robertson in his *Proofs and Illustrations*, subjoined to the first volume of Charles the V. (page 406,) assigns the following reasons for this assertion: "During the Saxon Hierarchy, England, split into many petty kingdoms, which were perpetually at variance with each other; exposed to the fierce incursions of the Danes, and other northern pirates; and sunk in barbarity and ignorance, was in no condition to cultivate commerce, or to pursue any system of useful and salutary policy. When a better prospect began to open by the union of the kingdom under one monarch, the Norman conquest took place. This occasioned such a violent shock, as well as such a sudden and total revolution of property, that the nation did not recover from it during several reigns. By the time that the constitution began to acquire some stability, and the English had so incorporated with their conquerors as to become one people, the nation engaged with no less ardour than imprudence in support of the pretensions of their sovereigns to the crown of France, and long wasted its vigour and genius in its wild efforts to conquer that kingdom. When by ill success, and repeated disappointments, a period was at last put to this fatal phrenzy, and the nation beginning to enjoy some repose, had leisure to breathe and to gather new strength, the destructive wars between the houses of York and Lancaster broke out, and involved the kingdom in the worst of all calamities. Thus, besides the common obstructions of commerce occasioned by the nature of the feudal government, and the state of manners during the middle ages, its progress in England was retarded by peculiar causes. Such a succession of events adverse to the Commercial Spirit, was sufficient to have checked its growth, although every other circumstance had favoured it. The English were accordingly one of the last nations in Europe who availed themselves of those commercial advantages which were natural or peculiar to their country."

* Vol. i. p. 187.

BOOK I. *Libel of English policie; exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and saluation to England, and to all Englishmen.*

I.

"The True Proesse of English Policie,
Of utterward to keepe this regne in
Of our England; that no man may deny
Her say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this—that who seeth South, North, East, and West,
Cherish marchandise, keepe the admiraltie,
That we bee masters of the narrowe sea.—

V.

"Therefore I cast mee by a little writing
To shewe at eye this conclusion;
For conscience, and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion:
For foure things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, ship, and swerd, and power of the sea."

We are informed, in a marginal note, that the Flemings, and others, made the golden coin of King Edward a subject for their rail-lery; and recommended to the English to remove the ship, and add a sheep: this circumstance is thus noticed in the prologue—

VI.

"Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become?
Our enemies bed for the ship, set a sheepe!"

He then proceeds,

VII.

"Shall any Prince, what so be his name,
Which hath nobles moch leche ours,
Bee lord of the sea; and Flemings to our blame,
Stop us, take us, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disteyne our honours?
For cowardise alas it should so bee,
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the sea."

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* Alluding to the gold Noble already mentioned, cast by Edward the third. P. 44.

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Our anonymous author, who feels all the enthusiasm of a poet for the naval interests of his country, after noticing the various branches of European commerce in that age, which are introduced at the end of this section, thus begins his "*Woful complaint of lacke of navie if need come*:"

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

" For I would witte why now our Navie fayleth
When manie a foe us at our doore assayleth ;
Now in these dayes, that if they come a nede
What navie should we have it is to drede,
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
In time past, full worthy warriours :
Which when they had their marchants destroyed
To poverty they fell ; thus were they noyed.
And so they stand at mischiefe at this day ;
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.
Therefore beware, I can no better will,
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,
We were not likely to fayle in any neede ;
If they be rich, then in prosperitee
Shal be our Londe, Lords, and Commontee."

The author of this commercial prologue has obtained due notice from Anderson in his chronological deduction of the Origin of Commerce, and from Henry in his valuable history of England : in the "*conclusion of this depending of keeping the sea*," which merits the perusal of every one, he appears to have possessed a just knowledge of his countrymen :

" Than I conclude, if never so much by land
Werre by carres brought unto their hand ;
If well the sea were kept in governance,
They should by sea haue no deliverance :
Wee should them stop, and wee should them destroy,
As prisoners wee should them bring to annoy.
And so wee should of our cruell enemies
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,

If

" Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 195. l. 33.

* Ibid, p. 197.

PROGRESS OF

*If they were not suffered for to passe
Into Flanders. But wee be fragile as glasse,
And also brittle; not thought never abiding,
But when grace shineth soone are wee sliding."*

I shall only at present extract another passage from this anonymous writer, which gives a maritime view of * Ireland in those days; and shews his opinion of the necessity of a perfect Union between the two kingdoms:

*" The Irishmen have cause like to ours
Our land and hers together to defend;
That no enimie should hurt ne offend
Ireland ne us; but as one commonie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they have havens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good sillayes,
At Waterford; and Covea many one:
And as men sayne in England, be there none
Better havens ships in to ride,
No more sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland:
For all so much as I can understand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplen; loke who lust to knowe!
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and marvailous."*

The various and extensive fisheries, which at present form so admirable a nursery for our seamen, were in earlier ages the first, and principal feature of naval power, in all maritime countries. So far back as the year 836, we are informed by Anderson, that some writers speak of the inhabitants of the Netherlands resorting to SCOTLAND, for the purpose of buying salted fish of the Scotch fishermen: a trade, thus early commenced, gradually led to the establishment of maritime power. The commerce which this nation carried on with Flanders, Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands,

* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 199. l. 14.

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therlands, about the year 1302, appears by the liberal answer, which Robert Earl of Flanders made to Edward the first of England, who had requested him to prevent it.—*Our country of Flanders is common to all the world, where every person finds free admission. Neither can we withhold this privilege from persons concerned in commerce, without bringing ruin and destruction on our country. If the Scots come into our ports, and our subjects go to theirs; it is not thereby our intention, nor that of our subjects, to encourage them in their error; but merely to carry on our traffic, without taking part with them.* Notwithstanding the obstacles, which Edward the first thus endeavoured to oppose to the rising maritime character of the Scots; they had the address, during the reign of Richard the second, to procure a treaty of free navigation with England: accordingly, in the truce made during the year 1386, between the Lord Nevill warden of the East Marches of England, and the Earls of Douglas and March, wardens of the East Marches of Scotland—*It is accordit, that special assurance shall be on the See, fra the water of Spee, to the water of Tamyse, for all merchandes of both the roialmes, and their godes.*

The Maritime Power of Scotland was considerably injured, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, from the successful expedition under Sir Robert Umfreville, vice-admiral of England, in the year 1410; who had long blocked up the port of Leith with ten ships of war: he brought home in triumph fourteen tall ships, and burnt many others, with the *great galliot* of Scotland. The Scots, however, throughout the fifteenth century, never lost sight of the importance of their fisheries: and by an act of parliament (1471) it was ordained, “That the lords spiritual and temporal, and burrowes, gar mak greit schippis, busches, and uther greit pinkboiltis, with nettis and abelzements for fishing; for the common gude of the realme, and the great entres of ryches, to be brought within the realme, of uther countries.”

When

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 771.

² Acts James III. ch. 60.

BOOK
I.

When King James the first, of Scotland, was in 1424 released from his long captivity in England of eighteen years, the towns of Edinburgh, Perth the ancient metropolis, Dundee and Aberdeen, issued obligatory letters, under their seals, as collateral security for the payment of their monarch's ransom. This is a proof of their being esteemed, at this period, considerable places in Scotland, both in point of general commerce, and of shipping. The city of Glasgow did not appear under its mercantile, and opulent character, until about the year 1430. The first promoter of commerce in that city is recorded to have been a Mr. ELPHINSTON, of a noble family, who settled there, after the return of James from England. The most ancient ports on the east coast of Scotland, advantageously situated for the trade of Norway, the Baltic, Germany, and Holland, besides that of Dundee already mentioned, were those of Aberdeen, Montrose, Dyfart, Kirkaldie, Leith, Borrowstonness, and Dunbar.

During the reign of James the third, of Scotland, a considerable restraint was laid on maritime enterprise, by the law which allowed all his mariners to be cowards with impunity, from St. Simon's and St. Jude's day (October 28) to Candlemas: sailing being esteemed particularly dangerous during this period, an embargo was accordingly laid, for that ^a time, on all the shipping of Scotland. In the year 1466, the staple for the merchants of Scotland was removed from ^b Bruges in Flanders to Middleburg; and not long afterwards to its present resort, Campvere in Zealand. It was usual in this century for the prelates, lords, and barons of this kingdom, to be their own merchants; which, though it must have shackled the general interests of commerce, yet at the same time tended to cherish a naval character in the country, and in some degree associated it with the higher orders of society.

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^a Acts James III. ch. 18.^b Ibid, ch. 19, 20.

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VOL. I.

The kingdom of Spain, though it appeared next to Portugal in the progress of maritime discovery, was a mere scion in this respect; taken from an older tree, which the state of Genoa had long cultivated. Columbus, a Genoese, having first offered his services to Portugal, and other countries, in vain, at length forced them on the attention of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

The same causes, mentioned by Dr. Robertson, which have been already noticed as preventing England from attaining an early maritime ascendancy, had an equal effect on Spain: but for the fortunate circumstance above mentioned, that kingdom would have appeared equally late in the progress of discovery. In the historical introduction which my Father prefixed to his valuable * letters on the Spanish nation, he has translated the judicious remarks of the ^d Marquis de Mondecar on their historians; which, in a concise manner, clearly trace the rise and progress of the kingdom of Spain from the innumerable petty states, into which it was originally separated. After being invaded by the Vandals, the Suevi, the Goths, and the Moors; the mountaineers of the Asturias, having shaken off the yoke they had impatiently sustained, revived the power of the Goths, by placing Don Pelayo, a prince of the blood, on the throne; who headed those nobles that retired to the mountains after the fatal battle of Xeres: and thus the first monarchy was established. As the christians gained ground on the infidels, other kingdoms gradually succeeded; until the different independencies that arose amounted to nearly as many as there were provinces: these were gradually lost in the respective sovereignties of CASTILE and ARRA-GON; which were afterwards united by the * marriage of Ferdinand and

* Letters concerning the Spanish nation, written at Madrid during the years 1760, and 1761, by the Rev. Edward Clarke, chaplain to the embassy.

* Noticia de los mas principales historiadores de España, par el Marquis de Mondecar, 4 vol. folio.

* Dr. Robertson dates this event from the year 1481; Voltaire, and the authors of the Modern Universal History refer it to 1469. As the alliance was fought by the king of Portugal,
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BOOK
I.

and Isabella. The Spanish troops took Gibraltar from the Moors in 1463, and subdued their kingdom of Granada in 1492; and thus the independence of Spain became finally confirmed: but before this was effected, according to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles had been fought.

Though Alphonso the eleventh, king of Castile, is thought to have composed his famous astronomical tables, about the year 1253, and was the celebrated mathematician of that age; we do not find that such researches were of any service, in promoting the progress of either maritime discovery, or the interests of commercial intercourse. In 1308 some attempts were made, by the first treaty that appears between England and the monarchs of Castile, to establish peace between the two countries; and to open a maritime intercourse for trade. During the war carried on between England and France in the year 1340, an order was issued by King Edward the third, for the protection, and safeguard of the Spanish merchant ships, trading from Castile, Catalonia, and Majorca, in great numbers to Flanders; and, about the same time, their large ships of burden, which derived a name from the Spanish word *Caraca*, and answer in some respect to what are now styled galleons; began to make a formidable appearance on the ocean, both from their size and strength. To such a degree had the dread of them increased by the year 1350; that the same English monarch, who only ten years before had ordered his subjects to allow those ships to pass unmolested, then desired his bishops,

tugal, and also by the king of France for his brother, the marriage was performed at first in secret at Valladolid by the archbishop of Toledo, which may have occasioned an uncertainty respecting the date.

* The conquest of the last Mahometan power in Spain required six years to effect. For this service Ferdinand obtained the title of Catholic, from the Pope. Henry the seventh of England ordered a *Te Deum* to be performed in St. Paul's cathedral to solemnize the event.

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 112.

² Page 679.

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bishops, and clergy—"to put up prayers, make processions, say masses, and to distribute alms, for the appeasing of God's anger; in that the Spaniards had not only taken and destroyed many English ships, and much merchandise of wines coming from Bourdeaux, and also of wool, and killed the men; but were now arrived to such a degree of pride, that having drawn together a vast armed fleet on the coast of Flanders, well furnished with soldiers, they threatened no less than the total destruction of the English navy; and boasted, that they would reign masters of the English seas, and even that they would invade our kingdom, and subdue our people:" threats, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century can hardly be credited. These carracks of Spain, are described by historians as huge floating castles; and prove, that even at this period, Spain was skilful in naval architecture, and constructed her ships on a larger scale than those of other nations. The English monarch however dared to oppose their fleet; and embarking with the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Arundel, Huntington, and Gloucester, fell in with the enemy off Winchelsea, and obtained a complete victory: taking ^b twenty-six of their best ships, laden with rich merchandise, which doubtless served to improve the models of the English shipwrights.

The Spaniards, however, seem at this period to have possessed the unsubdued ardour of maritime enterprise. When the truce had expired, which they concluded with England, after the above defeat, for twenty years; they in 1372, combined with the French fleet, surprised an inferior squadron of the English, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke; totally defeated it, and took that nobleman prisoner. The English were going to the relief of Rochelle,

^b Burchett, in his Naval History, makes the number taken only seventeen; and declares, that the remainder escaped with difficulty under covert of the night.

BOOK Rochelle, then besieged by the French, and had twenty thousand
I marks on board for the payment of their army.

The discovery of the Canary Islands by the Normans between the years 1326, and 1334, induced a Spanish nobleman, Don Luis, to procure a grant of them from the Pope: these, as well as the Cape de Verd Islands, have improperly been esteemed the Fortunate Islands of Ptolemy; and, as such, were fought for by ¹ John de Betancourt. Sugar, mentioned by the Greek writer *Paulus Aegineta*, as reed or cane honey, came originally to China by way of the East Indies and Arabia: an attempt was made in Sicily to cultivate some plants, which had been brought from Asia, about the middle of the twelfth century. Herrera observes, that formerly sugar grew in Valencia, probably brought thither by the Arabian Moors: thence it was transmitted to Granada, and afterwards to the Canary Isles. Ludovico Guicciardini, enumerating the goods imported into ² Antwerp about the year 1500, mentions the sugar received from Spain and

¹ For a more particular account the reader is referred to the Appendix, F.

² The first time that *Antwerp* is mentioned in history is in the year 517, when, as *Mascou* relates in his *History of the ancient Germans*, Theodoric the bastard son of Clovis, king of the Franks, drove the Danes or Normans from *Antwerp*. Wheeler, who was secretary to the English Merchant-Adventurers Company, and published in 1601 a quarto treatise on commerce, relates, "that in the year 1444 the said company, under its then name of the *Merchants of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas a Becket*, quitted their residence at Middleburg in Zealand, then judged unhealthy, and settled at *Antwerp*; where," says he, "and at Bergen-op-Zoom, the company has for the most part resided: save that in king Henry the eighth's reign, they removed to *Calais* for a time; till, by the earnest intercession of the lady Margaret the Duchess of Savoy, they settled again in the low countries at *Middleburg*, and afterwards at *Antwerp*: on their arrival at which last named city, they were met by the magistrates and citizens without the town, and conducted with solemnity to an entertainment." He adds, "that when Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, first granted privileges to this company, in the year 1446, under the name of the *English Nation*," a name, says Wheeler, they have ever since been known by there, "there were but four merchants in the city of *Antwerp*, and only six vessels, merely for river navigation, they having then no Maritime Trade: but in a few years after this company's settling there, that city had a great number of ships belonging to it, whereby it was soon much enlarged; and houses therein, which used to be let for forty or sixty dollars,

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and Portugal as a considerable article ; which he considers as the produce of the Madeira and Canary islands. Spain therefore, at the period we are about to consider, was possessed of a powerful marine force ; and displayed a greater extent of commerce than her present situation might have led us to suppose.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

The inhabitants of Catalonia and Arragon, even after they were rescued from the Moors, displayed considerable remains of the boldness, and impatient ferocity of the Saracens ; and supported a character, on which a disposition for maritime discovery might have been engrafted with success. The principality of Catalonia, then annexed to that of Arragon, was so favourably situated in this respect ; that we soon behold a germe of the naval oak again unfolding its embryon powers. Edward the third of England, in 1353, granted his protection, and a liberty of commerce, to the merchants of Catalonia, subjects of his kinsman, the king of Arragon ; that they might freely resort to England, with their ships and merchandise, and there buy wool, leather, and lead. De Mailly's history of Genoa, informs us, that some years subsequent to this, the Catalans had obtained such an increase of naval power, as to contend at sea with Genoa, and capture some of her richest ships : during the year 1411, the Catalans proceeded to threaten a descent on the isle of Chios, belonging to the latter state, but were repulsed with loss. Their capital,

Barcelona,

were now, that is in the year 1601, let for three hundred or four hundred, and some for eight hundred dollars yearly rent." We are however, subjoins Anderson, to distinguish carefully between this company, and that of the merchants of the staple, which was, in the year 1313, fixed at Antwerp ; but was merely for wool, and at a time when commerce was, every where westward, at a low ebb : whereas, the other company was for wool, woollen cloth, leather, lead, tin, and all other English staple wares, and in a time of much more advanced state of commerce. During the war, which the Flemings, in 1482, commenced with their prince the arch-duke Maximilian, *Sluys* the celebrated port of Bruges was much injured : which both the inhabitants of Antwerp and Amsterdam turned to their future advantage ; and began to partake in the vast commerce of Bruges. This the city of Antwerp gradually augmenting, in the year 1516 she succeeded to the trade of Bruges, for nearly a century ; which she continued to support, until in turn she yielded the sway of Commerce to Amsterdam.

BOOK
I.

Barcelona, in point of dimensions, was compared¹ by H. Paulus, in 1491, with the city of Naples; and vied with Florence in the elegance of its buildings, and the variety of manufactories: its commercial transactions, and connections, were at that time very extensive. The maritime laws of Barcelona were held in equal estimation, if not possessing a more general sway, than the code of Oleron: they equally form at present the standard of maritime jurisprudence; and by these the commercial states of Italy regulated their proceedings. Barcelona thus acquired a considerable weight in the government of the king of Arragon; and by degrees obtained such a supremacy on account of her naval power, that the magistrates claimed the privilege of being covered in the presence of their sovereign, and of being treated as grandees of his kingdom.

To refresh the memory of those, who have already considered that portion of commercial history on which I have dwelt in the preceding pages; and to instruct others, who may be unacquainted with a subject so intimately connected with the progress of maritime discovery, is the object of the present section. In contemplating a scene of such extent, I have endeavoured rather to form an outline of its most leading features, than to make a regular or finished display of the whole view: beyond this neither the limit or intention of the work allowed me to advance. It appeared to me, that a preliminary² survey of this nature was equally essential, as
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¹ Hieron. Paulus ap. Schottum Script. Hisp. ii. 844.

² To what I have already inserted, the following extract by Mr. Mickle from the work of *Faria y Sousa*, which gives a view of the commerce of the eastern world, and the channels into which it flowed *before the arrival of the Portuguese*, forms a valuable addition. "Before these our discoveries, the spicery and riches of the eastern world were brought to Europe with great charge and immense trouble. The merchandize of the clove of Malacca, the mace and nutmeg of Banda, the sandal-wood of Timor, the camphire of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia, the spices, drugs, dyes, and perfumes, and all the various riches of China, Java, Siam, and the adjacent kingdoms, centered in the city of Malaca, in the golden Chersonesus. Hither all the traders of the countries, as far west as Ethiopia and the Red Sea,

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an historical memoir of commerce, and the progress of maritime discovery, during the periods of ancient history; and that without such an illustration, the minds both of the learned and unlearned reader, would enter on the glorious subject of the succeeding pages, without being previously impressed with a just idea of the naval character of Europe, at the period when the Portuguese discoveries began. For the same reason, I shall subjoin a further extract from the valuable *Prologue of the Proceſſe of English Politie*, already noticed; as giving a general view of mercantile transactions in every country we have considered, in or near the year 1430. On this occasion I have preferred the mode, in which Mr. Anderson has condensed the words of this maritime poet, to its original and more venerable structure.

Ch. I. § 1.
Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

"From SPAIN come wines, figs, raisins, dates, liquorish, oil, grain (probably for dyers), soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmol, kid skins, saffron, and quicksilver; all which," says our author, "are transported to Bruges, the then great emporium of Flanders, by her haven of Sluys, where are so many fair and large ships: but then," says our poet, "they must all pass between Dover and Calais."

"From FLANDERS, the Spanish ships lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres, and of Courtray, of all colours; much fustian, and also linen cloth. Thus," says he, "if we be masters at sea, both Spain and Flanders, who have such a mutual dependence on each other, must necessarily

Sea, resorted; and bartered their own commodities for those they received: for silver and gold were esteemed as the least valuable articles. By this trade the great cities of CALICUT, CAMBAYA, ORMUZ, and ADEN, were enriched; nor was Malaca, the only source of their wealth. The western regions of Asia had full possession of the commerce of the rubies of PEGU, the silks of BENGAL, the pearls of CALICARE, the diamonds of NARSINGA, the cinnamon and rubies of CEYLON, the pepper, and every spicery of Malabar; and wherever in the eastern islands and shores, nature had lavished her various riches. Of the more western commerce ORMUZ was the great mart; for from thence the eastern commodities were conveyed up the Persian Gulph to BASSORA on the mouth of the *Euphrates*; and from thence distributed in caravans to ARMENIA, TREBISOND, TARTARY, ALEPPO, DAMASCUS, and the port of BARUT on the Mediterranean. SUZ on the Red Sea was also a most important mart. Here the caravans loaded and proceeded to Grand Cairo, from whence the Nile conveyed their riches to Alexandria; at which city, and at Barut, some Europeans, the Venetians in particular, loaded their vessels with the riches of the eastern world; which at immense prices they distributed throughout Europe."

BOOK
I.

necessarily keep measures with us. And if England should think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin; and should also prevent the Spanish wool, which they work up with English wool, from getting to Flanders; the last named small country would soon be starved."

"PORTUGAL is our friend; it sends much merchandise into England, and our people resort thither for trade. They have wines, osey, wax, grain, figs, raisins, dates, honey, cordovan leather, hides, &c. all which are carried in great quantities to Flanders," (which our author here justly terms, the staple at that time for all Christendom;) "and as Portugal is esteemed changeable, she is in our power, whilst we are masters of the narrow seas."

"BRETAGNE supplies Flanders with salt, wines, linen, and canvas. The Bretons, especially those of St. Maloes," whom their Dukes, who were generally friends to England, could seldom keep under due subjection, "have been great sea robbers; and have often done much hurt on our coasts, landing, killing, and burning, to our great disgrace: whereas if we kept possession of the Narrow Seas, they durst not be our foes."

"SCOTLAND's commodities are wool, woofels, and hides; their wool is sent to Flanders to be draped, though not so good as the English wool, with which it is there worked up. The Scotch must pass by the English coast in their way to Flanders, and may therefore be easily intercepted. Scotland brings from Flanders small mercery," which, in those times, meant many kinds of small wares, "and haberdashery ware in great quantities: moreover, one half of the Scottish ships are generally laden home from Flanders with cart wheels and wheel-barrows."

"THE EASTERLINGS, PRUSSIA, and GERMANY, send beer and bacon into Flanders; Osmond, copper, bow-staves, steel, wax, peltry, pitch, and tar, fir, oak boards, Cologne thread, wool cards, fustians, canvas, and buckram. And they bring back from Flanders, silver plate and wedges of silver, which come to Flanders in great plenty from Bohemia and Hungary, also woollen cloths of all colours. They also venture greatly into the Bay (of Biscay) for salt, so necessary for them: all which they could not do without our permission, if we kept the narrow seas."

"GENOA resorts to England in her huge ships named Carracks, bringing many commodities; as cloth of gold, silk, paper, much woad, wool," (of Spain, probably,) "oil, cotton, rock allum, and gold coin. And they bring back from us wool and woollen cloth, made with our own wool: they also often go from England to Flanders, where their chief staple is: so that the Genoese have likewise in our power."

"THE VENETIANS and FLORENTINES, in their great Gallies, bring all sorts of spices and grocery wares, sweet wines, and a great variety of small wares and trifles, drugs, sugar, &c. And from us they carry home wool, cloth, tin, and our gold coins. They also deal much in usury, both in England and Flanders."—This shews that the balance was then against us with those Italian republics.

"TO the BRABANT MARCHES, which we call fairs, we send English cloth, and bring back mercery, haberdashery, and grocery."

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VOL. I.

"To those marts repair the English, French, Catalans, Lombards; Genoese, Scots, Spaniards; and the Irish also live there, and deal in great quantities of hides, &c." But he adds, as he says, on good authority, "The English buy more goods at those marts, than all the other nations do together. Wherefore," says he, "let us keep the sea well, and they must be our friends." And here he laments, with great propriety, the neglect of our shipping for the guard of the sea.

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Modern History
preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

"BRABANT, HOLLAND, and ZEALAND, afforded little merchandise properly of their own, but madder and woad for dyers, garlick, onions, and salt fish: For the other articles of rich merchandise which the English buy at their marts, come in carts over land from Burgundy, Cologne, &c."

"IRELAND's commodities are hides and fish, as salmon, herrings, and hake; wool, linen cloth, and skins of wild beasts," (here we may remark the antiquity of a linen manufacture in Ireland). "To keep Ireland in obedience to us is of great importance, and cannot be done without our being masters at sea. The same may also be said in respect to Calais."

To this abstract of Commercial History I wish to add a few remarks, somewhat out of the limit of time I had assigned myself in this section, which tend further to illustrate the subject of this work, and to prepare the minds of my readers for an unprejudiced perusal.

The general idea which prevailed respecting the south polar regions, until the Portuguese had made a considerable progress in maritime discovery; was founded on an error originating in Ptolemy, that the continent of Africa extended in breadth towards the west: the countries also in the torrid zone were deemed uninhabitable, according to the opinion of the ancients. Venice, and Europe in general, had been greatly indebted to the voyages of "Marco Polo, a Venetian nobleman, who about the middle of the thirteenth century penetrated into the distant regions of Asia, as far as the frontier of China: yet the eastern part of India was but imperfectly known; and it was the opinion of the age that this country was the next land to the west of Spain. The account given by Antonio Galvano^o of a chart of Africa, one hundred and twenty years old, copied from the manuscripts of Marco Polo, which had been found in the monastery of

^o See Appendix E.

^o Appendix, p. 11. *Galvano's Progress of Maritime Discovery.*

BOOK
I.

of Acoboça during the year 1526, a considerable time after the voyage of De Gama ; was an idle tale fabricated by Venetian disappointment, to discredit the maritime reputation of HENRY DUKE of VISEO. This illustrious prince, finding, by the observations of his navigators, that the African coast extended at least to the line, and, hearing from the most respectable travellers that the Arabian sea washed its eastern limit, first surmised that this continent was terminated by a southern promontory.

When the Portuguese renewed the progress of maritime discovery, and at length attained the gratification of commercial hope, the discovery of the Cape ; all European intercourse with India had nearly centred in the republic of Venice. Denina, in his *Revolutions of Italy*, translated by the Abbe Jardin, affirms, that Venice was at this time superior, in naval power, to all the commercial states that appeared in the Mediterranean : about the year 1420, this republic supported three thousand merchant ships, on board of which were seventeen thousand seamen : she employed also three hundred sail of superior force, manned by eight thousand seamen ; and had also forty-five carracks with eleven thousand men to navigate ° them : her public and private arsenals at this time employed sixteen thousand carpenters. The expences requisite to fit out a squadron for discovery, and to have continued its progress, must have been very heavy to any kingdom, and almost ruin to individuals, in an age when the ° interest of money was at twenty *per cent.* and upwards : even over this resource, Venice had a commanding influence by the first establishment of a bank in Europe about the year 1157 : the period of the commercial ascendancy of the Italian states, during which the interest of money continued most exorbitant, extended from the close of the eleventh century to the beginning of the sixteenth.

Thus

* Mar. Sanuto Vite de Duchi di Venezia, ap. Mur. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xxii. p. 959.

° Philip IV. of France fixed the interest to be demanded at the fairs of Champagne, 1311, at 20 *per cent.* The interest of money at Placentia in 1490 was 40 *per cent.*

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Thus in Europe the whole power and dark intrigues of the republic of Venice, at that time the mistress of the seas, were ready to strangle the hopes of the Portuguese navigators at their birth; by presenting the most powerful obstacles to the gradual progress of their maritime discoveries. In INDIA, the implacable and secret animosity of Moorish Arabs, with all the clan of Venetian factors and agents; though their machinations were prepared with greater secrecy, they were still ready, like the sudden explosion of the mine, to overwhelm the first European mariner who should dare to pass the ancient limits of the Atlantic. Such were the difficulties which the genius of maritime discovery had to encounter and to subdue. The combination of ignorance, and credulity, was purposely encouraged by the narrow principles of a monopolising spirit; and the darkness, which pervaded Europe, was treacherously continued, to conceal the oppression and riches of a few individuals. Let us now view the history of a nation, whose heroic sovereigns possessed sufficient courage, and perseverance, to withdraw the veil: and having placed ourselves, as it were, in the town of SAGRES, which the Patron of discovery, Henry duke of Viseo, founded near the Cape St. Vincent, let us attentively contemplate the progress of their navigators towards * the Cape of Tempests—

Ch. I. § 1.
Early periods of
Modern History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

CRAS INGENS ITERABIMUS AQUOR.

* *Il Cabo dos Tormentos.* The name which the Cape received from the seamen of Bartholomew Diaz in 1486; who then first doubled this tremendous promontory.

SECTION II.

Rise of the Maritime Kingdom of Portugal: view of the early periods of its History, previous to the reign of John, the Father of Henry duke of Viseo.—Corresponding illustration of the curious narratives of the first European travellers into Tartary, and the eastern provinces of Asia; by whom the earliest accounts of China, Japan, and India were conveyed to Portugal.—Benjamin of Tudela.—John de Plano Carpini.—William de Rubruquis.

“ The Heroes of those happier days,
When LUSITANIA, once a mighty name,
Outstripp'd each rival in the chace of Fame.”

Hayley's Essay on History.

Portuguese
History.
A. D.
1087—1385.

THE fertile banks of the rivers Minho, and Douro, were the boundaries of a province of Castile, whence the kingdom of Portugal gradually arose to give laws to the submissive realms of *India*, and to direct the course of its European commerce. The sceptre of the East, held by a precarious tenure, has since caused the prosperity or adversity of other nations; whilst Portugal exhibits a striking example in the revolutions of its history, to humble the arrogance of maritime power, and to moderate the excesses of commercial aggrandisement.

The history of this country commences with the arrival of its renowned COUNT HENRY on the banks of the Douro; from that period to the death of Pedro *the just*, the title of Hero was equally merited by the sovereigns, and subjects of Portugal: Yet no English writer of eminence has hitherto illustrated a subject of so much import-

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importance to a maritime kingdom, as the rise and fall of this commercial power. Human nature, in the early history of Portugal, is seen in its most favourable colours: without the aid of fable, or the exaggerations of romance, an heroic age is held up to our emulation; an age, which the epic muse might have taught her historic sister to admire.

Ch. I. § 2.

*Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

III.

“ que conte, declarando
De minha gente a grão genealogia,
Não me mandas contar estranha historia,
Mas mandas-me louvar dos meus a gloria.

IV.

Que outrem possa louvar esforço alheyo,
Cousa he, que se costuma, e se ocieja,
Mas louvar os meus proprios, arreceyo,
Que louvor tão suspeito mal me esteja:
E para dizer tudo, temo, e creyo,
Que qualquer longo tempo curto seja:
Mas pois o mandas, tudo se te deve,
Irey contra o que devo, e serey breve.

V.

Além disso, o que a tudo em sim me obriga
He não poder mentir no que disser,
Porque de feitos taes por mais que diga,
Mais me ha de ficar inda por dizer:
Mas porque nisto a ordem leve, e siga,
Segundo o que desejas de saber,
Primeiro tratarey da larga terra,
Depois direy da sanguinosa guerra.”

Os LUSIADAS, C. III.—*Lisboa*, 18mo, 1749-

—“ At

“ No lesson,” says Mickle in his Introduction to The Epic Poem of Commerce, THE LUSIAD, “ can be of greater national importance, than the history of the rise and the fall of a commercial empire. The view of what advantages were acquired, and what might have been still added; the means by which such empire might have been continued, and the errors by which it was lost; are as particularly conspicuous in the NAVAL AND COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF PORTUGAL, as if Providence had intended to give a lasting example to mankind: a *Chart*, where the course of the safe voyage is pointed out; and where the shelves and rocks, and the seasons of tempest, are discovered and foretold.

PROGRESS OF

—" At thy command

The martial story of my native land
 I tell ; but more my doubtful heart had joy'd
 Had other wars my praiseful lips employ'd.
 When men the honours of their race commend,
 The doubts of strangers on the tale attend :
 Yet though reluctance faulter on my tongue,
 Though day would fail a narrative so long,
 Yet well assured no fictions glare can raise,
 Or give my country's fame a brighter praise ;
 Though less, far less, whate'er my lips can say,
 Than truth must give it, I thy will obey."

Mickle's Translation, Book III.

On a threatening eminence commanding the mouth of the river Douro, and a delightful prospect of the adjacent country, stood, in ages whose annals are shrouded in darkness, a town called CALE, strong, and well inhabited. When a commercial spirit had rendered the inhabitants sensible of the disadvantages of their situation ; and that other objects were to be considered in the site of a town, beyond the high or insulated security of the craggy ¹ cliff, they relinquished the strong holds of their ancestors ; and built their huts in a lower situation adjoining the Douro ; which, becoming a place of great resort, obtained the name of *Portus Cale*, and in process of time *Portucalia*. Its situation, even at that early period, was favourable

¹ Thucydides, in the valuable introduction to his first book of the History of the Peloponnesian war, notices, with his usual accuracy of observation, a similar change which maritime occupations wrought in the situation of the towns of Greece. "As for cities, so many as are of a later foundation, and better placed for the increase of wealth since the improvement of Naval Skill ; all these have been built on the sea shore and walled about, and are situated on necks of land jutting out into the sea ; for the sake of traffic, and greater security from the insults of neighbouring people. But those of an earlier date, having been more subject to piratical depredations, are situated at a great distance from the sea, not only on islands, but also upon the main. For even those who lived upon the coast, though inexpert at sea, were used to make excursions up into the country for the sake of plunder : and such inland settlements are discernible to this very day." *Smith's Translation.*

² *Censura Duarum Nonarum in Josepho. Teixeira Libell. de Reg. Portugall. origine. Cens. II.*

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vourable to the mercantile transactions of Europe, and, like Ham-
burgh, it soon became a bishop's see^u: his successors signed them-
selves *Portucalenses*; and thus the name of the diocese, whose limits
nearly extended as far as the sovereignty in its infant state, was
transferred to the latter.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

Chivalry, which rendered the most essential benefits to mankind,
and by blending the mild and humane character of christianity with
the plumes and trappings of the warrior, made the former an object
of emulation to the rude disciples of Woden,—gave the first chief, or
leader, to the state of PORTUCALIA; which, though not of any great
extent, was so fertile, as to have obtained, whilst a province under the
dominion of the monarchs of Leon and Castile, the title of *Medulla
Hispanica*, or the marrow of Spain.

An illustrious stranger, in the romantic character of the age, ap-
peared with the Counts of Burgundy, and Thoulouse, at the court of
Alphonso the sixth, king of Castile and Leon; and fought with other
knights and warriors under the standard of that monarch, who had
requested assistance from the neighbouring potentates: after dis-
playing signal proofs of his courage, COUNT HENRY was distin-
guished, amongst the foreign noblemen, by the liberality of the Spanish
monarch; and having received from him the hand of his daughter
Theresa, obtained as her dower, the frontier province to the south
of the Minho, which had been conquered from the Moors; with
the privilege of enlarging the narrow boundaries of his domain, by
the further expulsion of the infidels.

Count
Henry.

Thus

^u The first mark of distinction, or consequence, that was given to the principal Com-
mercial marts and ports of Europe, seems generally to have consisted in the establishment
of an episcopal chair. The duties and avocations of the diocesan, were in these periods
rather inconsistent with his spiritual character; and resembled the employments of the
episcopus or commercial inspector among the Romans: thus Cicero styles himself *Episcopus ora-
et Campanie*.

BOOK

1.

Thus did the infant kingdom of Portugal receive from chivalry its first governor, who as yet assumed only the title of Count. Historians are much at variance respecting the identity of this illustrious stranger, and the particular time of his arrival in Spain. The whole of these doubts are considered in the Chronicle of the abbey of Fleury, composed by a Benedictine monk, containing an account of the events in France from the year 897 to 1110. We are enabled to discover, by means of this ancient manuscript, that Count Henry was grandson to Robert, the first duke of Burgundy, younger brother to Henry the first, of France. It appears most probable that the Count was born about the year 1060; and went into Spain towards the year 1087, to fight under the banners of King Alphonso of Castile: who in the year 1080 married Donna Constance, sister of Count Henry's father, and daughter to Duke Robert.

Count Henry availed himself of the permission that had been granted him by his uncle, to extend his government by the expulsion of the Moors, with a gallantry peculiar to his character. He completely reduced the fertile Province between the rivers Minho and Douro, which was rendered more valuable by its comprehending six harbours; the *Tralos Montes*, extending beyond the mountains, and containing the dutchy of Braganza; and the Moorish part of the province of *Beira*, advantageously placed between the Douro and Tagus, including the DUTCHY of VISEO, which afterwards gave a title to the patron of maritime discovery.

It is the opinion of some historians, that Count Henry, when he had fixed his capital in the town of Guimaraenz, the ancient *ara duela*, situated in a delightful plain on the banks of the river Ave, and had considerably extended his dominions; on being appointed general of the Spanish crusaders, accompanied them to the Holy Land. Camoens, whom in the following pages I shall

often
authoAs this
now lost* It was
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sensible, was
VOL. I.

often introduce to my readers, as ' the *Lusitanian Homer*, gives an authority to this opinion :

Ch. I. § 1.
*Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

XXVI.

—Em premio destes feitos excellentes
Deolhe o supremo Deus em tempo breve
Hum filho, que illustrasse o nome ufano
Do bellicosó Reyno Lusitano.

XXVII

Ja tinda vindo Henrique da conquista
Da Cidade Hierosolyma sagrada,
E do Jordão a areya tinha vista,
Que vio de Deus a carne em si lavada. — Canto iii.

To Him is born, heaven's gift, a gallant son,
The glorious founder of the Lusian throne.
Nor Spain's wide lands alone his deeds attest,
Deliver'd Judah Henry's might confess.
On Jordan's bank the victor-hero strode,
Whose hallow'd waters bath'd the Saviour God.

Mickle.

As this celebrated Portuguese must have had access to many authorities, now lost, or not generally known, ' he is justly entitled to the confidence of

* It would be well worthy of the munificence of the East India Company, or the Board of Controul, to give a new and elegant edition of their commercial Poet, and his elegant translator.

" From every hand let grateful Commerce shower
Her tribute to the Bard who sung her power ;
As those rich gales, from whence his GAMA caught
A pleasing earnest of the prize he sought,
The balmy fragrance of the East dispense,
So steals his Song on the delighted sense ;
Astonishing, with sweets unknown before,
Those who ne'er tasted but of classic lore.
Immortal Bard ! thy name with GAMA vies,
Thou, like thy hero, with propitious skies
The fail of bold adventure hast unfurl'd,
And in the Epic ocean found a world."

Hayley's Essay on Epic Poetry.

† LUIS DE CAMOENS, respecting whose distinguished merit the world still continues too insensible, was born at Lisbon, according to Nicholas Antonio, and Manuel Correa, in 1517 (or VOL. I. L according

BOOK
I.

of the historian. This expedition of Count Henry to the Holy Land, is a point of such importance in the progress of maritime discovery: if he actually made such a voyage, he probably obtained some account

according to others in 1526,) of an antient and respectable family, originally styled *Caanans*, which had flourished in the Spanish province of Galicia. His father Simon Vaz de Camoens, commander of a vessel, was shipwrecked on the coast of Goa; and perished, with the greatest part of his fortune. The education of our young poet was conducted by his mother Anne de Macedo of Santarém; and the university of Coimbra had the honour of completing it. Having given offence amidst the intrigues of the court of Lisbon, he retired to his mother's friends at Santarém, and began his epic poem on the discovery of India; which he afterwards continued during his military expeditions in Africa, under John the third. In a naval action with the Moors off Gibraltar, he lost the sight of his right eye, when among the foremost in boarding the enemy. After continuing for several years in Africa, he returned to his native land, to leave it with fresh regret: he sailed for India in 1553; and, as the city of Lisbon faded from his view, was heard to exclaim, in the monumental words of Scipio Africanus, *Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea!*—Here he engaged with the greatest bravery in the different expeditions that were carried on by the Portuguese; during which he visited the Red Sea, Mount Felix, and the inhospitable regions of Africa, so strikingly described in his *Lusiads*. Having offended the viceroy *Francisco Barreto* by some satires, Camoens was now banished to China; his accomplished manners soon obtained him friends, and procured him the post of commissary of the estates of the defunct in the island of Macao. Thus, though he began his *Lusiadas* in Europe, the greater part was written, either during the night when encamped in Africa, or when sailing on the ocean, by the coast of India and China. After five years residence in the latter kingdom he prepared to return to India, when Don Constantine de Braganza was viceroy: the ship being cast away in the gulph near the river Mecon in Celebin China, all that Camoens had gained by industry or economy was buried in the waves! His poem, like the commentaries of Cæsar, was saved by the intrepidity of its author; who swam * with it in his hand, as he himself relates in the tenth book.

Camoens was received by the Viceroy with a cordiality that marked his character; but during the government of his successor, meeting with persecution and deceit, and all the cabal of little minds, he at length, after much difficulty, embarked for Lisbon. DON DIEGO DE COVTO the historian, sailed for Europe in the same vessel; and during the voyage wrote illustrations of the *Lusiadas*, which have never appeared. After an absence of sixteen years Camoens arrived, in 1569, in his own country, when a pestilence raged in the city of Lisbon. At length in the year 1572 he printed his admirable poem, addressed to the king SEBASTIAN, then in his eighteenth year. Sebastian was charmed with the work, and settled on the Poet a pension of 4000 reals, on condition that he should reside at Court. But when Sebastian's successor Cardinal Henry obtained the crown of Portugal, Camoens lost his pension.

Thus did Genius "climb the steep, where fame's proud temple beams afar." The remaining life of Camoens was wretched and melancholy. The cardinal monarch suffered him to die in all the misery of abject poverty. An old black servant, a native of Java, who had grown grey

headed

* Camoens alludes to this, in his *Lusiadas*, Canto x. Stanza 128.
Este recbera placido, e brando
No seu regaço o Canto, que molhado
Vem do naufragio triste, e miserando.—

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count of the seas, and of the geography of India; and might thus have contributed to awaken a spirit of commercial enterprise among his countrymen, which at length effected the developement of the Indian Ocean, by the Cape of Good Hope. Count Henry, who never took any higher title, having marched to the assistance of Urraca, queen of Castile and Leon, his consort's sister, died after a short illness at the city of Astorga, during the year 1112. His remains were conveyed with great pomp to the cathedral church of Braga; whence they were removed by Diego de Souza, who was archbishop of Braga in 1513, to a chapel, in which he had raised a splendid tomb to the memory of the founder of the Lusitanian throne.

Ch. I. § 2.

Early periods of Portuguese History, preceding the fifteenth Century.

An

headed in the service of Camoens, and doated on his master; and who had been instrumental in saving his life when shipwrecked,—begged in the streets of Lisbon to support the existence of Luis de Camoens—DATE OSBELAM BELISARIO. He was privately buried in St. Anne's church; and the following inscription placed over his grave: *Here lies Luis de Camoens, prince of the poets of his time. He lived poor and miserable, and died such, A. D. 1579.* Don Emanuel de Souza Coutino, a celebrated Portuguese, and Nicholas Antonio, the learned canon of Seville, author of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, in four vols. folio, each inscribed a Latin epitaph to the memory of Camoens. Coutino, who was an admirable judge of literary merit, declared that the genius of Ovid, Virgil, Sophocles, and Pindar, were united in the Lusitanian Homer—

“ Quod Maro sublimi, quod grandi Pindarus alto,
Quod Sophocles, suavi Naso quod ore canit,
Mœstitiam, risus, horrentia prælia, amores,
Juncta simul, cantu sed meliore damus.
Quisnam author? Camonius!”—

Besides the epitaph composed by N. Antonio, he inserted this high character of Camoens in the Bibl. Hisp.—“ that he was born a poet; that his compositions were easy, copious, lively, and sublime. In his descriptions of persons, and places, art seems to rival nature.—He was exceedingly well versed in the ancient poets. *Ad poësin verè natum, facile, copiosum, sublime, vividum.*—In geographicis et prosopographicis descriptionibus naturam ferè æquavit arte.—Præterquam quod eruditum se esse prodidit satis superque in omnium veterum poetarum.”

The *Lusiad* was first translated into English by a Cambridge student, Sir Richard Fanshawe, in 1655, who had been secretary to Charles when Prince of Wales, and treasurer of the navy under the command of prince Rupert in 1648; previous to which a translation had appeared in the French language. There are two translations of it in the Italian; four into Spanish; and one into Latin by Thomas de Faria, a carmelite, bishop of Targa in Africa. Faria concealed his name; and not informing the public that it was a translation, many were led to suppose that the poem had been originally composed in Latin. Le P. Nicéron says, that he knew of two other Latin translations. The *Lusiadas* also appeared in Hebrew by Luzzetto, a learned Jew.

BOOK
I.

An account of the * illustrious founder of that kingdom, whose subjects renewed the progress of maritime discovery, appeared so much connected with the design of this work, that I have dwelt on it with considerable interest. A more rapid view shall be taken of the reigns of his successors, to the time of John the first : considering at the same time such dispersed facts, as collected in a geographical or maritime point of view, claim attention from having tended to establish the naval character of Portugal, and to promote its zeal for discovery.

Alphonso
Henry.
1128.

The dauntless worth, and virtue of the deceased HENRY, survived in the mind of his son, ALPHONSO HENRY, who was only three years of age when he lost his father. His eighteenth year brought with it the love of power, with a spirit to preserve it; and he assumed his rights of government, notwithstanding an unnatural cabal was secretly forming against him in the regency. If we believe the historians of this period, the enemies of the young COUNT were those of his own house. *Theresa*, the queen mother, forgot in the possession of the sceptre, the ties of maternal affection; and, at her importunity, the thunders of the Roman Pontiff fulminated against Alphonso. But the terrors of an interdict became baffled by a firmness, of which at that time there were few if any examples. The late Count Henry had intrusted his son to the vigilance and wisdom of * *Egas Munitz*; and when Alphonso, under such a preceptor, had girded on the sword of chivalry, he soon displayed the spirit and independence of a Christian knight. The terrified legate, who uttered the curses of the Vatican, felt them recoil on his own head; and, in the grasp of a warrior, whose uplifted sword demanded its

* In 1741 an heroic poem, named *HENRIQUEIDA*, which celebrates the establishment of the kingdom of Portugal, was published in Portuguese, by the *Count de Ericeira*, one of the most learned men of the age.

* His character and fidelity are beautifully illustrated by Camoens, *Mickle's Lusiad*, 8vo. vol. i. p. 98.

its own absolution, the submissive monk recalled the excommunication which he had dared to pronounce.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

Having received the title of King from his victorious soldiers on the field of ^b battle, in the Plain of Ourique (1139) Alphonso directed his attention, rather to the military power, which in so flattering a manner had presented him with the crown; than to the construction or improvement of that defence, first recommended to the Athenians by the oracle at Delphi, as the surest means of preserving their national liberties—

DEFEND YOURSELVES BY WOODEN WALLS !

Alphonso in return for the attachment which his soldiers had displayed, conferred the rank of nobility on his whole army; and after passing six years in securing or extending his dominions, was crowned at Lamego in 1145, with a solemnity and dignity that marks the character of the Portuguese in their heroic age.

CORONA-
TION.
1145.

The taking of the strong town of Santarene, only twelve miles distant from Lisbon, previous to the above event; seems to have formed part of a great design, which the daring and comprehensive mind of Alphonso first projected about the year 1144: having already formed an alliance with Amadeus, count of Maurienne and Savoy, by marrying his daughter the Princess Matilda. Lisbon, then

in

^b The Portuguese writers relate that the night before this celebrated battle, Alphonso, who like Brutus was reading in his tent, and had strengthened his mind with the scripture history of Gideon, saw in a vision the event of the ensuing day; in memory of which he changed the arms his father had given, of a cross azure in a field argent, for five escutcheons, each charged with five bezants, in memory of the five wounds of Christ. Others assert, that he gave in a field argent five escutcheons azure, in the form of a cross, each charged with five bezants argent, placed fiterwise, with a point sable; in memory of five wounds he himself received, and of five Moorish kings slain in the battle. The following is an exact description of the present arms of Portugal. "Ar. five escutcheons in cross az. each charged with as many plates in faltier, all within a border gu. charged with seven castles triple-towered or, being the arms of ALGARVE; helmet and crown like those of Spain, mantled or, az. and or; all under a pavillion interspersed with escutcheons az. charged with bezants; the pavillion bordered gu. thereon castles or, lined with ermine."

BOOK
I. in the hands of the Moors, was an acquisition which an ambitious sovereign of Portugal must have been anxious to obtain. According to a legendary tale, which *Mela* has honoured with attention, this city was built by Ulysses; and the vanity of its inhabitants will be gratified by remembering, that *Solinus* did not scruple to accept the term **ULYSIPO**; which was afterwards lost, when it became a municipality under Augustus, with the surname of *Felicitas Julia*: during the subsequent fury of the Goths, its impregnable walls had alone yielded to treachery.—The conquest of one of the finest ports in the world, defended according to history by a garrison of two hundred thousand men, was projected by the undaunted mind of a young and victorious general. The old Moorish wall, six miles in length, flanked by seventy-seven towers, extended before his view; and such obstacles to a less enterprising warrior would have appeared insurmountable. Alphonso's resolution however remained unshaken; and the attempt had been already made, when the appearance of a powerful fleet at the mouth of the Tagus, destined for the Holy Land, revived the hopes of the invaders, and completed the triumph^c of their commander in the year 1147. This success not only secured to Alphonso one of the first commercial marts in Europe, but likewise opened to him the whole province of Estremadura.

It is a curious circumstance in this event, and must be particularly gratifying to my readers, that the fleet which arrived thus opportunely to assist Alphonso in taking Lisbon, was principally manned by^d English: as a token of gratitude, Don Gilbert, an English divine, whom Alphonso had persuaded to remain, was appointed first bishop

^c Some writers are of opinion that Lisbon was first taken by Don Alphonso in 1139, after the battle of Ourique. This idea however does not appear to be supported by much authority.

^d Universal History, *Modern*.—Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. i. page 109.

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bishop of Lisbon. According to the opinion of a * writer, cited both by the authors of the Universal History, and Mickle in his notes to the Lusiadas, Alphonso assigned these crusaders considerable tracts of land ; and gave them Almada on the southern shore of the Tagus, opposite to Lisbon : the same author adds, that they peopled Villafranca, and called it *Cornualla*, from the adjoining tracts of meadow land, which agreeably reminded them of the English county of Cornwall. We may therefore date the connection between Portugal and Great Britain from this period ; and be allowed to express an hope, that an alliance, since so often renewed, and which has proved so beneficial to both powers ; as it derives its origin from the day the city of Lisbon was recovered from the Moors, may continue, whilst the independence of that metropolis remains.

Ch. I. § 2.
Early periods of
Portuguese History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

It was the wise policy of this monarch, in opposition to the prevailing † prejudice of other states, to invite, and even to allure strangers to settle in his dominions ; who had arrived either for the general purposes of commerce, or to refit in his ports, during the crusades : by such policy a constant source of maritime and commercial knowledge was opened to the Portuguese. The strangers, thus received with a liberal courtesy, communicated whatever information they had acquired. By comparing the produce of the country of their guests, or its luxuries with their own ; and by hearing whatever had occurred, that was either new or interesting during their residence in Palestine ; an opportunity of acquiring geographical instruction was daily offered to the minds of a commercial and enterprising nation. Queen Matilda, like another Margaret of Denmark, possessed an understanding equal to the greatest undertakings ; and was of essential service in promoting the measures of government.

* *Udal ap Rhys' tour through Spain and Portugal*, 8vo. 1749, p. 273, 280, 281. A second edition of this work was printed in 1759.

† See page 14, note c.

BOOK
I.

vernment. The absence of her husband, who, according to the custom of the age, marched out at the head of his army, was therefore not attended with confusion; and the kingdom, blest with Alphonso and Matilda, was continually in a progressive state of improvement, which in time exalted its inhabitants above the other nations of Europe.

First Information relative to the eastern parts of Asia.

During the reign of this monarch an event occurred, which, as it interested the whole attention of modern Europe, could not fail to produce a considerable effect on the minds of the most enterprising, and best informed, among the Portuguese. RABBI BENJAMIN, son of *Jonas of Tudela*, a town in Navarre, on the confines of the adjoining kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, arrived in Europe, in the year 1173; having travelled into the remote parts of Asia, and returned thence through Ethiopia and Egypt, the former of which was at that time considered as a part of INDIA. This early traveller may be regarded among the first of the moderns, who drew the attention of Portugal to the extensive and unexplored countries of the east: and as such he demands our attention.

The marvellous narrative of a traveller of Navarre, must have soon excited the curiosity of Alphonso: he naturally sought and obtained a copy of the curious manuscript, which proved the possibility of an individual passing through the fiery regions of the torrid zone. As the southern extremity of Africa was then covered with the tremendous darkness, and dreary horrors, which the ignorance of ages had accumulated; whatever tended to disperse the obscurity of its eastern boundary, or of seas that stretched beyond it, as they are still objects of anxious research, must at that early period have been viewed with all the sensations, that are called forth by the magic pages of romance.

Travels of Rabbi Benjamin de Tudela.

A. D.
1160—1173.

Either a superstitious veneration for the law of Moses, or a solicitude to visit his countrymen in the east, are suggested by Dr.

Robertson

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Robertson * as motives which might have induced the *Jew of Tudela* to undertake an enterprise of so much hazard. In the year 1160 he arrived at Saragossa, and thence proceeded by land to Marfeilles : here he embarked for Genoa, and continued his route to Rome. Having passed through the kingdom of Naples, to Otranto, he again embarked, and came to the island of Corfu ; and then travelled by land through Greece to Constantinople, across the country of Walachia. Our traveller continuing his journey from the capital of the Greek empire, arrived at Tyre, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Balbeck : having beheld the gloomy ruins of Tadmor, and given a long account of the city of Bagdat, the reader accompanies him to *Balsora*, or *Bassora*, which he styles *Botzra on the Tigris*, and hails his safe arrival at Ispahan, after visiting Chuzeftan and the different places in Persia, that were situated in the track he had pursued.

Ch. I. § .
Benjamin of Tudela's Narrative.

Four days of fatigue, with but little gratification, being passed, which required the energy of the most romantic mind to support, the *Jew of Tudela* arrived at SIAPHAZ ; this place has perplexed the most learned of his translators and commentators. Harris, whom I have ^b followed in this account, thinks the city of *Schiraz* is intended : Benjamin, himself, describes it, as the most ancient city in that country, and says that " it was called *Perfidis* of old, whence the name was given to the whole province." From Siaphaz he went to *Ginab*, near the river Gozan, and then having reached the famous *Samarchand*, the farthest city of the kingdom, came in four days journey to *Tibet*, which he describes as " a capital city of the province of the same name, in the forests of which are the animals found that produce musk : about twenty-eight days journey from thence lie the mountains of *Nybbor*, which are situated near the river Gozan. The country is extended twenty days journey in length,

with

* Robertson's America, 8vo. ed. vol. i. p. 45.

^b Ed. 1764, vol. i. p. 546.

BOOK
I.

with many cities and castles inhabited, all mountainous, the inhabitants are absolutely free; they are at war with the children of Chus, who dwell in the deserts, and are in league with the *coppered Turks*, worshippers of the winds."—After relating the invasion made by the mountaineers of Nishbor on the kingdom of Persia, which, according to Harris, is not noticed by any other writer, the Jew of Tudela returned to *Chuzeftan*; and thus begins that most interesting part of his travels, which forms the earliest modern European account of the East Indies.

"When I departed out of these countries, I returned into ^b Chuzeftan, through which the river Tygris runs, falling from thence into Hodu, or the Indian Sea; and in its passage thither encompasses the island *Nekrokis* ¹, near the mouth thereof, which island is in extent three days journey. There is in it only one canal of fresh water, and they drink no other than what is gathered from the showers, which is the reason that the land is neither sowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the commerce of the Indians, and islands seated in the *Indian Sea*; merchants of the country of Senaar, Arabia the happy, and Persia, bringing thither all sorts of silk and purple manufactures, hemp, cotton, flax, and *Indian* cloth, wheat, barley, millet, and rice, in great plenty, which they barter, and sell among themselves. But the *Indian merchants* bring also exceeding great plenty of spices thither, and the natives act as factors and interpreters, and by this they live: in that place there are not above five hundred Jews. Sailing thence with a prosperous wind, in ten days I was brought to *Katbipha*. In these places pearls are found, made by the wonderful artifice of nature;

for

^b Chuzeftan, formerly *Susana*, called *Ciffa* by Herodotus and Ptolemy. Sir W. Ouseley in the oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, terms it *Kbuziflan*.

¹ There is no passage in these travels more perplexed than this description of the island of *Nekrokis*, about which all the commentators are divided in their sentiments. That which hitherto has been thought most probable is, that he means the island of *Ormus*; it is however more credible that he had in view the city and country of *Bassora*. (Harris.)

for on the four and twentieth day of the month Nisan (March) a certain dew falleth into the waters, which being sucked in by the oysters, they immediately sink to the bottom of the sea: afterwards, about the middle of the month of Tisri (September) men descend to the bottom of the sea; and, by the help of cords, these men bringing up the oysters in great quantities from thence, open them and take out the ² pearls.

Ch. I. § 2.

Benjamin f Tudela's Narrative.

"In seven days journey from thence I came to *Oulam*, which is the entrance of their kingdom, who worship the sun, and are prone to the study of astrology, being the children of Chus. They are men of

* The word used in the original Hebrew is *Bdellia*. The most learned of the Jews hold, that at a certain season of the year, an oily, spirituous, and briny substance, floats on the surface of the sea; which being received by the oysters, turns afterwards to a pearl. (*Harris*.) The curious reader may wish to compare this early account of the pearl fishery, with the accurate one given by Henry J. Le Beck, Esq. in 1797, inserted in the fifth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*: the following passage corresponds in some measure with the strange ideas of the Jew of Tudela respecting the formation of pearl.—"A Brahmin informed me that it was recorded in one of his sanerit books, that the pearls are formed in the month of May, at the appearance of the *Sootie* star (one of their twenty-seven constellations), when the oysters come up to the surface of the water to catch the drops of rain."—It was the opinion of *Reaumur*, that the pearl was formed like bezoars, and other stones in different animals, and was apparently the effect of disease. Mr. Le Beck thinks it is very evident that the pearl is formed by an extravasation of a glutinous juice, either within the body, or on the surface of the animal: "such extravasations may be caused by heterogeneous bodies, such as sand, coming in with the food; which the animal, to prevent disagreeable friction, covers with its glutinous matter, and which, as it is successively secreted, forms many regular lamellæ in the manner of the coats of an onion."—Mr. *Nicholson* is not acquainted with any modern analysis of pearl; but concludes, from experiments made by *Neumann*, "that it consists of much phosphorated lime, of which the phosphoric acid was disengaged by the treatment with vitriolic acid, and the lime formed selenite; some animal mucilage, which afforded the volatile alkali and oil in distillation; and a small portion of soda and marine salt found in the residue." This subject is discussed by *Raynal*, vol. v. new ed. p. 360.—*Pennant's Eastern Hindoostan*, vol. ii. p. 2.—General view of the writings of *Linnaeus*, by *Richard Pulteney*, *M. D.* p. 42.—*Bruce's Travels*.—*Harris* in the first volume of his collection of voyages and travels, page 482, considers the pearl fishery at some length, and refers his readers to the different authorities, both antient and modern, which he had consulted.—*Prevost's Hist. Generale des Voyages*, tom. xi. page 682, under the article of the various trees, plants, drugs, and precious stones of India. *Bomare*, in his excellent *Dictionnaire Raisonné Universel d'Histoire Naturelle*, gives a concise view of the opinions of the French naturalists, respecting pearls, with many ingenious remarks of his own; under the title of *Nacre de Perles*, ou Mere de Perles. Ed. Lyon, 1791.

BOOK
I.

of a dark complexion, sincere tempers, and of very great fidelity in all respects: they have among them this custom, that such as come from remote countries, when received into the haven, have their names set down in writing by three secretaries, who carry their lists to the king, and afterwards bring the merchants themselves; whose merchandise being received into his protection, the king directs it to be landed, and left on the shore, where it remains without any guard. In this country, from Easter to the beginning of the succeeding year, the sun shines with outrageous heat, and therefore, from the third hour of the day (nine o'clock) until the evening, all men remain shut up in their houses; but about that time lamps being lighted, and set in order throughout all the streets and markets, they work and exercise their respective arts and callings all the night. It is in this country that pepper grows upon trees planted by the inhabitants, in the fields belonging to every city; and their proper gardens are particularly assigned and known. The shrub itself is small, and brings forth a white seed; which being gathered, is put into basons steeped in hot water, and is then set forth in the sun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black colour. Cinamon and ginger are likewise found there, as well as many other kind of spices.

"The inhabitants of this country do not bury their dead, but having embalmed their bodies with divers sorts of drugs and spices, they place them in niches, and cover them with nets, set in order according to their several families. As to their religion, or rather superstition, they worship the sun; and have many and great altars built along the coast, about half a mile without the city. Early in the morning therefore they go in crowds to pay their devotion to the sun; to whom, upon all the altars, there are ¹ Spheres consecrated,

¹ These *Spheres* were really curious, being so contrived as to shew the rising and setting of the sun, and the motions of the heavenly bodies: they were made, and kept by the magi, who employed

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crated, made by magic, resembling the circle of the sun; and when the sun rises these orbs seem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great noise. From this country in two-and-twenty days I sailed unto the islands *Cinrag* (isles Chénarai of Bergeron), the inhabitants of which worship the fire, and are called *Dogbiim*. In the space of forty days one may travel from hence by land to the frontiers of " *Tzin* (Sin in Bergeron); that is to the borders of China, the very extremity of the East: some hold that this country is washed by the *Nikpha*, or " coagulated sea, which is liable to prodigious storms; by which, when mariners are surprised, they are cast frequently into such streights, that, not being able to go out, they are, after expending all their provisions, miserably starved to death.

Ch. I. 41.
Benjamin of Tudela's Narrative.

" It is three days journey to *Gingala*, from thence in seven days you sail to *Coulan*; it is from thence twelve days journey to *Zabid*, and
thence

employed them to impress astonishment on the minds of the vulgar, and to instruct others in the science of astronomy. *Harris*.—See Bergeron's Translation, vol. i. p. 54.—" Images consacrées d'une figure ronde, à la ressemblance de cet astre, (Le Soleil,) qui tournent par art magique, à mesure qu'il se leve, avec beaucoup de bruit et de lumière comme s'ils étoient en feu."

" China appears under the name of *Cheen* in the geography of Ebn Haukal already cited. " The empire of *Cheen* extends in length, a distance of four months journey; and in breadth three. And when one comes from the mouth of the bay or gulph to the land of Muffulmens, the borders of *Mauweralknabr*, Transoxania, it is a journey of three months. And when one comes from the east, and wishes to proceed to the west, by the land of the *Nubians*, and the land of *Khurkhiz*, and of *Gburghen*, and by *Kaimak* to the sea it is a journey of about four months. In the regions of *Cheen* there are various dialects: but all *Turkestan*, and *Gburghen*, and *Affab*, and *Khurkhiz*, and *Kaimak*, and *Gburneh*, and *Kburnjiab*; the people of all these, have the same language, and are of one kind. The chief place of the empire of *Cheen* is called *Hundan*, as *Cosstantine*, Constantinople, is of Europe, or *Bagdad* of the land of *Islam*, or *Canouge* of Hindoostan; but the land of *Turk* is separately situated." *Sir W. Ouseley's Translation from the original Arabic*, p. 9.

" This *coagulated sea* is the icy or frozen sea on the coast of Tartary, and Russia, to the north of China; through which the *north-east passage*, so often sought to little purpose, is supposed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this time some attempts had been made on that side, and that several ships had been frozen up; whence the oriental name of *Nikpha*, or congealed sea. It is very probable, (p. 555.) though Benjamin does not say it, that he received from the same person, what he relates of *China*, and of the *Icy sea* to the north of that country; which shews there had been a considerable commerce carried on that way, though this traveller could give but a dark account of it. *Harris*.



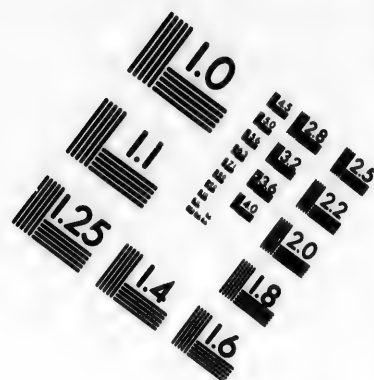
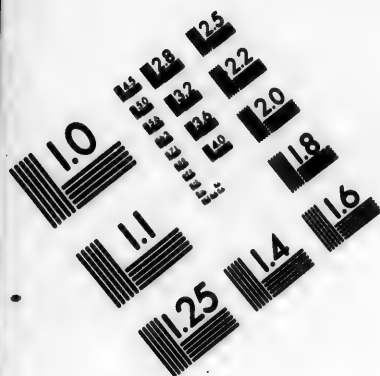
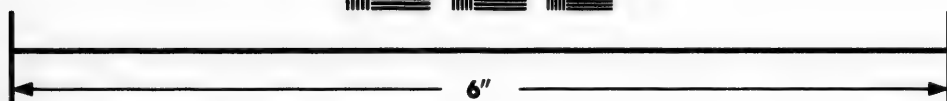
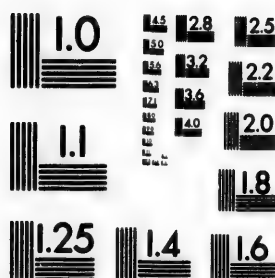


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BOOK
1.

thence eight days journey to the *Indies* on the opposite coast. It is from thence to the land of *Afvan* twenty days journey through the deserts of *Saba*, that lie on the river *Phifon*, which comes from the country of *Chus*; the inhabitants of which are subject to a prince, who is styled ^p *Shab-Abasch*. The climate of this country is excessively hot: when the people of *Afvan* make their expeditions into these parts for the sake of plunder, and what they can carry away, they constantly take with them bread, rice, dried raisins, and figs. These they throw in large quantities among the half famished blacks, whom, while they scramble for them like dogs, they seize and carry away prisoners, and sell them in Egypt, and other countries: these are the negroes, or black slaves, the posterity of Ham. It is twelve days journey from *Afvan* to *Chelvan*; from *Chelvan* they go in caravans fifty days journey through the desert called *Al Ifacbra*, or *Zaara*, to the province called *Zuila*, which is *Havilah* in the land of ^q *Gana*."

The adventurous Jew of Tudela proceeded to Europe by the way of Egypt, and having visited Alexandria, and been deceived like other travellers with the fabulous wonder of the stupendous mirror, placed on the summit of its Pharos, which reflected ships when at the distance of five hundred leagues; he crossed the Alps, and passing through Germany, arrived in safety, after an absence of thirteen years. King ALPHONSO, who according to the testimony of ^r history, equally encouraged the profession of arms, and the cultivation of literature, thus received a new fund of geographical information, which had been hitherto concealed from the general attention of the western

^o Ethiopia.

^p King of Abyssinia.

^q Guinea.

^r Chron. Var. antiq. This monarch in many respects resembled The Frederick of Prussia: notwithstanding the infirmities of age, he was always in the midst of his troops, displaying an unflinching activity of mind. He was equally a politician, a general, and a patron of men of genius.

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western world; and the wanderings of a * Jew, notwithstanding their eccentricity and errors, may be considered as having opened a path for the enterprising spirit of a more distant age. I now return to the conclusion of the reign of Alphonso, and trust this digression will not be condemned.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

At the close of ALPHONSO's reign, who died universally lamented in 1185, the dawn of a naval spirit appeared among his subjects. The Moorish fleet of the Miramolin, consisting of twenty-one galleys, was attacked in the year 1180 by the brave DON FUAS RAUPINO, with a force consisting only of twenty-one sail. This gallant commander, having captured nine of the enemy, incautiously bore down into the very centre of the Moorish fleet, and in vain attempted by acts of repeated valour, and a prodigality of his own life, to retrieve 'his squadron. Entombed amidst the waves that broke on the

* The Jews possessed considerable talents for geography, which their continued dispersion over the earth, might have originally called forth, or improved. Whether owing to this circumstance, or to the reputation they acquired from the fame of the labours of their countryman of Tudela, we find that when JOHN THE SECOND of Portugal received the plan of maritime discovery presented by Columbus, that monarch referred it to the consideration of Diego Ortiz bishop of Ceuta, and of two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. (*Robertson's America*, vol. i. p. 98.) The travels of Benjamin of Tudela were printed at Constantinople in the year 1543; since which upwards of sixteen different editions have appeared. The first that was published in Latin, came from the learned *Benedict Arias Montanus* in 1575: his preface contains an eulogy on the discoveries of the Spaniards. A second translation was made by *Constantine L'Empereur* in the year 1633, with the original Hebrew in the margin, and some valuable notes subjoined. These travels are censured by *M. Wagenfeil* (*Not. ad Lipmanai carmen Nizzeachon in Tel. ign. Sat. pag. 374.*) and by the celebrated *Hottinger* (*Hist. Eccl. sæc. xii. p. 241.*) Their real character is impartially given by *Spanheim* (*Introd. ad Hist. Eccl. part 2. sæc. xii. sæc. xiv. p. 370.*), who says, that though highly seasoned with fables, they contain many things worthy of notice. *Bergeron*, in the first volume of his Asiatic voyages, made during the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, has published an excellent translation from the Latin of Montanus, with notes, and a map: he has also subjoined a translation of the preface in the edition of Montanus. In the year 1734, a later edition of the travels of Benjamin of Tudela, by *J. Philippe Baratier*, was printed at Amsterdam, with notes and dissertations: this edition is noticed by *Bomare*, (*Bib. Instruc.*) vol. v. p. 194, and is much esteemed.

* Faria y Sousa.

BOOK
I.

the shore of his native land, the valour of Don Fuas must have been long remembered by his countrymen; and the naval character of Portugal may date its earliest display from the watery grave of RAUPINO.

Sancho.
1185.

Nor were the immediate successors of Count Henry, and his son Alphonso Enriquez, unmindful of the national character which was now established; though they might not all support it in an equal degree. SANCHO had celebrated his thirty-first year when he succeeded his father: seated on the throne of Portugal, which his talents and virtues merited, he displayed a character that claimed the affection of his subjects; and their patriotic spirit continued when time had abated the novelty and charms of power. Another combined fleet of English and German crusaders arrived, during this reign, to promote the interest of the Portuguese monarch, and to establish his dominion over the Moors: with their assistance Sancho obtained the city of Sylves in the kingdom of Algarve; and was afterwards indebted to the intrepidity of the crew of an English ship, lying at anchor in its harbour, that the town was not retaken by surprise. The arrival of this fleet is noticed by Camoens, who gives it the general appellation of a *German Armada*; though "Nunis de Leon is of opinion that it was chiefly composed of English:

Foy das valenres gentes ajudado
Da Germanica Armada, que passava,
De armas fortes, e gente apercebida
A recobrar Judea, ja perdida.

LXXXVII.

Passavaõ a ajudar na santa empreza
O roxo Frederico, que moveo
O poderoso Exercito em defeza
Da cidade, onde Christo padecco:

Quando

* As Cronicas das reis de Port.

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MARITIME DISCOVERY.

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Quando Guido, coca gente em sede acceza
Ao grande Saladino se rendeo,
No lugar, onde aos Mouros sebejavaõ
As aguas, que os de Guido defejavaõ.

Ch. I. § 2.

*Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.*

LXXXVIII.

Mas a formosa Armada, que viera,
Por contraste de vento áquella parte,
Sancho quiz ajudar na guerra fero,
Já que em serviço vay do santo Marte :
Assim como a seu pay acontecera,
Quando tomou Lisboa, da mesma arte,
Do Germano ajudado Sylves toma,
E o bravo morador destroe, e dogma.

Os LUSIADAS, Canto III.

This passage is beautifully translated by Mickle, though he assumes the licence of a poet, to transpose the exact lines of the original.

" The winds of heaven
Roar'd high ; and headlong by the tempest driven,
In Tago's breast a gallant navy fought
The sheltering port, and glad assistance brought.
The warlike crew, by Frederic the Red,
To rescue Judah's prostrate land were led ;
When Guido's troops, by burning thirst subdued,
To Saladin the foe for mercy sued.
Their vows were holy, and the cause the same,
To blot from Europe's shores the Moorish name.
In Sanco's cause the gallant navy joins,
And royal Sylves to their force resigns.
Thus sent by heaven a foreign naval band
Gave Lisboa's ramparts to the fire's command."

Mickle's Translation, vol. i. 8vo. p. 119.

The unprecedented calamities of an age, visited by famine, by earthquakes, and the plague, demanded not only the resolution of a great sovereign, but the talents of a political economist ;

VOL. I.

N

and

B O O K and Sancho shewed himself more than equal to the task. Without
I. oppressing his subjects, he preserved the security of the state; and augmented the resources of his exchequer, enjoying rather the character of liberality, than incurring the imputation of avarice: he died in the year 1212, after a reign of twenty-six years, universally beloved and lamented. Sancho deserved the title he received—
RESTORER OF CITIES, AND FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Alphonso II.
 1212. ALPHONSO the second had only reached his twenty-seventh year when he succeeded to the throne: from his size and stature, which corresponded with a majestic and open mien, he obtained the surname of *Gros*. He was blessed with an undaunted spirit, and a strength equal to the most incessant fatigue: the vivacity of his countenance cheered his followers in the field; but his general character was too rough and severe for the relative duties of private life. The appearance of another fleet at Lisbon, consisting of Flemings and Germans, during the year 1217, enabled Alphonso to avail himself of the force which William Earl of Holland was conducting to the Holy Land. The combined armies fell with irresistible numbers, on the hitherto impregnable fortress of Alcaçor-do-faol, built by the Moors on a steep and isolated rock. Alphonso annexed this valuable conquest to the order of St. James of Compostella, though that institution was not separated from the crown of Castile, until the reign of King Denis. It is recorded of Alphonso the second, who died in the year 1223 after reigning twelve years, that he would not suffer sentence to be executed on criminals, until an interval of twenty days had elapsed; and the reason he assigned for this conduct, deserves to be recorded in golden letters on his tomb—*Justice may at any time take her course, but Injustice can never be repaired!*

Sancho II.
 1223. The cruel interdicts of the church of Rome, united with a variety of other causes, both public and private, conspired to depress the tender

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der mind of his " successor SANCHO THE SECOND ; whose only fault appears to have been, that he did not sufficiently blend the wisdom of the serpent, with the innocence of the dove : he died, and was buried at Toledo, 1248, after a melancholy reign of twenty-five years.

Ch. I. § 1.
Early 18th ed. of
Portuguese History,
preceding the
15th century.

Innocent the fourth, who instead of appeasing the spirit of anarchy which distracted the turbulent reign of Sancho the second, had joined his enemies, and assisted them to depose their sovereign ; about this time indulged his vanity in a manner that proved ultimately beneficial to Europe, as it tended to procure information respecting the remote provinces of Asia. Christendom had long trembled at the alarming successes of the Tartars, when his holiness sent a mission of monks to arrest their progress. The first was headed by John de Plano * Carpini, a Franciscan, in the year 1246 ; and father Alcolino, a Dominican, with F. Simon de St. Quintin, Alexander, and Albert, directed the wanderings of the other. The reader will imagine with what emotions Quey-Yew, or Kayuk-Khan, the grandson of the conqueror ZINGIS, heard the malignant denunciations of an Italian priest, with whose influence he was unacquainted. My object is to consider this mission as a curious Geographical manuscript ; and, by some brief extracts, to ascertain how far it increased that knowledge of the distant provinces of Asia, which the Portuguese might already have acquired from the travels of the Jew of Tudela.

Hackluyt

* Surnamed Capel, or *Sancho with the Hood* : he is represented in some of his portraits, clothed with a purple mantle, with a book in one hand, and a sceptre, crowned with a dove, in the other. His character is impartially stated by the Spanish historians, particularly Mariana. Sancho died at Toledo in 1248, and was buried in the Cathedral.

* The travels of Carpini are intitled by RAMUSIO (vol. ii. p. 234.) *Due Viaggi in Tartaria per alcuni fratri del Cordine Minore, e di san Dominico, mandati da Papa Innocentio IV. nella detta provincia per Ambasciatore l'anno 1247.*—At page 246, RAMUSIO inserts, *Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Udine ; del Cordine de fratri Minori ;*—and at page 254, *Viaggio de beato Fratre Odorico di porto maggiore del Friuli, fatto nell' Anno 1318.*

BOOK
I.

Hackluyt has⁷ inserted in the first volume of his collection, the narrative of CARPINI from the⁸ *Speculum Historiale* of Vincentius Beluacensis (Beauvais). It is entitled

"*The long and wonderful Voyage of Frier John de Plano Carpini, sent Ambassador by Pope Innocentius the fourth, 1246, to the great CAN of Tartaria; wherein he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow upon the Boristhenes; and from thence rode continually post for the space of six months through Comania, over the mighty and famous rivers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaie; and through the countries of the people called Kangitte, Bifermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani; and so to the native countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situated in the extreme northe esterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Russia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere and above foure moneths.*"

... "And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other frier minorite, namely *Frier John de Plano Carpini*, sent with certaine associates unto the Tartars; who likewise, as himselfe witnesseth, abode and conversed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he, and one Frier Benedi^ct, a Polonian, being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, received straight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them shoulde diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier John hath written a litle

historic,

⁷ P. 37. and 53.

⁸ Lib. xxxii. cap. 2.—The subject of these early travels is considered by Roger Bacon, in the extract which Purchas has made (vol. iii. p. 52.) *ex quarta parte majoris operis fratris Rogeri Bacon, Ingh excerpta quadem de Aquilonaribus mundi partibus*. This learned friar thus notices the travels of Father Carpini, and those of Friar William de Rubruquis—*Post istos ad orientem sunt homines qui vocantur Tebeth: qui solebant comedere parentes suos causa pietatis, ut non facerent eis alia sepulchra nisi viscera sua. De quibus scribunt philosophi, ut Plinius, Solinus, et alii: Et frater Wilhelmus testatur in libro suo; ac frater Johannes de Plano Carpini similiter in libro, quem composuit de Tartaris, inter quos fuit Anno Domini, 1246, missus a Domino Papa in legationem ad Imperatorem Tartarorum*.—Purchas (vol. iii. p. 58.) adds the account which *Vincentius Beluacensis* received from the other friar, *Simon de Sancto Quintino*.—There is an excellent French translation of *Carpini's* travels in the *Collection* by the Pere Bergeron, two vols. 4to. 1735, printed at the Hague. I have preferred the quaint language of Hackluyt, as being in character with the date of the narrative.

⁹ Purchas, vol. iii. p. 57.

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historie, which is come to our hands, of such things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe among the Tartars; or which he heard from divers christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captivitie.

Ch. I. § 2.
Carpini's Narrative.

" There is towards the East a land which is called *Mongal*, or *Tartaria*, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be most north easterly. On the east part it hath the countrey of *Kytbay*, and of the people called *Solangi*; on the south part the countrey of the Saracens; on the south-east the land of the Huini; and on the west the province of Naimani; but on the north side it is invironed with the ocean. The ayre in that countrey is verie intemperate: for in the midst of sommer there bee great thunders, and lightnings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Whereupon, being neere unto the Orda, for by this name they call the habitations of their emperours and noble men, in regarde of the great winde, we were constrained to lye groveling on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. --- In the sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde. --- One * of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie, and scarce among them: --- but towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scorne and set nought by other noble and ignoble persons whatsoever: for we saw in the emperour's court the great duke of Russia, the king's sonne of Georgia, and many great soldanes, receiving no due honour and estimation among them. So that even the very Tartars assigned to give attendance unto them, were they never so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the upper hand of them; yea, and sometimes would constraine them to sit behinde their
backes.

* Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 55. ch. v.

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backes. Moreover they are angrie, and of a disdainefull nature unto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them: they speake fayre in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sting like scorpions. --- They are most intollerable exacters, most covetous possessours, and most nigardly givers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them."

"The east^b countrie, whereof wee have entreated, which is called *Mongal*, is reported to have had of olde time four sortes of people. One of them was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals; the second was called Sumongal, that is the Water Mongals, who called themselves *Tartars* of a certaine river running through their countrey named *Tartar*: the third was called merkat; and the fourth metrit. In the province of Yeka Mongal there was a certaine man called^c *CHINGIS*: this man became a mighty hunter, for he

^b Hackluyt, vol. i. page 57. ch. vii.

^c The *Tartars*, according to Voltaire, left their desarts about the year 1212; and in the year 1236, had conquered one half of the hemisphere. The race of Zingis continued a long time in *Cathay* or *China*, under the name of *Tsen*. Mr. Gibbon says that the names of *Cathay* and *Mangi* distinguish the northern and southern empires; which from A. D. 1234, to 1279, were those of the Great Khan, and of the Chinese. The search of *Cathay*, after *China* had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century, in their attempts to discover the north-east passage. *Cublai Khan* having made himself master of *China*, sent an army of an hundred thousand men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of *Japan*. The history of the revolutions occasioned in India, and other kingdoms, by Zingis, was written by a Chinese; and has been translated by a Jesuit, R. P. *Gaubil*, at Paris, in 4to, 1739. Another Frenchman, M. *Petit de la Croix*, employed ten years in composing, from the Persian writers, the *Histoire du Grand Genghiscan, premier Empereur des Mogols et Tartares*, published at Paris in 12mo. during the year 1710. The prime minister of Zingis, *Teluchonfay*, was a great patron of Chinese literature, and sent for men, learned in history and geography, from Arabia and Persia: under his directions many valuable manuscripts were translated relative to *India* and *China*. The conquests of Zingis, and the foundation and progress of the Turkish monarchy in Asia, is given by Mr. Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 401. *Zin* in the Mogul tongue signifies *great*, and *Gis* is the superlative termination; hence, as Bentiuk remarks, the Moguls call the sea, Zingis. The French mode of writing Gengis, or *Ching-ki-tse*, is a Mogul term expressing the cry of a bird; to which they ascribe extraordinary qualities, and consider its appearance as fortunate. The original name of this renowned barbarian was *Temujin*, or *Temugin*; that of his father, who reigned over thirty or forty thousand families, *Tessugbi Bahadur*, his mother's name was *Ulan-iga*, or *Ulan-kuzin*. Temugin was born in the country of *Blungulduck*,

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he learned to steale men—he ranged into other countries taking as many captives as he could, and joining them unto himselfe. Also he allured the men of his owne countrey unto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischlefe. --- In the land of the Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl; neare unto which citie, on the south-side, there is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainly reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of joynts in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselves."

--- "Then returned he (Chingis) home into his owne countrey and breathed himselfe. Afterward assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut up their emperour into his greatest⁴ citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary provision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede upon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers that they should eate every

Ch. I. § 1.
*Carpius's Nar-
rative.*

Blunguldak, or according to De la Croix, *Dilon-yildak*, in the year 1163. He early rendered essential service to the cause of *Ung Khan*, known towards the close of the twelfth century, by the appellation of *Prester John*, which the Nestorian missionaries had conferred. Zingis was proclaimed Khan, by the tribes which had submitted to him, in the year 1202, being then forty years old. His ancestors, and himself, had originally been subject to the Chinese. Zingis could neither read nor write, and except the Igours, the greatest part of his subjects were as illiterate as their sovereign. He died in 1227, on the 18th of August, aged sixty-six, after a reign of twenty two years. *Universal History Modern*, vol. iv. p. 84. 180.—*Astley's Collection of Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 418. 448. *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, par Prevost, Tom. vii. p. 53. 103. A most learned and interesting disquisition on the origin of the Tartars, was given by Sir William Jones, as the fifth anniversary discourse before the Asiatic Society. See *Researches*, vol. ii. p. 18. 8vo. edit. Sir William adopts the orthography of Chengiz.

⁴ This relates to the siege of *Ten-king*, the ruins of which are still seen some furlongs to the south-east of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan: see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. xi. p. 409.—"When their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital."

BOOK every tenth man of the companie. But they of the citie fought
I. manfully against them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes; and when
 stones wanted they threw silver, and especially melted silver, for
 the same citie abounded with great riches. Also when the Mongals
 had fought a long time, and could not preuayle by warre, they
 made a great trench underneath the ground, from the armie unto
 the middest of the citie; and there issuing forth they fought
 against the citicens, and the remnant also without the walles fought
 in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the citie, they
 entered, and putting the emperour with many other to the sworde,
 they tooke possession thereof, and conueighed away the golde, silver,
 and all the riches therein: and having appointed certaine deputies
 over the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This
 is the first time, when the emperor of the Kythayans being van-
 quished, Chingis Cham obtayned the empire: but some parte of
 the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no
 meanes conquere unto this day.

"And when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham
 had a while rested themselves, after the foresayd victorie, they di-
 uided their armies: for the emperour sent one of his sonnes
 named Thossut, whom they also called Can, with an armie against
 the people of Comania; whom he vanquished with much warre,
 and afterwards returned into his owne countrey: but he sent his
 other sonne with an armie against the *Indians*, who also subdued *India*

minor:

* Hackluyt, vol. i p. 58. ch. x.

† ZINGIS had many children: six sons and three daughters are mentioned in history.
 1. *Chuchi* (Juij, or Tounhi) grand huntsman of the empire, a distinguished warrior. 2. *Chagatay*
 (*Zagatay* or *Jagatay*) the chief judge, who was universally beloved:—Mr. Gibbon informs us,
 that this son gave his name to the dominions of *Maweralnabr*, or *Transoxiana*; and that the
 Moguls of Hindoostan, who emigrated from that country, are stiled *Zagatais* by the Persians.
 3. *Ogotay*, or *Oghai*, who succeeded through the liberal suffrage of his brother, was his minister,
 celebrated for wisdom and prudence. 4. *Toley*, or *Tuli*, was his principal general, to whom
 all military business was entrusted. 5. *Uluche*. 6. *Kolycky*.

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 VOL. I.

minor: these Indians are the blacke * Saracens, which are also called *Ethiopians*: but here the armie marched forward to fight against *Chriftians* dwelling in *India major*."—It may perhaps be necessary to plead an excuse for inserting what follows: the strange reports which circulated in Portugal, and other kingdoms of Europe, relative to the unexplored regions both of Africa and Asia, had a considerable effect in delaying the renewal of maritime discovery, and, as such, deserve to be recorded in this work. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, we contemplate with interest those imaginary horrors, which terrified and prolonged the ignorance of the thirteenth.

"Which the king of that countrey hearing, who is commonly called *Prebiter John*, gathered his souldiers together, and came forth

* Some learned observations relative to the *Saracens*, occur in a manuscript note, subjoined by my grandfather the late Rev. William Clarke of Chichester, to *Ockley's History*: "Sozomen (lib. vi. 38.) has observed that the *Saracens* were at first called *Ismaelites*, and afterwards gave themselves the name of *Saracens*, that they might be thought the sons of the free woman—a conjecture which he has given us no authority for. The Greeks and Latins called the inhabitants of Arabia Petrea *Saraceni*, or perhaps of the country which was originally Moab, and Midian; but it does not appear that the *Arabs* ever called themselves *Saracens*. (Vid. Herbelot voc. *Scharacah*.) The name however seems to be of an eastern original; Scaliger, whom Bochart and Valefius follow, is of opinion that it came from the Arabic word *Sarak*, which signifies robbers. (Val. not. in lib. vi. 38.) Reland, on the other hand, looks upon it as a more honourable appellation, and says the term signifies the *Sons of the East*. (Reland's *Palæstina*, p. 87.) Stephanus Byzantius thinks that *Sarak* *Σάρακα* was a part of Arabia, and that the inhabitants were therefore called *Saraceni*. If this is fact, there is no occasion to look any further for the origin of the term. There is now a village called *Scharacah*, and though it be at present inconsiderable, it might formerly have been of greater note, and the whole region called by the same name."

† As the name of *Prebiter*, or *Prester John*, was so celebrated in the early periods of the Portuguese voyages, it is here necessary to give some account of his real history. His name, as mentioned in a preceding note, was *Ung*, or *Vang Khan*, the most powerful of any of the princes in the country north of *Kitay*, or *China*. The name of his capital was *Karakorum*, or *Caracorum*, which, according to D'Anville, was situated about six hundred miles to the north-west of *Pekin*. It became afterwards the seat of the Mogul emperors. This seems to have been the original *Prester John*: but the name once received in Europe, was afterwards given to different persons, until every traveller, of early date, had a *Prester John* of his own; an imaginary Christian prince and king, as Atley observes, "who like the *Will-with-a-wisp*, or

BOOK
I.

foorth against them. And making men's images of ' copper, he set each of them upon a saddle on horsebacke, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellows on the horse backe, behinde every image: and so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals, or Tartars: and comming neare unto the place of the battell, they first of a^{ll} sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sate behind laide I wote not what upon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellows. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with *wilde fire*, and the ayre was darkened with smoake: then the Indians cast dartes upon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slain. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare that ever they returned thither ' againe. - - - But returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported unto us in the emperour's court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women, but the males were like unto ' dogges: and delaying the time, in that countrey they met

the *wandering Jew*, was every where, and no where." In a subsequent note to the travels of Frier Rubruquis, additional remarks occur on this character. The reader will also find in the Appendix (K) some observations by Dr. Johnson.

* Ridiculous as this passage appears at present, it probably describes the first rude attempts towards the construction of artillery, and the use of gunpowder; which by many is thought to have been known in the eastern parts of Asia, before its introduction into Europe about the year 1320, by Bartholdus Schwartz. This important discovery is considered by Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 62. and Dr. Watson in his *Chemical Essays*, vols. i. and ii.

' Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 58. ch. x.—Bergeron, vol. i. column 42.

* This strange account of men resembling dogs, is elucidated by Mr. Bryant, (*Analysis Ant. Mythol.* vol. i. p. 336—341.) as has been already remarked in a *Preliminary dissertation*. It may however be here repeated, that the *Cynocephali*, or *Dogs-heads*, were members of a sacred college of astronomy, both in Egypt and India; and were so named by the Greeks from the term *Caben-Caph-el*, the sacred rock of Orus, on which a principal observatory had been established.

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met with the said dogges on the other side of the river. --- Moreover, Chingis Cham, at the same time when he sent other armies against the east, hee himsele marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which, notwithstanding, he conquered not in that expedition; and, as it was reported unto us, he went on forward even to the Caspian^a mountaines. --- This people were not able to endure the terrible noise, which in that place the funne made at his uprising: for at the time of the funne rising, they were inforced to lay one eare upon the ground, and to stoppe the other close, least they should heare that dreadfull sound: neither could they so escape, for by this meanes many of them were destroyed.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Carfimi's Nar-
rative.*

"Then taking our journey to¹ returne, wee travailed all winter long, lying in the deserts ostentimes upon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye upon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field: and ostentimes in the morning, we found ourselves all covered with snow driven over us by the winde. And so travailing till the feast of our Lordes ascension, we arrived at the court of Bathy: of whom when wee had enquired, what answere he would send unto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to give us in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliver that which the emperour had written. Howbeit, one of our Tartars parted not from us, till we were past the utmost garde of the Tartars; but the other guides, namely the Comanians, brought us from the last garde unto the citie of Kiow. --- Moreover the citizens of Kiow having intelligence of our approach, came forth to meete us (June the eighth) with great joy: for they rejoyced over us, as over men that had bene risen from death to life. So likewise they did unto us throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia.

^a Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 59. ch. xii.

¹ Ibid. vol. i. p. 71. ch. xxxiii.—Bergeron, column 24.

BOOK 1. Bohemia. Daniel, and his brother * Wasilico, made us a royale feast, and interteined us with them, against our willes, for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together *about those matters which we had propounded unto them, in our journey towards the Tartars*, answered us with common consent, saying—that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their lady and mistresse; confirming likewise all things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their abbate: and for the same purpose they sent their ambassadours and letters by us also, unto our Lord the Pope.”

Alphonso III.
1248.

Such in brief was the curious information which the Portuguese received from the travels of *certaine friers, predicants, and minorites*, who visited the interior and remote provinces of Asia, at the close of the reign of Sancho the second. His brother *Alphonso the third* grasped the sceptre with a firmer hand: he arose from the cradle with a frame both of mind and body superior to the delicate constitution of his predecessor; and enjoyed a greater portion of fame, inasmuch as he possessed more favourable means to acquire it. Though Alphonso had reached his thirty-eighth year, a sense of those errors, into which a youthful or too ambitious mind had betrayed him, was publicly displayed. The sycophants who had served the prince, at the expence of their allegiance to his deceased brother, met with their reward; whilst his former opposers discovered the truth of this maxim, that stedfast loyalty, and patriot firmness, will eventually claim a preference from those whose irregular ambition has thus for a time been opposed.

In the second year of his reign, Alphonso proceeded to complete the boundaries of Portugal, by expelling the Moors from the strong holds they had hitherto preserved. He accordingly entered the

* The princes Daniel, and Basilico, or Basilique.

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the province of Algarve at the head of a numerous army; whilst a powerful fleet hovered on the coast to distract the attention of the enemy. Faro, the Moorish capital, built on the western extremity of the gulph of Cadiz, surrendered after a long siege; and the desperate courage with which the assailants stormed the town of Loule, to the north-west of Faro, subdued the spirit of the adjacent country. But Alphonso's ambition was unsatiated; and whilst he looked forward to new conquests, he forgot that the soundest policy consisted in preserving what had been already acquired. The revenue which Pope Innocent the fourth derived from the kingdom of Portugal, and the service which its maritime power was so well adapted to afford him, enabled Alphonso to enjoy the friendship of that pontiff, and to remain secure from the terrors of excommunication. Thus supported, the military ardour of the king did not long remain ungratified; and his ambition viewed with impatience the fertile province of Andalusia. Mohammed Aben Afon, king of Niebla, soon perceived the intentions of his enemy; and placing himself under the protection of the government of Castile, a powerful army immediately traversed the kingdom of Algarve. Alphonso discerned his imprudence; and the intrigues of the cabinet repaired the errors that had been committed in the field. Though a previous marriage would have embarrassed a less experienced politician, the Portuguese monarch offered his hand to a natural daughter of the Castilian; and, with the approbation of the Pope, Alphonso, then in his forty-third year, led Donna Beatrix to the altar, who had only completed her twelfth birth day: the kingdom of ¹ Algarve was received as her dower, and gave a new title to the sovereigns of Portugal. Thus did Alphonso gain an addition of nearly thirty-five leagues of coast; on a part of which, the illustrious patron of the naval character, Henry Duke of Viseo, afterwards founded

Ch. I. § 2.
Early periods of
Portuguese History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

1254.

his

¹ Algarve is derived from the Arabic *Algarbia*, which signifies a fertile country.

BOOK I. his celebrated town of Sagres, adjoining the "fainted Cape, whence the first Alphonso had conveyed the bones of *St. Vincent* to Lisbon.

Every department of government derived new energy from the unsubdued vigilance of Alphonso, and the bulwark of the liberties of his country was not forgotten. The military spirit of the Portuguese however too much prevailed above the naval profession: though their maritime power formed the safeguard of an extensive line of coast, and insured the safety of the inhabitants of Lisbon, yet the character of a seaman was lost among the various agents of commerce, or considered as a subservient appendage to the manoeuvres of an army. During this reign the travels of *Friar William de Rubruquis* called the mercantile attention to the distant provinces of Asia, and gave a new stimulus to the enterprise of Europe.—"The travels of Rubruquis and others into different parts of the east, first inspired that passion for discoveries, which has since produced such mighty effects: before that time we knew little or nothing in this part of the world of the situation of distant countries, and those who affected to be thought great wits, laboured to discredit whatever was delivered in relations of this "kind."

The letters of a Tartar prince, named *Ercalibay*, which are still extant, arriving about this period at the court of St. Louis (the ninth) of France, then at Nicosia in Cyprus, interested that monarch in behalf of the distant KHAN, who had professed "Christianity,

"CAMOENS alludes to this in the third book of the *Lusiad*:

But holy rites the pious king preferred;
The martyr's bones on *Vincent's Cape* interred,
His faintest name the Cape shall ever bear,
To Lisbon's walls he brought with votive care.

Mickle, vol. i. p. 115.

Virg. Æn. VII.

Æternam moriens famam, Caieta dedisti.

"*Harris*, vol. i. p. 592.

"*Dr. Robertson* considers this embassy as the design of an impostor, who took advantage of the imperfect knowledge which Christendom then enjoyed respecting the state and character of

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anity, and appeared likely to co-operate in reducing the power of the Mohammedans. The names of traveller, and pilgrim, were at this time united; and as mankind had not then learnt to distinguish the pedantry of the cloister, from the liberality of an improved mind, monks were generally deputed to visit and magnify the wonders of unexplored countries. Friar William de Rubruquis appears to have enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign; and was accordingly appointed to follow the footsteps of Friar Andrew, who though previously sent into Tartary by the Pope, had returned in the year 1250 from the court of France, with some Tartarian ambassadors. The interesting narrative of Rubruquis is addressed in the epistolary style to St. Louis. Harris declares, that no European, except *Carpini*, ever before travelled so far:—"The travels of *Rubruquis* are equally astonishing in whatever light they are considered: take them with respect to length, and they extend to upwards of five thousand miles one way, and to near six thousand another: I mean from Constantinople in his going out, and to Acon or Ptolemais in his return." From him Portugal, as well as the rest of Europe, received the first certain accounts of *China*, and were informed that such a place as *Japan* existed: but I hasten to introduce the venerable ^p Pilgrim to my readers.

Ch. I. § 2.

Narrative of
Rubruquis.
1253.

" To

of the Asiatic nations. (Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 47.) The whole was doubtless devised by the Tartar prince, to obtain intelligence respecting the Franks; and to ascertain what force they possessed to carry on the war against the Saracens.

^p 1, *Hackluyt's* account in black letter, vol. i. p. 93: in the original Latin, p. 71.—2, *Harris*, vol. i. p. 556.—3, *Astley's* collection, vol. 4. p. 552.—4, Translation from the English by Bergeron, who collated two Latin MS. Tom. i.—5, *Prevost*, Tom. 7. p. 263.—6, I have preferred the account, which *Purchas* gives, (vol. iii. p. 1.) completed from a MS. found by Hackluyt in Bennet College, Cambridge: this was the first complete translation.—*Rubruquis* travelled from Constantinople across the *Black Sea* to the Port of *Cassa*; thence he proceeded by land through *Crim Tartary*: he then crossed the rivers *Tanais*, and *Volga*, and came into the country of *Bolgar*, and to the camp of *Baatu*: he then advanced through the extensive country of the *Calmauks*, and so north eastward to the court of *Mangu-Khan*; which according to his description must have lain in the latitude of fifty degrees north, or something more; con-

BOOK
I.

"To the most excellent and most Christian Lord, LEWIS, by God's grace, the renowned king of France, Friar William de Rubruk, the meangst of the minorites order, wisbeth health and continual triumph in Christ.

"It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus, concerning the wise man, *he shall travaill into forreine countries, and good and evill shall be try in all^a things*: the very same action, my lord and king, have I atchieved; howbeit, I wish that I have done it like a wise man, and not like a foole. --- Notwithstanding, howsoever, I have done it because you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnesse, to write all things unto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished mee also that I should not feare to write long letters, I have done as your majesty enioyned mee.

"Bee it knowne therefore unto your sacred majestie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253, about the nones of May, wee entred into the sea of *Pontus*, which the Bulgarians call the great sea; it containeth in length, as I learned of certayne merchants, one thousand and eight miles, and is in a manner divided into two parts. About the midst therefore are two provinces, one towards the north, and another towards the south. The south province is called *Synopolis*, and it is the castle and port of the Soldan of Turkie: but the north province is called of the Latines^r *Gasaria*; of the Greekes which inhabit upon the sea shore thereof, it is called *Cassaria*, that is to say, *Casaria*. --- At the province of *Gasaria* we arrived: about the midst of the said province toward the south as it were upon a sharpe angle or point, standeth a citie called^s *Soldaia*, directly against *Synopolis*. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the

siderably higher, than what is at present called *Chinese Tartary*. He returned through the immense deserts of Great Tartary; and keeping by the head of the *Caspian Sea*, journeyed along its western shore through the countries of *Georgia*, *Armenia*, *Curdistan*, and *Diarbeck*, into *Syria*. I have extracted the most interesting parts, giving a preference to such as relate to *China* and *India*.

^a Ch. xxxix. ver. iii.

^r Now the *Crimea*.

^s *Cassa*.

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the north countries, in their journey outward arrive, and as they returne homeward also from Russia, and the said northerne regions, into Turkie. The foresaid merchants transport thither ermines and gray furies, with other rich and costly skinnes. Others carrie clothes made of cotton or bombast, and silke, and divers kinds of spices. We arrived therefore at *Soldaia*, the twelfth of the kalends of June; and divers merchants of Constantinople, which were arrived there before us, reported that certayne messengers were comming thither from the Holy Land, who were desirous to travell unto 'Sartach. Notwithstanding, I myselfe had publikely given out upon Palme Sunday, within the church of *Santa Sophia*, that I was not your, nor any other man's messenger, but that I travelled unto those infidels according to the rule of "our order.

"And being arrived, the saide merchants admonished me to take diligent heed what I spake; because they having reported mee to bee a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not have free passage granted unto me. Then I spake after this manner unto the governours of the citie, or rather unto their lieutenants, because the governours themselves were gone to pay tribute unto Baatu, and were not as yet returned. *We heard of your Lord Sartach, quoth I, in the Holy Land, that he was become a Christian; and the Christians were exceeding glad thereof, and especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, and fighteth against the Saracens, to redeeme the holy places out of their hands: wherefore I am determined to goe unto Sartach, and to deliver unto him the letters of my Lord the King, wherein*

bee

† Supposed by Purchas to be the same with the Tartar prince, *Ereathay*.

‡ *Harris* defends this falsehood, by remarking, that the monk's reason for acting thus, was to preserve the honour of his king from suffering, through any ill treatment he might meet with: he was aware the Tartars knew that St. Louis had been defeated in Egypt, and taken prisoner by the Infidels.

BOOK *bee admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Chrysten-*
I. *dome.* And they received us with gladnesse, and gave us entertaynment in the cathedrale church, the bishop of which church was with Sartach; who told me many good things concerning the said Sartach, which afterwards I found to be nothing so. Then put they us to our choice, whether wee would have carts and oxen, or packehorses, to transport our carriages; and the merchants of Constantinople advised me not to take carts of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy covered carts of mine owne, such as the Russians carry their skinnies in, and to put all our carriages, which I would daily take out, into them; because, if I should use horses, I must be constrained at every baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them up againe on sundry horses backs; and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the carts. Wherefore, contenting myselfe with their evill counsell, I was travelling unto Sartach two monethes, which I could have done in one, if I had gone by horse."

The reader by these remarks of *Rubruquis*, will be enabled to form an estimate of the difficulties, which any individual had to surmount, who in that age possessed sufficient zeal to enlarge the geographical knowledge of Europeans. The most skilful traveller in those days, was but little versed in a knowledge of modern languages; and the barbarous pronunciation of the more antient, which we have still continued, could afford him but little assistance: the general mode of receiving information, through the prevailing medium of the French tongue, had not been introduced. He had therefore only the signs, and gestures of the dumb to resort to, in case of hunger or oppression. Without the assistance of navigation, for which Europe is principally indebted to Portugal, these wanderings of the pilgrim, or the merchant, might still have been our only source of information, respecting the situation and produce of distant countries.

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---" Wee tooke our journey " therefore about the kalends of June, Ch. I. § 2.
 with foure covered carts of our owne, and with two other which wee Narrative of
 Rubruquis. borrowed of them, wherein wee carried our bedding to rest upon
 in the night; and they allowed us five horses to ride upon, for there
 were just five persons in our company; namely, I myselfe and mine
 associate Frier *Bartholemew of Cremona*, and *Gofet* the bearer of these
 presents; the man of God *Turgemannus*, and *Nicolas* my servant,
 whom I bought at Constantinople, with some part of the almes be-
 stowed on me. Moreover they allowed us two men, which draue
 our carts, and gave attendance unto our oxen and horses. There
 bee high promontories on the sea shoare from *Kerfova* unto the
 mouth of *Tanais*; also there are fortie castles betweene *Kerfova* and
Soldaia, every one of which almost have their proper languages;
 amongst whom there were many *Gothes*, who spake the Dutch
 tongue. Beyond the said mountaynes towards the north, there is a
 most beautifull wood growing on a plaine full of fountaynes and
 freshets; and beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champian,
 continuing five dayes journey unto the very extremitie and borders
 of the said province northward; and there it is a narrow isthmus or
 neck of land, having sea on the east and west sides thereof, inso-
 much, that there is a ditch made from one sea unto the other. ---
 The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of
Soldaia, wee found the Tartars; amongst whom beeing entred, me
 thought I was come into a new world, whose life and manners I
 will describe unto your Highnesse as well as I can. ---

" They have in no place any settled citie to abide in, neither
 know they of the celestiaall citie to come. They have divided all
 Scythia ' among themselves, which stretcheth from the river *Da-
 nubius*

■ Purchas, vol. iii. p. 3.

† The extensive territory, styled *Scythia* by the antients, and *Tartary* by the moderns, was
 termed in Hindoostan, *Boutan*; by the Tartars themselves *Tangut*; by the Chinese, *Tsanli*;
 by the Indians beyond the Ganges, *Lassa*; and by Europeans, *Thibet* or *Tibet*.—See Ray-
 nall's General Idea of Tartary (vol. iii. 2d ed. p. 100).

BOOK *nubius* even unto the rising of the sunne. In the winter they
 I. descend unto the warme regions southward, and in the summer
 they ascend unto the cold regions northward. In winter when
 snow lyeth upon the ground, they feed their cattell upon pastures
 without water, because then they use snow instead of water. ---
 Concerning their ^a food and victuals, be it knowne unto your High-
 nesse, that they doe, without all difference or conception, eat all
 their dead carions. --- Out of their Cowes milke they first chur-
 ne butter, *boyling the which butter unto a perfect decoction*, they put it into
 rams skins, which they reserve for the same purpose. Neither doe
 they salt their butter; and yet by reason of the long scething, it
 putrifieth not, and they keepe it in store for winter. The churn
 milke, which remayneth of the butter, they let alone till it be as
 sowre as possibly it may be; then they boyle it, and in boyling it
 is turned all into curds; which curds they drie in the sun, making
 them as hard as the droffe of iron: and this kind of food also they
 store up in sachel against winter. In the winter season when milke
 fayleth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they call *gry-ut*)
 into a bladder, and powring hot water thereunto, they beat it lustily
 till they have resolved it into the said water, *which is thereby made*
exceedingly ^a *sowre*; and that they drinke instead of milke: they are
 very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not faire
 water by it selfe.

“ Concern-

^a Purchas, vol. iii. p. 5. ch. v.

^a The *Portuguese* thus possessed a most invaluable secret for the preservation of the health of their seamen; which, though not so powerful an antidote to the scurvy, as the modern recipe introduced by Captain Cook, would have proved very nutritious and sanative to mariners: notwithstanding our improvements in this respect, I earnestly recommend this to the attention of THE BOARD. Milk and butter, thus preserved, would be valuable acquisitions on a long voyage; and if not generally introduced, would be very grateful in vessels fitted out for the purpose of discovery.—Mr. *Eton* in his survey of the Turkish empire, informs us that “ the butter used in Constantinople comes from the Crimea and Kuban. They do not salt it but melt it in large copper pans over a slow fire, and scum off what rises; it will then preserve sweet a long time if the butter was fresh when it was melted.”

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^b Purch

" Concerning their garments and attire, be it knowne unto your majestie, that out of Cataya, and other regions of the east; out of Persia also, and other countries to the south, there are brought unto them stufes of filke, cloth of gold, and cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer: But out of Russia, Moxell, Bulgaria the greater, and Pascatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersia, all of which are northerne regions, and full of woods; and also out of many other countries of the north, which are subject unto them, the inhabitants bring them rich, and costly skins of divers sorts, which I never saw in our countries. --- And being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought, as I said before, that I was entered into a new world; for they came flocking about us on horsebacke, after they had made us a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, under their blacke carts. --- And so wee departed from them: and in very deed it seemed to me that we were escaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow wee were come unto the captaine. From the time wherein wee departed from Soldaia, till wee arrived at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we never lay in house or tent, but alwaies under the starry canopie, and in the open aire, or under our carts.

" The same day Scacatai (*Zagatai*) the captaine aforesaid, gave us one man to conduct us to *Sartach*, and two other to guide us unto the next lodging, which was distant from that place five dayes journey for oxen to travell; they gave unto us also a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke. And so taking our journey directly toward the north, mee thought that we had passed through one of hell gates. --- And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foresaid province of Gasaria, we travelled directly eastward; having a sea on the south side of us, and a waste desert on the north; which desert, in some places, reacheth twentie dayes journey

Ch. I. § 2.
Narrative of
Rubruquis.

^b Purchas, vol. iii. p. 6. line 28.

^c Ibid. p. 8. ch. xi.

^d Ibid. p. 10. ch. xiv. l. 42.

BOOK I. journey in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountayne, nor stone therein.

" But above all * things it grieved mee to the very heart, that when I would utter ought unto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say, *You should not make mee become a preacher now; I tell you, I cannot, nor I will not rebearse any such words:* then seeing the danger I might incur in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolved much rather to hold my peace; and thus we travelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a few daies before the feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arrived at the banke of the mightie river *Tanais*, which divideth Asia from Europa. --- At the same place *Baatu* and *Sartach* did cause a certaine cottage to be built upon the easterne banke of the river, for a companie of Russians to dwell in, to the end they might transport ambassadours and merchants in ferrie-boates, over that part of the river. ---

" And wee ' found *Sartach* within three daies journey of the river *Etilia* (or *Volga*), whose court seemed unto us to be very great. Our guide went unto a certaine Nestorian, named *Coiat*, who is a man of great authoritie in *Sartach*'s court. He made us to goe very farre unto the *Lord's Gate* *; for so they call him who hath the office of entertayning ambassadours. --- We stood before him, and hee sate majestically. --- Hee enquired also who was the greatest prince among the Francks; and I said, the emperour, if he could enjoy his owne dominions in quiet. No, quoth hee, but the king of France; for hee had heard of your highnesse by Lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the knights of the Temple, who had bene in

Cyprus,

* Purchas, vol. iii. p. 11. ch. xv. l. 37.

' Ibid. p. 12. ch. xvii.

§ In the Latin version, *Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini jannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios.* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 82. *Stetimus coram eo, et ipse sedebat in gloria sua et faciebat sonare ciuharam et saltare coram se.* The curious reader may be gratified with some specimens of this MS.

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Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he saw there. The next morning hee commanded mee to come unto The Court, and to bring the king's letters, and my vestments, and bookes with mee, because his lord was desirous to see them. ---Then he commanded us to invest ourselves in the said garments, that wee might goe before his lord; and we did so. Then I myselfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the bible which your majestie gave mee, and a most beautifull psalter, which the queenes grace bestowed upon mee, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missall and a crosse; and the clerke having put on his surplice, tooke a censer in his hand, and so we came unto the presence of his lord: and they lifted up the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might beholde us; and they diligently admonished us to take heed, that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested us to sing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing *Salve Regina*.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Narrative of
Rubenquis.*

"Then *Coiat* carryed unto his lord the censer with incense, which hee beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand; afterward he carryed the psalter unto him, which he looked earnestly upon, and his wife ^h also that sate beside him; after that he carryed the bible: then *Sartach* asked if the Gospell were containd therein? Yea, said I, and all the holy Scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand; and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no; I said it was. Afterward I delivered unto him your majestie's letters, with the translation thereof into the Arabicke and Syriacke languages; for I caused them to bee translated at Acon."

Our travellers having lost a considerable part of their property through the avarice of a Nestorian priest, obey the orders of *Sartach* in

^h One of the six wives of *Sartach*.

B O O K

I.

in leaving his court, for that of his father *Baatu*. Rubruquis then considers the various opinions relative to *Prester John*, whose imaginary dominions he passed in returning to France. He derives the origin of the fiction, which eventually proved of service in creating a stimulus for discovery, from the fabricated opinion of the ¹ Nestorians: "they blaze ² abroad great rumours, and reports upon just nothing: whereupon they gave out concerning *Sartach*, that he was become a Christian; and the like also they reported concerning *Mangu Can*, and *Ken-Can*; namely, because these Tartars make more account of Christians, than they doe of other people; and yet in very deed, themselves are no Christians.

"Now as ¹ concerning *Sartach*, whether he beleevues in Christ or no, I know not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. For the space of foure daies, while wee remained in the court of *Sartach*, we had not any victuals at all allowed us, but once onely a little ² cosmos. And in our journey betweene him, and his father, wee travelled in great feare; for certayne Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians, being servants unto the Tartars, assemble themselves twentie, or thirtie in a company; and so secretly in the night conveying

¹ Rubruquis discusses a subject still further, which at that time so much interested his own, and other countries. "*Cara-Cathay* (Harris, v. i. p. 566.) lies behind certain mountains over which I passed; as also through a plain country, in which formerly dwelt a certain great Nestorian priest, who was sovereign of a nation called *Naymans*, and who were all Christians of the Nestorian sect." *Kon-Khan* being dead, the Nestorian assumed the monarchy, and thence was called *Prester John*, *John the Priest*. A search after this monarch was of as much service to the progress of maritime discovery in the fifteenth century, as the equally fruitless Toil after a north-east passage has proved in this respect of importance, in the eighteenth century. Harris however is of opinion that the above account is an error; and that *Prebyter John* is only to be found in the Grand Lama or Supreme Pontiff of the Tartars. Vol. i. p. 591.

² Ibid. p. 14. ch. xix. l. 63.

¹ Ibid. p. 15. ch. xx.

² Made from mare's milk. *Kumis*, or *Koumis*, signifies the thin part of the milk; the mode of preparing it is given by Rubruquis. Eton, in his survey of the Turkish empire, already cited, gives an account of the mode which the Tartars, and Kalmuks follow in making this fermented mare's milk: they use it as a restorative to the stomach; and distil from it a spirituous liquor.

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conveying themselves from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomsoever they finde in the night seafon, they put him to death, hiding themselves in the day time. In this journey we had dyed for famine, had wee not carryed some of our bisket with us: at length we came unto the mightie river of Etilia, or *Volga*; for it is foure times greater than the river of Sein, and of a wonderfule depth; and iffuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certayne lake, or sea, which of late they call the *Hircan Sea*, according to the name of a certaine citie in Persia, standing upon the shoare thereof; howbeit *Isidore* calleth it the *Caspian Sea*, for it hath the Caspian mountaynes and the land of Persia, situate on the south side thereof, and the mountaynes of Musihet, that is to say of the people called ^a *Affassini*, towards the east.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Narrative of
Rubruquis.*

"When^o I first beheld the court of *Baatu*, I was astonied at the sight thereof, for his houses or tents seemed as though they had been some huge and mightie citie: the court is called in their language ^p *Horda*, which signifieth, the midst. The day following, we were brought unto the court: then Baatu demanded whether your majestie had sent ambassadors unto him, or no."—*Rubruquis* delivered his

^a Some account of these extraordinary and cruel sectaries, styled by Mr. Gibbon the *Ismaelians of Persia*, occurs in his eleventh volume, (p. 417):—from them the word *Affassin* has been adopted. Two memoirs on this subject are inserted in the volumes of the Academy of Inscriptions by M. Falconet (tom. xvii. p. 127—170). The Affassini are noticed by Harris (vol. i. p. 592). Their prince was termed *The Old Man of the Mountain*: he established and protected a company of murderers, who were let loose in secret on his enemies. *Louis of Bavaria* fell by one of their daggers in 1231; and four were sent to the court of *Louis the ninth* of France: but their Chief changing his mind, four others were dispatched to guard the king. The letter from the Sheikh, or Old Man of the Mountain, in justification of the character of Richard Cœur de Lion, respecting the murder of Conrad of Montferrat (Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155—163) is declared by Mr. Gibbon to be a palpable forgery. In this letter the Sheikh openly acknowledges himself to have been the affassin of Conrad. The *Affassini* were finally extirpated by Holagou Khan, son of Zingis.

^o Purchas, vol. iii. p. 16. ch. xxi.

^p Or *Curia Orda*, the court of the middle.

BOOK
I.

his message, standing bare-footed, and ¹ bare-headed; and praying for the conversion of Baatu, presented the letters of his sovereign. Louis the eleventh, had therein requested permission for them to continue for some time in the country; they were accordingly informed, that they must first go to the court of Mangu Khan, with the exception of the clerk *Cofet*, and the lad, who were obliged to return to the court of *Sartach*. The narrative is resumed on their entering the extensive mountains of ² Karakitay.

"Every ³ Saturday I remained fasting untill night, without eating or drinking of ought; and when night came, I was constrained, to my great griefe and forrow, to eate flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost raw, and all for want of fewell to feede it withall, especially when we lay in the fields; because we could not then conveniently gather together the dung of horses or oxen, for other fewell we found but feldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Upon the even of the feast of All Saints,

wee

¹ Carpini, who had previously visited this court, changed his dresse, that he might not be insulted. (Purchas, vol. iii. p. 17).

² Geographers have been perplexed to ascertain the exact situation of this country styled *Karakitay*, or *Caracatay*. *P. A. Gaubil*, in his *Histoire du Genghizcan, &c. tirée de l'Histoire Chinoise*, already noticed, throws considerable light upon the subject, and describes *Karakitay*, under the appellation of *Kitan*. "The Kitan were Tartars, who dwelt to the north and north-east of the province of *Pecheli*. In the tenth century they subdued all the countries between Korea, and Kashgar, beside several northern provinces of *China*: they called their dynasty that of *Lyau*; and the name of the imperial family was *Yelu*. In 1209 they still maintained a footing in the countries to the north, north-east, and north-west of *Turfan*," (p. 11.) According to *Couplet*, and *Du Halde*, the capital of their eastern and western courts, were *Tongking* and *Peking*. This empire commenced in 917; and continued under nine emperors for two hundred and nine years, until it was overthrown by the *Kin Tartars* in 1126. The writers of the *Modern Universal History* are of opinion, that the nine southern provinces of the antient empire of *China*, were in the possession of the *Song* Dynasty; and that the five northern ones, except part of *Shensi*, with the adjoining parts of *Tartary*, were possessed by the *Kin*, from whom the present Chinese are descended. This great dominion was named *Kitay*, or *Katay*, and divided into two parts; that which belonged to *China* was properly called *Kitay*, and the part appertaining to *Tartary* was named *Karakitay*. (Vol. iv. p. 86. ed. 8vo. 1780).

³ Purchas, vol. iii. p. 19. ch. xxiv. l. 34.

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wee forfooke the way leading towards the east, because the people were now descended very much south; and wee went on our journey by certain *Alpes*, or mountaynes directly southward, for the space of eight daies together. --- A few ' daies after we entered upon those *Alpes*, where the *Gara Catayans* were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty river; infomuch, that we were constrained to embarke ourselves. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walls whereof were onely of mudde; and in that place the ground was tilled also: and there wee found a certaine village named " *Eguinus*, wherein were " Saracens, speaking the Persian language; howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, having passed over the foresaid *Alpes*, which descended from the great mountaynes southward, wee entred into a most beautifull plaine; having high mountaynes on our right hand, and on the left of us a certaine sea or ' lake, which containeth fifteene daies journey in circuit. All the foresaid plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets, distilling from the said mountaynes, all which doe fall into the lake. In summer time we returned by the north shoare of the said lake, and there were great mountaynes on that side also. Upon the forenamed plaine, there were wont to bee great store of villages; but for the most part they were all wasted, in regard of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might feede their cattell there. We found one great citie there named " *Coilac*, wherein was a mart, and great store of merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene daies, staying for

Ch. I. § 1.
*Narrative of
Rubruquis.*

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* Purchas, vol. iii. p. 20. ch. xxv. l. 42.

" Prevost reads Eguinus. (Vol. vii. p. 271.)

* The general term given by Rubruquis to the Mohammedans.

† Geographers are not acquainted with any lake thus situated of this size; if the lake of *Sayfan* is alluded to, a part of the river must be included.

• Written by Astley, and his translator Prevost, *Kaylak*, or *Koglak*.

BOOK 1. a certaine scribe, or secretarie of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our guide, for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to bee called *Organum*, and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing; but it was altogether inhabited by the people called *Contomanni*. Here first did I see worshippers of idols; concerning whom, bee it knowne unto your majestie, that there bee many sects of them in the East Countries.

"The first sort of these idolaters are called * *Iugures*, whose land bordereth upon the foresaid land of *Organum*, within the said mountaynes eastward". --- Mangu-Can hath sent letters unto your majestie, written in the language of the *Moals* or *Tartars*, and in the foresaid hand or letter of the *Iugures*. --- Next unto them betweene the foresaid mountaynes, eastward, inhabiteth the nation of *Tangut*, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell: next unto them, are the people of *Tebet*: the said people have great plentie of gold in their land; whosoever therefore wanteth gold, diggeth til he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serve his turne, hee layeth up the residue within the earth; because, if he should put it into his chest, or storehouse, he is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold within the earth. Next unto *Tebet* are the people of *Langa*, and *Solanga*, whose messengers I saw in the *Tartar's* court: beyond them, as I understand of a certaintie, there are other people called *Muc*, having villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell unto himselfe. Beyond *Muc* is great *Cataya*, the inhabitants whereof, as I suppose, were of old time called *Seres*, for from them are brought most excellent stufes of filke; and this people is called *Seres*, of a certaine

* Their country is called by *Haiton* the kingdom of *Tarfa*: the language of this people forms the root of the Turkish.

† Purchas, vol. iii. page 22. ch. xxvii. l. 14.

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certaine towne in the same countrey. I was credibly informed, that in the said countrey, there is one towne, having walls of silver, and bulwarkes, or towers of gold. There bee many provinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued unto the Tartars: and the Sea lyeth between them and *India*. These Catayans are men of a little stature, speaking much through the nose; and this is generall, that all they of the east have small eyes. They are excellent workemen in every art; and their physicians are well skilled in the vertues of herbs, and judge exactly of the pulse.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Narrative of
Rubruquis.*

They now directed their course towards the north, and on the twenty-eighth of December arrived at the court of *Mangu-Khan*; where they found a Christian of Damascus, sent by the Soldan of *Mons Regalis* and *Krak*, offering to pay the Tartar's tribute. The Tartar queen was a Christian lady; and her attendant *Paquete*, or *Pascha*, a woman of Metz in Lorraine, acquainted the travellers that at Caracarum, two days journey distant, lived *Guillame Boucbier* a goldsmith, born at Paris, who was patronised by Mangu Khan.

"- We^d came to our cold and emptie house; they provided us bedding and coverlets, they brought us also fewell, and gave us three the carkasse of one little leane ramme, meate for fixe dayes, and every day a platter full of millet; but there are so many hunger-starved, who are not provided of meate; that as soone as they saw us dresse meate, they thrust in upon us, and must eate with us: there I found by experience how great a martyrdome liberalitie is in povertie."—During the month of January, they paid a missionary visit with some Nestorian monks to *Baltu*, the eldest son of the Khan,
and

^c Hence, adds *Purchas*, is supplied by Master Hackluit's industrie, as hee told me, out of a manuscript in Bennet Colledge in Cambridge; the other part hee had out of an imperfect copie of my *Lord Lumleys*. The chapters disagree, as being I thinke rather some transcriber's division than the authors. Yet have I followed the numbers I found, even where they are obscurest. The friars Latin for some barbarous words and phrases, hath bene troublesome to translate: the worke I hold a Jewell of antiquitie, now first entirely publike.

^d *Purchas*, vol. iii. page 30. ch. xxxiii. l. 11.

BOOK I. and to the Tartar queen, who respectively worshipped the * cross; which was afterwards presented to Mangu Khan, by an Armenian, who came from Jerusalem.

" - Since ' we came to the court of Mangu Chan, he rode but twice towards the south; and from that time he beganne to returne towards the north, which was toward *Caracarum*: Whereupon I noted all the way, a thing of which Master *Baldwin* of *Hannonia* had spoken to mee at Constantinople, who was there, that he had seene this onely wonderfull—that he alwaies ascended in going, and never descended; for all * rivers came from the east into the west,

either

* Purchas, vol. iii. (page 31. line 53.)—This cross was of silver, and weighed about four marks: a precious stone was set in each corner, and one in the centre. It had no figure of Christ on it, according to the Nestorian manner.

' Purchas, *ibid.* page 33. ch. xxxvi.

* This remark is just, until the traveller has passed *Mount Altay*; and then the rivers begin to decline eastward. Buffon remarks (*vol. i. p. 251. ed. Smellie*) that in the Old Continent, the direction of the greatest chains of mountains is from west to east; and that those which run to the north, or south, are only branches of the principal chains: the greatest rivers have the same direction; and few of them follow the course of the branches of mountains. The *Vigo*, the *Douro*, the *Tagus*, and the *Guadiana*, run from east to west; there is not a river of any consideration which runs from south to north, or from north to south. The course of the *Euphrates*, of the *Persic gulph*, and of almost all the rivers of *China*, is from west to east. The rivers of the interior parts of *Africa* observe the same direction; running either from west to east, or from east to west. The *Nile*, and the rivers of *Barbary*, are the only ones which run from south to north. There are it is true large rivers in *Asia*, as the *Don*, the *Volga*, &c. which partly run from north to south; but they only observe this direction in order to fall into the *Black* and *Caspian Seas*, which are lakes in the interior parts of the country. We may therefore lay it down as a fact, that, in general, the rivers, and *Mediterranean waters* of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, run, or stretch more from east to west, than from north to south. This is a natural consequence of the parallel direction of the different chains of mountains. Besides, the whole continent of *Europe* and of *Asia*, is broader from east to west, than from north to south. But though, both in the Old and New Continent, the great rivers run in the same direction, this effect is produced by different causes. The rivers, in the Old Continent, run from east to west, because they are confined by many parallel chains of mountains which stretch from west to east; but those of *America* observe the same direction, because there is only one chain of mountains stretching from south to north. The theory of the *Chevalier de Buat*, respecting rivers, is deservedly esteemed. The following list is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of those writers who have treated professedly of the motions of rivers. 1. *Guglielmini*

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either directly or indirectly, that is to say, bending towards the south or north : and I enquired of the priests which came from *Cataya*, who testified this same. From that place where I found *Mangu Chan* unto *Cataya*, were twentie daies journey, going towards the south and east. To ^b *Onan Kerule*, which is the proper countrey of *Moall* (the *Mon-gals*) where the court of *Chingis* is, were ten daies journey right east : and in those parts of the east there was no citie, yet there were people which are called *Su Moall*, that is to say *Moall* of the waters ; for *Su* is as much to say as *water* : these people live upon fish and hunting, having neither flocks nor heards. Towards the north likewise there is no citie, but a poore people feeding cattell, who are called *Kerkis*. The *Orangei* are also there, who binde
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Ch. I. § 2.

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Rubruquis.

lielmi de Fluvio et Castellis Aquarum.—Danubius Illustratus. 2. *Grandi de Castellis.* 3. *Zen-drini, de motu aquarum.* 4. *Frisius de Fluvio.* 5. *Lecchi Idrostatica i Idraulica.* 6. *Michelotti, sfereince Idrauliche.* 7. *Belidor's Architecture Hydraulique.* 8. *Boffut's Hydrodynamique.* 9. *Buat's Hydraulique.* 10. *Silberschlag's Theorie des Fleuves.* 11. *Lettres de M. I'Epinaffe au P. Frisf touchant sa Theorie des Fleuves.* 12. *Tableau des principales Rivieres du Monde, par Gencté.* 13. *Stevin's sur les Eclufes.* 14. *Traité des Eclufes par Boulard, qui a remporté le Prix de l'Acad. de Lyons.* 15. *Bleifwyck's Dissertatio de Aggeribus.* 16. *Boffut et Viallet sur la construction des digues.* 17. *Stevin's Hydrostatica.* 18. *Tielman van der Horst's Theatrum Machinarum Universale.* 19. *De la Lande sur les Canaux de Navigation.* 20. *Racolta di Autori chi trattano del Moto dell' Acque*, 3 tom. 4to, Firenze 1723. This last most valuable collection contains the writings of Archimedes, Albizi, Galileo, Castelli, Michelini, Borelli, Montanari, Viviani, Cassini, Guglielmini, Grandi, Manfredi, Picard, and Narduci.

^b The *Onon* and *Kerulen* were two celebrated rivers. The Jesuit *Gerbillon* notices the river *Saghalian*, in eastern Tartary, which according to *Astley* (vol. iv. p. 357) had different names, according to the countries through which it passed : towards the source it was styled *Onon*. The *Kerlon* or *Kerulon*, says the missionary *Regis*, running from west to east, falls into the lake *Kûlon-nor*, which discharges itself into the *Saghalian-ûla*. This river, about sixty feet in breadth, washes the richest pastures in Tartary.—*Onan Kerule*, is thus mentioned by *Friar Bacon* in the extract made by *Purchas* (vol. iii. p. 57) already noticed, p. 92. note 2. In this geographical disquisition the learned friar is much indebted to the travels of *Rubruquis*.—*Primo igitur in terra ubi imperator moratur est, Cataia Nigra, ubi fuit Presbyter Iohannes. Post eam est terra fratris sui ultra per iter trium Septimanarum. Deinde terra Moal ; et Tartarorum ultra eos per iter quasi duodecim dietarum. Sed tota hæc terra est in qua moratur imperator vagans per diversa loca. Terra tamen in qua fuerunt Moal, vocatur Ornan Kerule : Et ibi est adhuc Curia Cingis Can. Sed quia Caracarum, cum regione ejus fuit prima adquisitio eorum ; ideo civitatem illam habent pro imperiali : Et prope illam eligunt suum Can, id est imperatorem.*

BOOK
I.

smoothe filed bones under their feete, and thrust themselves forward upon the congealed snow and ice, with such swiftnesse, that they take birds and beasts. And many other poore people there are on the north side, so farre as they may spread themselves for the cold : And they joyne on the west, with the countrey of ¹ *Pascatir*, which is Hungaria the greater, whereof I have spoken before. The bound or limit of the north corner is not knowne, for the extremitie of the cold : in that place there are continuall spires, or heapes of snow. I was inquisitive of the monsters, or monstrous men, whereof *Isidorus* and *Solinus* make report ; they told me they never saw any such : whereof wee much wonder whether it bee true or no. All the nations aforesaid, although but poore, yet they must serve in some trade ; for it was the commandement of Chingis, that none should be free from service, till hee were so old, that he could labour no longer by any meanes.

“ --- Upon a time a certaine priest of Cataya fate with mee clothed with a red coloured cloth, and I demanded of him whence hee had such a colour ; and hee told mee in the east parts of *Cataya*. -- *Cataya*, as yet, hath no wine, but now they beginne to plante vineyards, for they make drinke of rice : hee told also that *Cataya* is upon the ocean. The common money of *Cataya* is paper made of bombaste (cotton) the breadth and length of an hand, upon the which they imprint lines, like the scale of Mangu. They write with a pensill, wherewith painters paint, and in one figure they make many letters, comprehending one word. The people of *Thebet* write as wee doe, and they have characters very like ours : they of *Tangut* write from the right hand unto the left, as the Arabians, and multiply the lines ascending upward ; *Iugur*, as aforesaid, from above downeward. The common mony of the *Rutenians* (*Russians*) are little spotted and grisel'd skins.

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¹ *Pascatir*, or the *Baskirs*.

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VOL.

"Concerning^k the citie of ^l*Caracarum*, know this, that excluding the palace of Chan himselfe, it is not so good as the castle of St. *Denis*; and the monasterie of St. *Denis* is tenne times more worth then that palace, and more too. There are two streets; one of the Saracens, where the faires are kept, and many merchants have recourse thither, by reason of the court, which is alwayes neere, and for the multitude of messengers. --- Soothsayers^m are their priests; and whatsoever they command to bee done, is performed without delay. Some of them are skilfull in astronomie, specially the chiefe of them: and they foretell the eclipse of the sunne and moone, and when it shall come to passe. --- After the feast ofⁿ Pentecost, they began to make ready their letters, which they meant to send unto you. In the meane while, he (*Mangu Khan*) returned to *Caracarum*, and held a great

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of Rubruquis.*

^k Purchas, vol. iii. p. 39. ch. xli.

^l Mr. Valentine Green, the editor of *Afley's voyages*, in the missionary travels of J. Bapt. Regis (vol. iv. p. 374) gives a succinct account of the different opinions relative to this City. Regis, and the other missionaries, met with the ruins of another large city, *Para-hotun*, on the northern banks of the river Kerûlon: the most celebrated of the Tartarian cities were abandoned within an hundred years after they were built. Bentink is inclined to believe that no such city as *Caracarum*, or *Kara-koram*, ever existed; because no such place, nor any trace of it, can at present be discovered. The English translator of *Du Halde* has considerably illustrated this difficulty in Tartarian geography: respecting its name, he observes, that according to ^{*} D'Herbelot, it was given by the inhabitants of Turkestan. *Abu' Isaraj* † is of opinion, that *Kara-koram* was the same with *Ordu-balik*: *Gaubil* says, that in the Chinese history it was called *Ho-lin*. Both *Abu' Isaraj*, and D'Herbelot, affirm, that it was built by *Ok-tay*, the third son and successor of Zingis, on his return from the conquest of the *Kin*, or *Katay*. The Chinese historians, on the contrary, according to the extracts given by *Gaubil*, speak of it as existing prior to the time of Zingis. This writer fixes its situation, and says its latitude was observed by order of Koblay Khân to be forty four degrees, eleven minutes; and its longitude ten degrees, eleven minutes, west of Pe-king. *Abu' Ighazi Khan*, in his history of the Turks (vol. i. p. 152, 153, and vol. ii. p. 513.), informs us, that *Ugaday*, or Oktay Khân, on his return from *Katay*, A. D. 1236, continued to reside in the country of *Karakum*, or *black sand*, where he built a magnificent palace, and sent for the celebrated painters of *Katay* to adorn it. *Olugh-yurt*, or the great city, which *De la Croix* (Hist. Genghiz. Khan, p. 386) makes the residence of Oktay Khân, not far from *Kara-koram*, was probably only another name given by the Mongols to *Ordu balik*.

^m Purchas; vol. iii. p. 43. ch. xliv.

ⁿ Ibid, p. 45. ch. xlv.

^{*} Art. Ordu balik.

† Hist. Dynast. p. 310.

B O O K
I.

great solemnity, just about the fifteenth of June; and he desired that all the embassadours should be present. The last day also he sent for us; but I went to baptise three children of a certaine poore Dutchman, whom we found there. Master William (*Bouchier*) was chiefe butler at that feast, because he made the * tree which powred forth drinke. --- At that time I saw the embassadour of the *Galipha* of Baldach (*Bagdad*), also the embassadour of a certaine * *Soldan of India*, who brought with him eight leopards, and ten hare-hounds, taught to sit upon the horse buttocks, as leopards doe. When I inquired of *India*, which way it lay from * that place, they shewed me towards the west.

"In the meane ' time, while these things were doing, my companion hearing that wee must returne by the wildernesse to *Baatu*, and that a man of Moall should be our guide, he ranne, without my privitie, to Bulgai the chief scribe; signifying to him by signes that he should die, if he went that way. --- Wee therefore ' departed one from the other with teares (July y^e ninth); my companion remayning with Master William, and I returning alone, with my interpreter, my guide, and one servant, who had commandement to take one mutton in foure dayes, for us foure. Wee came therefore in two moneths and ten dayes from Caracarum to Baatu, the same ' daye I departed thence the
yeare

* An account of this early specimen of mechanism, by the French artist, is given in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 35. l. 49.—Harris, vol. i. p. 579. *sect.* 46.; and Bergeron, vol. i. ch. 41. Col. 96. who has introduced an engraving of this singular piece of mechanism, with three on other subjects. 1. *Les Chariots, ou les Traineaux*, "qu'ils font tirer par des Chameaux, afin de traverser les plus grandes rivières. Ils n'otent jamais ces coffres ou maisonnettes de dessus leurs traineaux." 2. "*L'Introduction au Baatu*." "Le lendemain nous allâmes à la Cour, et Baatu avoit fait élever un grande tente." 3. *Sacrifices de Juments blanches*. "Leur coûtume est aussi au neuvième de la Lune de Mai d'assembler toutes les Juments blanches qui se trouvent dans leurs haras, et de les consacrer à leurs Dieux."

P This embassy probably came from the Turkish soldan of Delhi and Multán.

* This is a striking proof how little was at this time known in Europe, relative to the situation of India.

* Purchas, vol. iii. p. 46. l. 26. * Ibid, p. 47. ch. 46. l. 16. * Ibid, p. 47. l. 54.

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yeare past; and I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with penurie, as Goslet told me."

Ch. I. § 2.
*Narrative of
Rubruquis.*

For the remainder, or a more minute account of these early travels, the reader is referred to Purchas. Rubruquis arrived at the village " of *Sumerkent* on the fifteenth of October 1254; and passing through the *Porta Ferrea* of Alexander, to which has been given the name of *Derbend*, he entered on a valley, in which the ruins of some walls constructed by the Macedonians were still visible. On the first Sunday in Lent, 1255, the travellers arrived in the dominions of the " Soldan of Turkey; and hearing at " *Curcum*, a port of Cilicia, that Louis the eleventh had returned to France, they proposed to embark at Tripoli: their intentions were however prevented by the *Provincial*, whom they found at Nicofia. Rubruquis therefore dispatched a messenger to carry the above relation to his sovereign, accompanied with the following epistle:—*And our Provinciall determined, that I should leave " Acon, not suffering me to come unto you; commanding to write unto you, what I would by the bearer of these presents. And not daring to resist contrarie to my obedience, I did according to my power, and understanding: craving pardon of your invincible clemencie for my superfluities, or wants; or for any thing that shall be undiscreeetly, nay foolishly spoken, as from a man of little understanding, not accustomed to indite long " histories.*

In

" The scite of the city of Astracan.

" The soldan of the Seljukian kingdom of *Roum*, or *Asia Minor*, called by the western writers the foldan of *Iconium*; which is lost in Abulfeda under the corrupt name of *Kunijab*. On the division of the Seljukian kingdom the three younger dynasties, of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*, are thus traced by Mr. Gibbon (vol. x. p. 369.) The *first* commanded an extensive though obscure dominion on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and were extinguished before the end of the twelfth century; the *second* expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo, and Damascus; the *third* invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor.

† Or *Kurkb*, opposite to the eastern point of the Island of Cyprus.

" *Aca*, or *Ace*, the ancient Ptolemais, *St. John D' Acre*.

" *Harris*, vol. i. p. 589. sect. 59.

BOOK
I.Denis.
1729.

In tracing the rise of the maritime character among the Portuguese, some of the most valuable geographical manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, have now been offered to the attention of the reader; the perusal, or fame of which, could not fail to open new prospects of commerce, and gradually to cause a renewal of the progress of maritime discovery.—The reign of DENIS THE MAGNIFICENT, who succeeded his father Alphonso the third, in the nineteenth year of his age,* recalls the attention of the reader to the history and sovereigns of Portugal. This monarch was surnamed the *Liberal*; yet he enjoyed a nobler appellation, as THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Donna *Beatrix*, the queen dowager, by her political intrigues, exercised the abilities and prudence of the young monarch: but the consequences of her retiring to her father's court in Castile, were baffled by the marriage of Denis, with Isabella of Arragon, the most accomplished princess of that age. The haughty character of MARTIN the fifth was early reflected in the conduct of his Portuguese clergy; yet their sovereign bore this second insult with patience, and the terrors of an interdict were reserved for periods more auspicious to the tyranny of Rome, than the patriot reign of Denis. The mercantile interest hailed its beloved monarch, as the PROTECTOR OF COMMERCE; and the increase of the trade of Portugal more than justified the acclamation. The attention that was paid by this king to the augmentation and discipline of the navy,

* Mekegan, in his *Tableau de l'histoire Moderne*, thus notices (vol. i. p. 352.) these early geographical acquisitions: "*La relation curieuse que les moines donnerent, fit connoître d'autres Pays, d'autres cultes, d'autres mœurs, et elle inspira le goût des Voyages.*"

• See page 101.

• The glories of this reign afforded a delightful scope for the patriotic muse of Camoens:

"And now brave DENIS reigns; whose noble fire
Bespoke the genuine lineage of his Sire.
Now heavenly peace wide waved her olive bough,
Each vale displayed the labours of the plough,
And smiled with joy: the rocks on every shore
Resound the dashing of the Merchant-oar.

Mickle's Trans. vol. i. p. 123.

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navy, gave a new character to his subjects, and insured them the sovereignty of the sea. The maritime projects which his father had designed, revived through the industry and wise policy of the son: rising store-houses, and arsenals in all the principal ports of Portugal, declared that a maritime, or commercial character, had advanced beyond the Mediterranean; and was about to leave its Italian haunts, for regions, where an * hardier race, would successfully struggle against the perils of seas, hitherto deemed impassable; until their perseverance should trace the union of the Atlantic and Indian Seas.

Ch. I. § 2.
Early periods of
Portuguese History,
providing the
Middle Century.

The eastern travels of MARCO POLO the Venetian, whose father *Nicolo*, and uncle *Maffio*, visited Tartary in the year 1250, attracted, during the reign of Denis, a considerable and lasting attention. *Nicolo* having returned with his brother *Maffio* to Venice about the year 1269, planned a second tour soon after their arrival; in consequence of which Marco, who was then in his nineteenth year, attended them to the court of the *Grand Khan*. Their subsequent travels are of considerable importance; as the original design both of *Nicolo*, and *Maffio*, was to form a commercial system, on a more extensive scale than any which the Venetians had hitherto been able to accomplish. For the space of twenty-six years Marco, and his relations, were employed in traversing the distant and unexplored provinces of Asia; during which they advanced towards the East, beyond the track of any preceding European, and actually traded on the Indian Ocean; visiting the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar to the gulf of Cambay. They returned, to the astonishment of their countrymen, in the

* The language of the son-in-law of Turnus, (*Æneid*. ix. 603.) may with justice be applied to the mariners of the north of Europe:

Durum à stirpe genus: natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, sævique gelu duramus, et undis.

BOOK
I.

the year ^c 1295; and found themselves, from their long absence, in the situation of strangers, to whom the language, and dress of the Venetians, were equally uncouth. The unavoidable length of their interesting narration, will not in this place admit of any ^e further notice.

The favourable influence of literature on the rising power of his kingdom, was evident to the mind of Denis the Magnificent, before the papacy of Leo the tenth, the celebrated offspring of *Lorenzo de Medici*, had solemnized the revival, and advanced the splendour, of science. The manuscripts of learned travellers must have been a principal object of research to such a monarch; whilst the institution of two universities, and the establishment of schools throughout his dominions, afforded a refuge and support to those, whom a thirst for knowledge had tempted from their home, or the fame of having acquired new resources, recommended as proper instructors, in the rising seminaries of learning. Such was the monarch, who on the ^b seventh of January 1325, to the inexpressible

^a About the same time the celebrated *Haiton*, a relation of the king of *Armenia*, returned to Europe from the East, after visiting the extensive regions whence the *Indus* and *Ganges* derive their sources. In France he took the habit of the *Norbertins*, an order of St. Augustin. Mr. Gibbon cites the description which *Haiton* gives of the kingdom of *Roum* (vol. x. p. 372). "It extended from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria." The travels of *Haiton* into the different provinces of Asia, are given by *Ramusio*, with a preceding dissertation (vol. ii. p. 62.) by *Purchas*, (vol. iii. p. 108.) by *Bergeron*, (vol. ii.) par la main de *Nicolas Salcon*, et traduit suivant l'edition Latine de *André Muller Græffenbag*. *Bergeron* prefixes the following *Temoignage* of *Salcon*. Voici l'histoire des Païs Orientaux, recueillie par le venerable frere *Haiton*, Seigneur de *Curchi*, parent du Roi d'*Armenie*: que moi *Nicolas de Salcon* par ordre du souverain pontife *Clement V.* ai premierement écrit en François etant a Poitiers, comme le dictoit le dit frere *Haiton*, sans aucune observation, sans aucun original. Je l'ai ensuite traduit du François en Latin l'an 1307, au mois d'Août." An edition of the travels of *Haiton* was published, in folio, at Paris in 1529.

^b APPENDIX, (E.) where the reader will find an ample account of this traveller, from *Ramusio*, *Purchas*, *Harris*, and other writers; with extracts from the travels of Sir John Mandeville.

^c The writers of the *Modern Universal History* have been led into an error respecting the exact day of the death of king Denis. *Ferreras* only relates that he made his will on the 30th of

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Soufa, p.

pressible grief of his subjects, was called to pay the debt of nature, Ch. I. § 2. in his sixty-fourth year; previous to which his successor had received the last injunctions of a wise father, and had shed the tear of contrition, for past follies, on the couch of his expiring parent.

A prosperous reign of forty-five years, closed with the death of *Alphonso IV.* 1325. *Denis the Magnificent*: his subjects dreaded the event; and the public mind, agitated by various passions, beheld as portentous, the imprudence and dissipation of ALPHONSO THE FOURTH. Yet, although the morning of his reign lowered on the interests of Portugal, its meridian splendour cheered the hearts of his subjects. The voice of truth, though it irritated the monarch, was heard by a mind conscious of past follies; and the noble manner in which Alphonso forgave, and approved the ebullition of independence, first inspired the hope, that *Alphonso the brave*, would imitate the virtues of *Denis, the father of his country*. During the twelve years' war with Castile, Alphonso sustained a powerful maritime force; and

of December (tom. iv. p. 561.): but he also adds (tom. v. p. 7.), that he died on the seventh of January 1325. *Mariana* (L. xv. § 120.) asserts that it took place on the seventh of February; in which he is followed by *La Ciede* (tom. i. p. 261.) These two historians are of opinion that the king died at Santaren; *Ferreras* expressly declares that he had returned to Lisbon.

It is difficult to fix the exact date of the event here alluded to; but most of the Portuguese historians are inclined to place it soon after the accession of Alphonso. The young monarch was so passionately attached to the pleasures of the chase, that he spent the greater part of his time in the forests adjacent to Cintra: the interests of government were thus neglected, or given up to men, who abused the confidence of their sovereign. After a long absence, Alphonso returned to Lisbon, and amused his privy council with the history of a month's shooting, hunting, and fishing. A counsellor sternly observed, that they were not assembled to hear the exploits of grooms and falconers: *If, Sir, you will meet the wishes of your subjects, and remove their grievances, you will find them submissive and loyal; if not—* Alphonso started in an emotion of passion from his seat—*If not! what then?* "*If not,*" continued the counsellor, "*they must seek another, and a better king.*" Alphonso burst from the room in a transport of rage, and the council waited the event. The good genius of his father, however, soon rendered him worthy of his ancestors, and seemed to address him from the grave: he returned, and acknowledged his error; declaring, that from henceforth they should never have to consult with Alphonso the sportsman, but with *Alphonso the king of Portugal*. (*Faria y Sousa*, p. 3. c. ix.—*La Ciede*, t. i. p. 263.)

Early periods of
Portuguese History,
preceding the
fifteenth Century.

Alphonso IV.
1325.

BOOK
I.

and throughout his reign displayed that zeal, which had animated his heroic ancestors in the cause of liberty and Portugal. But, when we leave the splendour, which surrounds and disguises the military character, and behold Alphonso in private life, we must reprobate his cruelty towards the lovely and unfortunate * INEZ DE CASTRO; and his long persecution of *Don Alphonso Sanchez*, a natural son of the late king: the mind of this monarch could never steel itself against insidious advice; it feebly struggled against the seductions of passion, or the baneful influence of prejudice. Had Alphonso been less of a politician, his character would have stood higher as a monarch, for though much esteemed, he was never beloved: he however enjoys, and deserved the character of an hero. After a reign

* This memorable attachment of Don Pedro began in his twenty-eighth year. *Dona Inez de Castro* was the daughter of a Castilian emigrant, who had taken refuge in Portugal. Her cruel death has formed the subject of three tragedies; one in English, named *Elvira*; a second by M. de la Motte, a Frenchman; and a third by Don Luis Velez de Guevara, styled, *Reynar despues de Morir*. The Spaniard has followed nature and Camoens:

Inez. "A mis hijos me quitais?
Rey Don Alonso, señor,
Porque me queréis quitar
La vida de tantas vezes?
Advertid, señor mirad,
Que el corazón a pedaços
Dividido me arrancais.

Rey. Levaldos, Alvar González.

Inez. Hijos míos, donde vais?
Donde vais sin vuestra madre?
Falta en los hombres piedad?
Adonde vais luzes mías?
Como, que así me dexais
En el mayor desconsuelo
En manos de la crueldad."

Alvaro Gonzalez, Diego Lopez Pacheco, and Pedro Coello, were the murderers of the unoffending suppliant. Don Pedro had resided at a royal castle near Mondego: and it was at this place that the horrid deed was perpetrated. According to Neufville, king Alphonso avowed the assassination. Inez de Castro had four children by Pedro. *Alphonso*, who died young; *John*; *Denis*; and *Dona Beatriz*.

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reign of thirty-two years, he died at the age of sixty-seven, in the month of May 1357. Alphonso was born at Coimbra in 1290; and married *Donna Beatrix*, daughter of Sancho the fourth, and sister to Ferdinand king of Castile.

Ch. I. § 2.
Early periods of
Portuguese His-
tory, preceding the
fifteenth Century.

PEDRO THE JUST, his successor, was born at Coimbra on the thirteenth of May 1320, and ascended the throne of Portugal in his thirty-seventh year: when his grandfather Denis died, whom he much resembled, this prince had scarcely completed his fifth year. The original character of Pedro, was almost the reverse of that which appeared on his accession; by nature he was gay, affable, fond of society, and excelled in all the elegant amusements of life, without being led away by their dissipation, or lost in their vanity. But the cruel murder of *Inez de Castro*, to whom he had been privately married, stamped a morbid melancholy on the disposition of this monarch; and, though the energy of his ingenuous, unyielding mind, could not be depressed by the heavy cloud which overshadowed its virtues, the horizon was never clear; a total eclipse of this sun of Portugal was long considered as inevitable: the heart of Pedro was shrouded in the tomb of Inez de Castro. After taking a solemn oath before the assembly of the states, and the pope's nuncio, at Cantanedes, that, a dispensation having been obtained from Rome, he had been secretly married to the lady Inez at Braganza, in the presence of the bishop of Guarda; her beloved remains, at the command of Pedro, were taken from the grave, and placed upon his throne: the crown was then laid on the head of the skeleton of Inez, and the nobility of Portugal, in obedience to their sovereign, kissed the bones of her hand. A funeral procession was afterwards conducted with unusual pomp to the monastery of Alcobaça, and the nation wept with its disconsolate monarch. The irritated mind of Pedro, thus highly wrought, could only find relief among the gloomy isles

Pedro.
1357.

BOOK of Alcobaca, or in the firm, and impartial performance of his public duties ;

" Nor this alone his stedfast Soul displayed :
Wide o'er the land he waved the awful blade
Of red arm'd Justice ¹."

The national character, under the auspices of such a monarch, was even raised beyond the height to which it had been elevated by Denis ; and though Pedro was dreadful to the perpetrators of crimes, he was beloved by good men. The officers, both of his navy and army, knew they had nothing to hope for, but from an emulation of their sovereign in the performance of their respective duties ; and in the same degree, the various departments of government, which demand the vigilance of a patriotic statesman, felt and obeyed a discipline they were unable to calumniate. The love of virtue, and of justice, which was natural to Pedro, were influenced by the rigid principles of a melancholy recluse ; who, being thus removed from any attention to worldly, or political maxims, raised his mind so much beyond the level of human nature, that his disconsolate subjects exclaimed at his death, *either Don Pedro should not have been born, or should never have died!* He closed a reign of ten years at Estremos, on the eighth of January 1367, in the forty-seventh year of his age : from this renowned monarch arose the illustrious John the first, father of HENRY DUKE OF VISEO. In the succession of ² FERDINAND, surnamed the *careless*, the degenerate son of Pedro, by his first wife Donna Constance Emmanuel, a portentous

¹ Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. i. p. 142.

² Le Quien, tom. i. p. 230. Faria y Souza.

³ During this reign, about the year 1380, an English fleet, under the command of *Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge*, arrived in the Tagus ; and, for a time, gave a favourable turn to the designs of Ferdinand : but his uncertain temper soon rendered ineffectual even this assistance. He however at first was pleased with his English allies, and married the Infanta to the son of *Edmund*, then a child. The title of king of Castile, previous to the sailing of the English fleet, had been assumed by *John Duke of Lancaster*, son to Edward the third, on his marriage with the eldest surviving daughter of *Pedro the cruel*.

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portentous cloud overshadowed the kingdom of Portugal, and threatened its speedy decline; but the impending tempest at length dispersed, and the heroism of the country displayed a new or unexpected character, which entirely changed the political system of Europe. After an interval of eighteen years, Lisbon presented an interesting scene, unpolled by the massacres of civil discord; the spreading canvas glided, without molestation, on the distant wave, and the noise of commerce, arising from the crowded mart, gradually directed the attention of all nations to the harbours of Portugal.

Ch. I. § 2.
*Portuguese
Historians.*

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As the *Portuguese History* is not generally known in Great Britain, I have subjoined a concise account of their most distinguished writers, including those who have considered *Portuguese Asia*, and *America*. The curious reader will find a valuable collection of the *Portuguese* historians, probably the first in this country, in the library, formed under the auspices of his present Majesty, at Buckingham House. It is to be lamented, that the learned professor of modern history at Cambridge, *Dr. Symonds*, whose abilities are more than equal to the task, and whose knowledge of the history of Europe is unrivalled, has not favoured the public with a critical analysis of the various writers, who have considered the commerce, discoveries, and history of Portugal.

The venerable *John de Barros* claims our first attention, born at *Viseo* in 1496, and educated with the children of King *Emmanuel*. De Barros was tutor to the INFANTA John; and soon after the accession of that prince to the throne, was appointed governor of *St. George de la Mina*, on the coast of Africa: his subsequent elevation to the lucrative post of treasurer of the Indies, incited him to compose his *Decadas da Asia*. After experiencing a variety of criticism, De Barros enjoys and merits the appellation of the *Lusitanian Livy*. The *Decadas* were translated into Spanish by *Alphonso Ulloa*; and have received high encomiums from *Possavin*, and the president *De Thou*. Three of the *Decadas* were published during the lifetime of Barros: the *first* in 1552, the *second* in 1553, and the *third* in 1563—the *fourth* did not appear until 1615, when the MS. was purchased of his heirs by Philip the third. The *Decadas* were afterwards continued by *Diego de Couto*, born at Lisbon in 1616; who after many voyages to India, died at Goa in 1616. A complete collection of the *Decadas* is rarely

to

N. B. *Erratum in this section* (p. 87.) owing to the transposition of part of a sentence, the following mistake was made: line 8, "The Moorish fleet of the Miramolin, consisting of twenty-one galleys,"—read, *fifty-four galleys*.

BOOK
I.

to be met with, many of the parts existing only in manuscript. The following list is given by Du Fresnoy (tom. ix. p. 1640.) and de Bure (tom. vi. p. 253).

As Decadas iii. da Asia de Joan de Barros, en que se tratam os Feitos dos Portuguezes no descobrimento e conquista dos mares et terras de Oriente. Em Lisboa, 1552, 1553, and 1563, 3 vol. in fol.

Decada prima, secunda, y tertia da Asia Joao de Barros, in fol. em Lisboa, 1628, 3 vols. This is considered by Du Fresnoy as being a good edition of the three first decades.

Decada quarta da Asia por seguir a Joan de Barros, por Diego do Couto. Em Lisboa, 1602, in fol.

Quarta Decada, reformada et illustrada com notas, per Joao Bapt. Lavanha, in fol. en Madrid 1615.

Decada quinta da Asia, del mesmo do Couto. Em Lisboa, 1612, in fol.

Decada sexta, in fol. ibid. 1614. This Decade is become more rare than the rest, on account of the number of copies that were accidentally lost by fire.

Decada settima, ibid. 1616.

Decada oitava e nona, ibid 1673. These, though printed, are declared by Du Fresnoy to be extremely scarce.

Decada decima, in fol. Lisboa, 1673.

Decada xi. manuscrita, in fol. Cinco libros da Decada dous, em Paris, 1645, in folio.

Decada tredecima da Asia, o Decada prima de Antonio Boccardo, por seguir Joan de Barros, et Diego do Couto. Manuscript, in fol.

A complete edition of this work was printed at Lisbon, 3 vols. folio, in 1636; but according to De Bure was not esteemed by the Portuguese equal to the earlier copies.

A translation of part of the first Decade, is, I believe, all that has hitherto appeared in English. *De Barros* retired to Pompal to compose this great work, and died there in the year 1570.

DAMIANO GOES was chamberlain to King Emmanuel, who employed his diplomatic abilities with success at the courts of Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. Passionately attached to literature, Goes retired to Louvain to enjoy his favourite pursuit. In the attack made on that place by the French in 1542, he placed himself at the head of the students, and was not taken prisoner, until he had displayed prodigies of valour. Goes returned to Portugal to compose his history; but falling from his seat into the fire, through illness or inadvertency, he only escaped from its flames to endure a lingering death in 1596. The following notice of Goes is taken from Oforius (p. 4.). *Ut autem id facilius exequi possem, Damianus Goes praestitit. Is enim magno labore, vigilantia, et industria ea ex quam plurimis epistolis et commentariis eruit, et monumentis suis memoria commendavit quae ego minime potuissim sine summo otio perferuari.* According to Rawlinson, Goes was assisted in his historical labours by the manuscripts of Rodrigo de Piro; whose lives of Alphonso the fifth, and John the second, have never appeared. The Works of DAMIANO GOES consist of, 1. *Legatio magni Indorum Imperatoris (Prester John) ad Emmanuelem Lusitania Regem, Anno 1513.* Louvain 1532, in 8vo. 2. *Fides, Religio, moresque Aethiopum,* in 4to. Paris 1544. 3. *Commentaria rerum gestarum in India a Lusitanis, Anno 1538.* Louvain 1549.

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1549, in 8vo. 4. *Urbis Ulyssiponis descriptio*, Evora 1554, in 4to. 5. *Chronica do felicissimo Rey Dom Emmanuel*, in fol. em Lisboa 1566 and 1567, 2 vols.—*La misma, revisita por J. B. Laranha*, in fol. em Lisboa 1619.

Ch. I. § 2.
Portuguese
Historians.

Chronica do Rey Dom Joao II. in folio.

The elegant OSORIO, bishop of Sylves, styled the *Cicero of Portugal*, has been celebrated in the Essay on History by Mr. Hayley, and was also presented to the notice of the English reader by the translation of Mr. James Gibbs, (2 vols. 8vo. 1752.) dedicated to Sir George Lyttelton, Bart. Osorius was born of an illustrious family at Lisbon, in the year 1506, and having commenced his studies at Salamanca at the age of thirteen, proceeded afterwards to Paris and Bologna. He received his first preferment from Don Lewis Infant of Portugal.—Catherine of Austria, who was regent during the minority of Sebastian, became his subsequent patroness, and he gradually rose to be archdeacon of Evora, and bishop of Sylves and Algarve: his *History of the reign of Emmanuel* was undertaken at the request of the cardinal monarch HENRY, and appeared in 1572 at the same time with the *Lusadas* of Camoens. The treatise of Osorius, *De Gloria*, is composed with such classic elegance, as to have been considered by many, to be a part of the works of Cicero that had long been despaired of. The whole of his works were collected, and published at Rome in 1592, in four volumes folio, by his nephew Jerome Osorius, who also wrote a life of his learned relation. The edition of his historical work, which I have followed, was printed at Lisbon in 1571; an octavo edition appeared in 1574, and another in 1597.—*De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis, libri duodecim*: this was afterwards translated into French by Simon Goulard, under the title of *Histoire de Portugal*, 1581, 1587, in folio and octavo. Osorius died in his diocese at Tavila during the year 1580.

FERDINAND LOPEZ DE CASTANEDA accompanied his father to India, who went thither in an high civil capacity. Ferdinand on his return published, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pe los Portuguezes*, em Coimbra, 1554, 8 vols. folio.

LOUIS ANDRÉ DE RESENDE was born at Evora in 1498, and entered at an early age into the order of Dominicans; he studied at Alcalá, at Salamanca, Paris, and Louvain. John the third of Portugal intrusted the education of his brothers to the diligence of Resende; when having obtained permission from the Pope, the Dominican left his cell for the more splendid station of canon of Evora. Twenty years after his death, which took place in 1573, the following curious volume appeared: *De antiquitatibus Lusitaniae libri IV. a Lucio Andrea Resendio olim inchoati, et a Jacobo Menatio Vasconcello recogniti atque soluti: accessit liber V. de antiquitate municipii Eboracensis, ab eodem Vasconcello conscriptus*. Eboræ 1593, fol. In 1613, the above was followed by *Deliciae Lusitano-Hispanicae*, 8vo.

JOSEPH TEIXEIRA, a Portuguese Dominican, was born in 1543, and became prior of the convent of Santaren. He was firmly attached to the fortunes of Don Antonio, after the melancholy captivity or death of Sebastian, and accompanied the former to France in 1481; where he enjoyed the favour both of Henry the third, and fourth. His work, *De Portugalliae Ortu, regni initium, rebusque a regibus gestis compendium*, was printed at Paris in 4to. 1582, and is extremely scarce. He also published, *Les Aventures de Dom Sebastian*.—Teixeira died in 1604.

GARCIA

BOOK
I.

GARCÍAS RESEND², of whom little is known, composed the following work: *Vida del Rey D. Juan ho segundo de Portugal*, in fol. Evora 1554. Idem Lisboa, in fol. 1596, et Lisboa 1622. The last edition contains all the works of this writer.

BERNARD DE BRITO, a Cistercian monk, is deservedly esteemed among the most eminent of the Portuguese Historians; but it is extremely difficult to meet with a complete set of his laborious work, entitled, *Monarchia Lusitana*, impr. no insigne Mosteiro de Alcobaga, em Lisboa 1597, et ann. seq., 7 vol. in fol. The different volumes were printed in 1597, 1609; the third and fourth in 1632; 1650, 1672, and the seventh in 1683. Brito composed only the two first volumes, entitled, *Monarchia Lusitana, primera parte, desde a criação do mundo, a te o Nascimento de Christo*; the second, *Segunda parte de Monarchia Lusitana, a te Conde Dom Henrique*; the four succeeding were continued by Antonio and Francis Brandamo to the reign of Alphonso the third; and the last employed the abilities of the Jesuit Pere Raphael. The following articles complete the works of this elegant writer:

Elogios dos Reis do Portugal com os verdaderos retratos in 4to. em Lisboa 1603, with the portraits annexed: Brito also published a Treatise on the antient geography of Portugal, and the annals of the Cistercian order.

FRANCISCO DE BRITO published at Lisbon, in two volumes folio, 1675, the following account of the wars of Brasil, which is much esteemed, but scarce, and not generally known—*Nova Lusitania*, Historia da guerra Brasilica; Decada prima desde 1624, hasta 1638; Viagem da Armada da Companhia do commercio e frotas do Estado do Brasil, &c. anno 1655 et 1656.

DUARDI NONII LEONIS, Regum Portugallie Genealogia una cum censuris in Libellum de Regum Portugallie Origine, qui Josephi Texeira nomine circumfertur, in 4to. Olyssip. 1585, and in Hispania Illustr. T. ii.

Eduard Nunes de Leon, as *Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal* has el año de 1383, in fol. em Lisboa 1600.

Descripcao da Reyno de Portugal, por Duarte Nunes de Leao, in 4to. em Lisboa, 1610.

Flores de Espana, excelencias de Portugal, 1 parte: por Ant. de SOUSA DE MACEDO, in fol. em Lisboa 1631.

Dialogos de varia historia, en que summariamente se referem muitas cousas antigas de España e todas as notaveis, que em Portugal acouteceraon em suas gloriosas conquistas antes e depois de ser levantado a dignidade real, com os retratos de todos os Reis de Portugal por PEDRO DE MARIZ, in 8vo. em Coimbra 1594, in 4to. 1597.

CARTA DE DUARTE GOMEZ escrita al Duque de Lerma en 20 de Novemb. 1612, a cerca del comercio y navegaciones en la India Oriental.

Alegacion en favor de la Compania de la India Oriental, y commercio ultra marinos, que de nuevo se instituyo en el reyno de Portugal, por DUARTE GOMEZ SOLIS l'Anno de 1628.

De Justo imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico adversus incogniti Batavi Dissertationem de mari libero, auctore Fr. Seraphino de FREITAR, in 4to. Vallisoleti, 1625.

ANTON. VASCONCELLOS Societ. Jes. ANACEPHALOSIS, id est, *Summa capita aBorum Regum Lusitaniae*, in 4to. Antv. 1621: acceperunt Epigrammata in singulos reges, ab Emmanuele Pimenta, et illorum effigies æri incisæ. Item Philippi II. Lusitania Expeditio.

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EMMANUEL FARIA DE SOUSA, an Historian of very considerable merit, who possessed an eccentricity of character, and affected a singularity of dress, which, if they do not exactly resemble the character of *Jean Jaques*, strikingly remind us of a writer, whose irritability, and independent spirit, opposed continued obstacles to his happiness. Faria published *Epítome de las Hí orias Portuguesas, desde el Diluvio hasta el año 1628*, in 4to. em Lisboa 1674: the last, and best edition is in folio, 1730: this work was translated into English, and published in an octavo volume during the year 1698. He also wrote some commentaries on the *Lusadas* of Camoens; and with considerable industry composed his *Europa Portuguesa*, of which a second enlarged edition, in 3 vols, appeared at Lisbon in 1678, another in 1679, and a fourth in 1680. *Africa Portuguesa, tomo unico*, in fol. em Lisboa, 1681. *Asia Portuguesa*, in fol. 1666. 1674, 1675, 3 volumes. Faria was born in 1590, of a noble family, and was created knight of the order of Christ: he preferred the Castilian to his native language. This historian died at Madrid in 1649, in a situation which bordered on penury.

ANTONIO PAEZ DE VILGAS, *Principios del Reyno de Portugal, con la vida y hechos de Don Alfonso Henriquez su primero rei, hasta la su muerte en el año 1185*, in fol. Lisboa 1641.

RUY DE PINA, *Chronica de el Rey Dom Alfonso IV. depois do Anno de 1325, a te o de 1357*. Fol. Lisboa 1653.

FERNANDO DE MENEZES, *Vida e Accoes del Rey Dom Joao I. depois do Anno de 1383, ate o de 1433*, in 4to. em Lisboa 1677.

Chronica del Rey D. Juan I. e dos Reis de Portugal o decimo; composta por FERNAM LOPEZ, y por GOMEZ EANNES DE AZURARA chronistas desto Reyno, in fol. em Lisboa 1544.

PETRI JOHANNIS PERPINIANI *de vita et moribus B. Elisabethæ (Dionysii conjugis) Lusitanie reginæ*, in 8vo. Colon. 1609. Perpinien died at Paris in 1566, after attaining considerable fame as professor of eloquence at Conimbra, and as one of the first modern writers in the Latin tongue: this biographical tract possesses the elegance and purity of Cicero.

JUAN CARILLO, *la Historia de sancta Isabel, Reyna de Portugal*, in 4to. Zaragoza 1625.

EMEN. CONSTANTINUS, *Historia de origine atque vita Regum Lusitanie*, in 4to. Romæ 1601.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA, *Conquista de Portugal en los Annos 1582, y 1583*, in 4to. Madrid 1591. Herrera was appointed historiographer of India by Philip the second, and died in 1625: his other works do not belong to the class of historians we are at present considering.

LUIS MARINHO DE AZEVEDO, *Primeira parte da Fundacao, Antiquedades, e Grandezas da Cidade de Lisboa, e seus varoes illustres*, in fol. Lisboa 1652.

Memorias diarias de la guerra del Brasil, por discurso de nueve años empeçando desde el de 1630, escritas por Duarte de ALBUQUERQUE Marques de Balto, Conde de Pernambuco, in 4to. em Madrid 1654.

THEODORE GODEFROI, the eldest son of the learned Civilian *Denis Godefroi*, was born at Geneva in 1580, and died at Munster in 1649: among his various writings, the following is particularly interesting to the admirers of Portuguese history: *Généalogies des Rois de Portugal, issus, en ligne directe masculine, de la Maison de France qui regne aujourd'hui*, in 4to. Paris 1612.

Ch. I. § 2.

Portuguese
Historians.

BOOK
I.

JEROM CONESTAGGIO, *Histoire de la Reunion de Portugal a la Couronne de Castile*, traduit de l' Italien en François, Besancon 1596, 8vo.—in 12mo. 2 vols. Paris 1680. *Rawlinson*, in his improved translation of Du Fresnoy's catalogue, gives the following opinion of this work: "The Italians who published this book first at Genoa, in 1585, 4to. had no reason to give the honour of it to Conestaggio; as it is well known, that *John de Sylva*, who was ambassador from the king of Spain to Emmanuel king of Portugal, in Africa, was the real author. It was translated into Latin at Frankfort, in 1602, and is to be found in the second volume of the *Hispania Illustrata*."

Varas Antiquidades de Portugal, por Gaspar Estação. Em Lisboa 1625, fol.

FREIRA, in 1758, published at Lisbon a life of *Henry Duke of Viseu*, which has since been translated by the *Abbe Cournaud*, in 2 vols. 12mo, printed at Lisbon in 1781.

JACQUES LE QUIEN DE LA NEUVILLE, was born at Paris in 1647. Scarron, his relation, endeavoured to inspire him with a love for poetry, but he preferred the counsel and taste of Pellisson, who rather advised him to apply to history. He published *Histoire generale du Royaume de Portugal* (2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1696—1700), brought down to the death of *Emmanuel* in 1521. This work was rigidly criticised by *Le Clede*; but is styled by Du Fresnoy, *Histoire bien faite, et bien écrite*. Quien accompanied the ambassador *L' Abbe de Mornay* to Portugal, where he obtained a pension of 1500 livres, and was appointed Chevalier of the order of Christ: thus patronised, he attempted to complete his history; but his zealous mind, and too great application, brought on an illness, of which he died at Lisbon in 1728, at the age of eighty-one years.

M. DE LA CLEDE, secretary to the Marechal de Coigni, published his *Histoire generale de Portugal*, at Paris, 2 vols. 4to, in 1735.

JEAN PIERRE MAFFEI, born at *Bergamo* about the year 1536, the favourite of Philip the second of Spain, and of Pope Gregory the thirteenth, in his *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI.* of which a good edition was printed at *Bergamo* in 1747, 2 vols. 4to, throws considerable light on the history of *Portuguese Asia*. This learned Jesuit, employed ten years in composing the above work; he also translated the valuable *Lettres écrites des Indes par les Missionnaires*, which illustrate the Portuguese commerce and discoveries. Maffei died at Tivoli in 1603.—*Pierre Nonnius*, or *Nunnez*, a Portuguese mathematician, native of Alençardor-sal, was tutor to Prince Henry, the son of King Emmanuel; and published at Coimbra, in 1573, his treatise *De Arte Navigandi*, which proved of essential service to their commerce with the East Indies.—The history of Portuguese Asia is considered in an able manner by the writers of the *Modern Universal History* (vol. xii.); and their labours have received the approbation of the learned illustrator of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (p. 225). This, as well as other parts of the *Universal History*, is corrected in respect to dates and references, and in many respects greatly enlarged, in the excellent *French translation*, published by *Arkesée* and *Merkus*, in quarto, at Amsterdam and Leipzig.—Portuguese Asia is considered, in a concise and introductory manner, in the *New History of the East Indies, Ancient and Modern* (2 vols. 8vo, 1757), partly translated from the *Histoire des Indes* by the *Abbe Claude Marie Guyon*, who died at Paris in 1771. *Dr. Vincent* considers the subject of the Portuguese discoveries, in the work already cited (p. 190.). *Dr. Robertson*, in the first book of his *History of America*, and in his

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valuable *Historical Disquisition concerning India*, displays rather an ability, than inclination, to give the subject of Portuguese Asia, or their discoveries, the full scope of his genius. In some respects I have ventured to differ from this historian, who appears to have kept Vasco de Gama too much in the back ground, in order to obtain a more general suffrage for the merit of the voyage made by Columbus.—The *Histoire des découvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde*, 2 vols. 4to, 1733, and 4 vols. 12mo, 1734, by Joseph François Lafiteau, is known and has been approved: this writer, who was a Jesuit, died in 1740. The *Abbe Raynall* has allotted the greater part of his first volume to the Portuguese discoveries: some of the best informed of his countrymen prefer, in many respects, the first edition, in 5 vols. of his *Histoire Philosophique des deux Indes*, to the last, in eight; which certainly abounds in conjecture and declamation. The whole of his ingenious history has been corrected, and condensed, by a Spanish writer, whose name has escaped my memory.

Agiologio Lusitano dos santos e varoens illustres em virtude do reyno de Portugal e suas conquistas; pelo licenciado *George Cardezo*, in fol. em Lisboa 1652, &c. 3 vols. *The original intention of this writer was to have concluded the whole in six volumes.*

Paralelos de principes e varoens illustres antigos a que muitos da nãçãos Portuguesa se assme Chiarao em suas obras, ditos e feitos; coma origen das armas de algumas familias deste reyno, por *Franc. Soares Toscano*, natural de Evora, in 4to, Evora 1623.

Vida y hecos del gran Condestable de Portugal, D. Nuno Alvarez Pereyra Conde de Barcelona, Mayor domo Mayor del Rey D. Juan el: 1. con los arboles y decendencias de los emperadores, reyes, principes, &c. que del se derivan, por *Rod. Menda Silva*, in 8vo. em Madrid 1640.

TRAPHES LUSITANOS; sive stemmata et insignia magnatum Lusitanorum, por *Ant. Soares Albergaria*, parte i. em Lisboa 1632, in 4to.

Vida D. Duarte de Meneses terceiro Conde de Viana, y successos notablès de Portugal en su tiempo: (desde el ano de 1414, hasta el de 1464) por D. AUGUSTIN MANUEL y VASCONCELLOS, in 4to, em Lisboa 1627.

Vida del Grande D. Luis de Attayde iii. Conde de Attoguià y Virrey de las Indias, por Joseph. PEREYRA DE MACEDO, in 4to. em Madrid 1633.

D. JOS. MARTINEZ DE LA PUENTE, Compendio de las historias, de los Descubrimientos, Conquistas, y Guerras de la India Oriental, y sus Islas, desde los Tiempos del Infante Don Enrique de Portugal su inventor, 4to, Madrid 1681.

Antonio Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana* das ilhas a Portugas sugeytas no Oceano Occidental. fol. Libs. 1717.

Commentarios de grande Alonso d'Albuquerque capitam geral das Indias Orientales en tempo do Rey D. Manuel, in fol. em Lisboa 1576. *This work was composed by Blaise, son of the great Albuquerque; at the request of King Emmanuel, he took the surname of Alonso, after the death of his father.*

Franc. Alcafarado's historical relation of the discovery of the island of Madeira, 4to, London 1675.

B O O K
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Commentarios de grande capitam Ruy Freyre de Andrada, em quẽ se relatam suas proezas do Anno 1619, em que partio desde reyno por Geral do Mar de Ormuz et costa de Persia et Arabia, ate sua morte, por Paulo CAESARIUS, in 4to. em Lisboa 1647.

Vida de Dom Jono de Castro iv. Viso-Rey da India, por Jacinto Freyre de ANDRADA, in fol. em Lisboa 1651.

JOS. DE SERRA DA SYLVA, Recueil Chronologique et analytique de tout ce qu'a fait en Portugal la Societẽ dite de Jesus; depuis son entrẽe dans ce Royaume em 1540, jusqu' a' son expulsion 1759, 12mo, 3 vols. Libs. 1769.

Itinerarium Portugallensium ẽ Lusitania in Indiam, et in de in occidentem, et demum ad Aquilonem: ab Archangelo MADRIGNANO Mediolanensi, Monacho Cisterciensi, ex Lusitano Lat. translatus, in fol. in Pergamo 1508.

Vera historia admirandẽ ejusdam navigationis Hulderici SCHMIDEL, Strawbingensis, in Americam, vel novum orbem juxta Brasiliam et Rio della Plata, ab anno 1534, ad ann. 1554. Latine reddita cum figuris, in 4. Noribergẽ 1599.

Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite l'Amerique, contenant la navigation et choses remarquables vûes par l'auteur J. de LERY, avec un colloque en leur langue, imprimẽe par Ant. Chuppin in 8, en 1575, et 1580. *This voyage contains much original information.*

O Valeroso Lucideno e triumpho de liberdade, prima parte, de trata se da restauraçam de Pernambuco et da expulsão dos Olandeses do Estado do Brasil: pello P. Fr. Manoel CALADO, in fol. em Lisboa 1668. *This work is sought after by the curious.*

Istoria della guerre del regno del Brasile accadute trà la corona di Portogallo e la Republica di Olanda con le carte e piante del P. Gio. Gioseppe di S. TERESA Carmelita Scalzo, parte prima e seconda, in fol. in Rom. 1700. *This work bears an high character.*

An account of Portugal, as it appeared to Dumouriez in 1766, drawn up by order of the Duke de Choiseul, was published at Laufanne in the year 1775; with various additional remarks on the Government, Politics, Finance, Commerce, Manners, Colonies, &c. This was translated into English in 1797, and though a small volume in 12mo. affords considerable information.

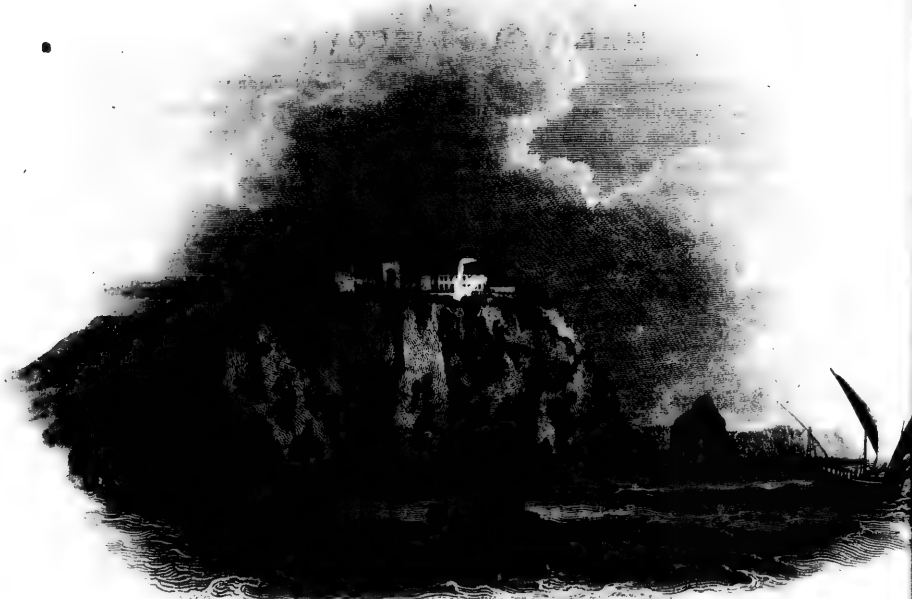
Mr. Charles Brockwell, who resided in Portugal upwards of four years, published in 1726 his *Natural and Political History of Portugal*, in one octavo volume, from its first establishment as a kingdom, down to his time: to which was added, the history of Brazil, and all other dominions subject to the crown of Portugal, in Asia, Africa, and America. The late Wyndam Beawes, Esq. his Majesty's consul for thirty years at Cadiz and Seville, published in 1793, 2 vols. folio, on the Civil, Commercial, and Literary History of Spain and Portugal. Mr. Beawes considers (vol. 2. p. 24 and 29.) the institution of the *Almirante*, or first admiral of Portugal; and the creation of the *Capitao Mór do Reyno*, or *Capitao Mór do Mar*. He does not think that Don Fuas Raupino, was the officer who first enjoyed the honour of *Almirante*; but is inclined to believe the title arose in a subsequent reign. The prerogatives of this office are to be seen in *Noticias de Portugal*, by M. Severim de Faria, and also in the *Sexta Parte da Monarchia Lusitania*, do *Chronista mór* Fr. Francisco Brandao. The first Capitao mór, as well of the kingdom

as the sea, was *Gonçalo Tenreiro*: on the 25th of July 1373, king Ferdinand gave him *Alfer*, Ch. I. § 2. with its borders, and other lands; and on the 25th of December 1378, he was presented with some houses at Lisbon, in the parish of St. Thomas: in both the letters patent of these grants, he is called *Capitão mór* of the fleets. During the same reign *João Fozim*, a Castilian gentleman, in the service of Ferdinand, was appointed *captain of the fleet*; without the title of *chief captain*. In process of time, the kings trusted their maritime forces to the chief captains, and did not permit the admiral to exercise his authority, though he preserved the title of his rank.

I shall conclude this summary of the principal Portuguese historians, with the following particulars relative to the editions of the Lusitanian Homer, *Os Lusíadas do Grande Luis de Camoens*, which the politeness of a literary character has done me the honour of sending from Lisbon.

"The separate editions of the *Lusíadas* bear date 1572. 1597. 1607. 1623. 1651. 1669. 1670. *With commentaries*, 1613. 1639. 1720. 1731. 1732.—*The collected works of Camoens*, 1759. 1779. 1782. 1783." To the above separate editions may be added the date of that which was in the library of the late *Dr. J. Warton*, (a *Lisbon* 1749). This edition I have employed in the present volume.





CHAPTER II.

I. *Renewal of Maritime Discovery by the Portuguese, during the reigns of John the First, Edward, and Alphonso the Fifth. The spirit of the Crusades, extended to Africa, calls the attention of the Portuguese from their own coasts. Henry Duke of Viseu. II. Continuation of Maritime Discovery by John the Second.—Bartholomew Diaz completes its progress beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Observations on the Atlantic, and the Navigation to India.*

SECTION I.

The first, nor meanest of our Kings who bore
The Lusian thunders to the frigid shore.
O'er the wild waves the Victors Banner flow'd,
Their silver wings a thousand eagles shew'd.
And proudly swelling to the whistling gale,
The Seas were whiten'd with a thousand sails.

Lusadas, Mickle, v. 2. p. 23.

View of the political conduct of John, the Son of Pedro, during the regency. Obtains the crown. Battle of Aljubarota decides the contest in his favour. Marries Philippa, daughter

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ter of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster.—*African Crusades*; by St. Louis, the ninth of France; by John the First, King of Portugal.—*Ceuta*. Character of the Portuguese Princes.—*Voyages*, under the auspices of Henry Duke of Viseo, to the western coast of Africa 1412. Establishes his residence at Sagres, and becomes the patron of naval men.—*Porto Santo*. Consideration of the principal geographical MSS. to which this Prince might have had resort.—*Romantic narrative of Machin*.—*Madeira*.—*Cape Bjadore* doubled 1433.—*Ceñon of the Canaries*.—*Lagos Company*.—*Juan Fernandez*.—*Cape de Verd* doubled 1446.—*Azores*. *Alvise da Cada Mosto*. *Cape Verd* islands.—*Coast of Africa* explored to *Sierra Leona*.—*Death of the Duke of Viseo*, in 1463. Character.

Ch. II. c. 1.

JOHN THE FIRST, born at Lisbon the second of April 1357, was John the first. the natural son of *Pedro the first*, by Donna Teresa Lourença, a Galician lady of good family, with whom he had lived, in order to avoid the constant importunity of his father, who vainly hoped that a third marriage would soothe the wounded mind of the husband of *Inez de Castro*. John was brought up under the immediate care of Lourenço da Leiria, a citizen of Lisbon; who at an early age intrusted his education to *Don Nuno Freire d'Andrade*, then grand-master of the order of Christ: the amiable character, and spirit of his pupil soon gained the affection of the worthy Andrade. Pedro had never yet beheld this son; and it was probably with some hope of removing the melancholy of his sovereign, that the grand-master presented John, on his seventh birth-day, to the king. The heart of Pedro was formed by nature for the liveliest emotions of affection, and he beheld the diffidence of the youth with the solicitude of a parent. John was legitimated; and having received the honour of knighthood, at the request of Andrade was created grand-master of the order of *Avis*: he immediately retired from the court to the abbey of Tomar, where the principal lodge of the order

* Instituted by *Alphonso the first*, in remembrance of the great services rendered him by his nobility, at the siege of Lisbon: though some writers give it an earlier date, in 1139, after the battle that was fought on the plains of *Ourique*. The statutes of this Order were taken from the rule of St. Bennet. The habit of the knights was a green cross, with flowers-de-luce.

BOOK
I.

der was established; his education was there completed, and as he advanced in years, he soon displayed extraordinary abilities, both as a statesman, and a soldier.

On the death of the degenerate FERDINAND (October 22, 1383), the voice of the nation called for the eldest surviving son of Donna Inez de Castro; but this prince being thrown into prison by the king of Castile, who wished to substantiate his own claim, by means of Donna Beatrix the young queen, daughter of the late monarch; the way to the throne was laid open to the ambition of the grand-master of Avis; and his appointment to the regency, in his twenty-seventh year, tended to awaken or extend his hopes.

The venerable Count de Barcelos, and Alvaro Paez, promoted the interest of the grand-master. PAEZ was an experienced politician; and his favourite maxim, *Be haughty towards your enemies, and humble to your friends*, was deeply impressed on the mind of John. The regent, in his conduct towards the people, had the example of Cæsar continually before him; when he spoke of the liberties of Portugal, his style and ideas were Roman. His standards displayed the son of Inez, in the *Castilian* dungeon, laden with irons; and the similarity of their names rendered the cause of JOHN familiar to the people: the nature of this work does not admit of dwelling longer on so eventful a period. In 1385, the states of Portugal assembled at *Coimbra*, with the archbishop of Braga as their president: many of the nobility, with the bishops of Lisbon, Lamego, Porto, Coimbra, and Guarda, and the greater part of the deputies of the cities, were present. Regras, who had been appointed chancellor by the regent, opened the conference with a studied speech; Vasco da Cunha^b, and his two brothers, alone preserved their allegiance to the son of INEZ. The sophistry of the constable,

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^b The loyalty of this nobleman to the son of Inez, was beheld by the liberality of a great mind: VASCO was afterwards made *standard bearer* to John the first.

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Don Nuno Alvarez de Pereira, and the * Ulyssæan eloquence of the regent prevailed, who was accordingly elected king of Portugal in his twenty-eighth year. The battle of Aljubarota, on the fourteenth of August 1385, confirmed the suffrage of the states; and the power of *John the first* was established by this complete overthrow of his enemies.

Ch. II. § 1.

John the first.

John of Gaunt, *Duke of Lancaster*, son to *Edward the third*, having married Donna Constantia, the eldest surviving daughter of Pedro the cruel, king of *Castile*, assumed the title on the death of that monarch; and became, as already related, an ally of the Portuguese. The mutual interchange of friendship, which had long subsisted between their respective kingdoms, was greatly improved by this event; and the subsequent marriage of John the first of Portugal with Philippa, the eldest daughter of the duke, about a year after the battle of Aljubarota, more effectually blended the political interests and character of both nations. In the progress of maritime discovery, this circumstance particularly deserves the attention of the reader: by the illustrious son of an English mother, PHILIPPA queen of Portugal, the enterprising spirit of LUSITANIA was directed from the crusades in Africa, to the development of its western coast. The commercial genius of *England* became thus ^d united with the national heroism of *Portugal*; and the same country,

* The classical reader may derive pleasure from comparing the speech made on this occasion by the regent, (given by Jos. Texeira, Nunnez, Vasconcellos; Le Quien, tom. i. p. 311.) with that of Ulysses over the arms of Achilles (Ovid. Metam. lib. xiii. l. 123.)

"Laërtius heros

Additit: atque oculos paulum tellure moratos

Sustulit ad proceres: expectatoque resolvit

Ora fono"—

The resemblance is very striking; they are both interesting specimens of oratory and character.

^d This idea did not escape the quaint and interesting PURCHAS, (Vol. i. p. 5. Book II.)

"Thus both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the English; as also in the example

BOOK
I.

country, whose discoveries and navigators occupy so brilliant a space in the history of the eighteenth century, may thus be considered as promoting the glory of the maritime discoveries, by which the fifteenth was enlightened.

The devout spirit of the crusades, which had already proved of essential service in cherishing the commercial character, now drew the attention of the Portuguese to the continent and coasts of Africa. Louis the ninth, king of France, generally styled *St. Louis*, the founder of an order of naval merit, conducted the sixth and seventh crusades. From some political reason, which probably has not yet been fairly stated, he directed his attention in the last expedition to the kingdom of Tunis; and during the summer of the year 1270, landed six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, on the Moorish territory. The heat of the climate was insupportable; and the death of their monarch soon became the signal of retreat to his troops. After the reign of this illustrious Crusader, the extirpating spirit of Mohammedism continued to extend its baneful influence; from the Euphrates, throughout the northern coast of Africa, it established a threatening hierarchy, and the various kingdoms, both on the continent of Europe, and in the western islands of the Medi-

terranean,

example of some Englishmen, and namely one *Macham*, which had been by tempest driven on shore in Madera: but in nothing more, than that *English lady* before mentioned, whose third sonne *Don Henry* was the true foundation of the greatness, not of Portugal alone, but of the whole Christian world, in marine affairs, and especially of these heroic endeavours of the English (whose flesh and blood hee was), which this ensuing historie shall present unto you.

* Gibbon assigns, the wild hope of baptizing the king of Tunis; and refers his readers (vol. xi. p. 163) to the annals of *St. Louis* by *William de Nangis*, (p. 270—287.) and the Arabic Extracts (p. 545—555.) of the Louvic edition of *Jainville*. Such a motive was inconsistent with the wisdom and experience of the French monarch. But this historian seems to have indulged in a prejudiced ridicule of the crusades; which misrepresents the noblest exploits of the military character, in a barbarous and enthusiastic age. The same prejudice, with a keener sarcasm, abound in Voltaire. "The crusades, *des Brigands ligués pour venir*, &c. were a band of vagabond thieves."—Is this writing history with candour and truth; or are those persons who clamour the loudest for the latter, the most likely to pervert it?

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The situation on the African coast continued during the devout princes had from their coast called dangers, which of their children her children's uncertainty her ambition mind; the every one,

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VOL. I.

terranean, where the crescent was displayed, seemed to chide the warriors of christendom for neglecting the cause of chivalry, and the political interests of their respective countries.

Ch. II. § 1.

John the first.

The situation of Portugal was particularly favourable for a descent on the African coast; and the extirpation of Mohammedism continued during the reign of John the first and his successors, to form the devout principle of their heroic exploits. The Portuguese princes had long been ambitious to receive the sword of chivalry from their renowned father, when a general Crusade to the Moorish coast called them from the enjoyments of peace, to those military honours, which their merit and valour had eminently deserved. But the dangers of an expedition against the Infidels, shook the tender health of their affectionate mother PHILIPPA; who beheld the lives of her children, with that of their father, exposed at once to the relentless scymitars of the Moors. Unable to support the dreadful uncertainty of this eventful voyage, or to shake the resolution of her ambitious offspring, she sunk amidst the painful conflict of her mind; the death of so beloved a queen awakened the regret of every one, and cast a portentous gloom on the African crusades.

From the bay of Lagos the embarkation of the Portuguese fleet was beheld with various emotions: it recalled to memory the trophies, and African exploits of Belisarius'. Thirty-three large ships of war, or carracks, fifty-nine galleys, and one hundred and twenty trans-

' During this expedition in the year 534, (*Gibbon*, vol. vii. p. 164.) a memorable instance of the villainy of a contractor for the fleet of Belisarius, is recorded by this historian. "According to military practice, the bread, or biscuit of the Romans was twice prepared in the oven, and a diminution of one fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this miserable profit, and to save the expence of wood, the præfect *John of Cappadocia* had given orders that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the baths of Constantinople; and when the sacks were opened, a soft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army.—Belisarius boldly expressed his just and humane indignation: the emperor heard his complaint; the general was praised; but the minister was not punished." (P. 169.)

BOOK
I.

transports, opposed the valour of fifty thousand mariners and soldiers to the usurpation of the Moors. The spectacle was interesting and solemn. Although the maritime historian, in the present day, considers this embarkation with delight, as the first advance towards a knowledge of the coast of Africa, the Portuguese, who beheld their sovereign, and the hopes of his illustrious house, exposed at once to the perils of the ocean, must have dreaded the fatal malignity of the burning sands, and feverish atmosphere of that continent; they therefore viewed the fading vessels in the distant horizon, with different sensations, and the shores of Lagos displayed a melancholy groupe, when the sails of a beloved monarch were lost in the surrounding haze.

The lofty towers and walls of *Ceuta*, the antient * *Septem*, which had been in part constructed and fortified by Justinian, formed at that time the strongest Moorish garrison in Africa. The rebellious subjects both of Spain and Portugal had long resorted thither in security, and defied the justice of their country. On the fourteenth of August the promontory of Ceuta was seen by the headmost ships^b; and by the twenty-first, the troops were landed under the conduct of the Princes *Don Henry* and *Pedro*. Every thing that the vigilance, or precaution of the Moorish governor, *Sala Bensala*, could devise, had been long prepared: but neither the fortifications of the town or castle were able to oppose so formidable an enemy. *Bensala* retired under cover of the night; and the crusaders at daybreak proceeded to secure their^c conquest. *Don Pedro de Meneses*, Count

of

* From the seven mountains in *Mauretania Tingitana*.

^b Hakluyt (vol. ii. part the second, p. 1.) inserts an extract from the Latin Chronicle of Walsingham (Anno 1415), "concerning the ayde and assistance of the English merchants, given to King John the first of Portugall for the winning of *Ceuta* in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoveries. This yere John the first, King of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English marchants, and Almains, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the King of Barbary, putting many thousand of them to the sword; and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called *Ceuta* in their language.

^c Ceuta had been previously taken in 1231 by the Genoese. (See page 10.)

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of Alcontin, remained to defend the place; whilst the army returned with their king to Portugal. At *Tavira*, the capital of Algarve, the troops were reviewed, and distinguished according to their merit by the favour of a liberal monarch: but the scene became particularly interesting, when the military spirit of the father was gratified in proclaiming the rewards due to the valour of his sons. *Don Pedro* was created Duke of *Coimbra*, and *Don Henry* received the title and dukedom of *Viseo*. The attempts of the Moors to regain Ceuta soon obliged these princes to return to Africa, when they again baffled the intrepid spirit of their enemies. John, after hearing the various opinions of his council, resolved to secure the possession of this port, and accordingly augmented the garrison of Ceuta to six hundred foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; the whole of which was placed under the command of the *Duke of Viseo*. The military talents and genius of this prince were so visible in the reduction of Ceuta, that the conquest may be ascribed, without flattery, to his exertions and example. His continuance in Africa^{*} tended to mature the glorious projects he had conceived; the situation was particularly adapted to encourage his favourite ideas of maritime discovery; whilst an occasional converse with such Moors, as could be gained to his interest, furnished a continual fund of information relative to the coasts and seas of Africa. Besides the knowledge he might derive from the early travels of Europeans to the east, already noticed,

Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

* A view of its Northern Coast, and savage inhabitants, during the present day, will not perhaps justify this opinion; but if we reflect on the distance of nearly four centuries, Duke Henry might have discovered some rays of science, which even the desolation of the maritime colonies of Hippo Regius (*Bona*) of Cirta, and of Carthage, did not extinguish. "The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean." (*Gibbon*, vol. vi. p. 20.) *Adam Smith* is of opinion, that the object which the Portuguese prince had particularly in view, was to find out by sea a way to the countries, from which the Moors brought ivory and gold dust across the Desert. (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 347.)

BOOK
I.

noticed, he there obtained an account of the Arabs who border on the Desert, and also heard of the kingdom of *Jalof*, which adjoined *Guinea*. From this event we may therefore date the commencement of maritime discovery by the Portuguese; and the historian will remark, that the developement of the southern extremity of Africa, may be traced from the day, when the flag of Portugal was planted by its illustrious prince on the northern promontory of Ceuta.

JOHN the first, of Portugal, was eminently happy in the abilities and amiable disposition of children, who supported and adorned his throne: the spirit which animated their valour, never encroached on either the honour, or the affection, that was due unto a parent. The liberal education enjoyed by their father, rendered him anxious, that his sons should not alone depend on their rank for respect; and they repaid this solicitude by a generous emulation of his fame. EDWARD, Prince of Portugal, was deeply versed in the laws and constitution of his country, under the immediate eye of his parent; the history of the different kingdoms of Europe, taught him at an early age the difficult, though glorious duty of governing a free people. JOHN distinguished himself both in the camp and cabinet, and united in an uncommon degree the talents of the military character, with the keeness or versatility of the statesman. The fatal expedition to Tangier, which ended in the perpetual captivity of his noble brother FERDINAND, never received his suffrage, but from the first was opposed by every argument he could devise. PEDRO, Duke of Coimbra, was endowed by nature with a quick, yet solid understanding; in whatever light his character is beheld, its brilliancy attracts and gratifies the beholder. His eloquence, the voyages which he had made, and his travels both in Asia and Africa, induced the historian Castera, with others, to style him the *Ulysses* of his age. Pedro was admired in all the courts of Europe; and, under the

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the standards of the Emperor *Sigismund*, the sword of Don Pedro Ch. II. § 1.
had been seen and dreaded in Germany by the Turks. When John the first.
called to the helm as regent, he gave the whole of his charts and
geographical manuscripts to the DUKE OF VISEO; who to 'kin-
dred genius and talents, united the most determined and patient
resolution. The religion of this prince, who was grand master of
the order of Christ, blessed and elevated his designs; the propagation
of the Gospel was the sublime object of all his enterprizes: the
words that were emblazoned on the shield of this illustrious ^m knight,

TALENT

¹ The character of the two brothers, PEDRO and HENRY, called forth the powers of Camoens, in his delightful episode of the *Historic Flags, or Ensigns*. (Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. ii. page 270.)

" Illustrious, lo! two brother-heroes shine,
Their birth, their deeds, adorn the royal line;
To every king of princely Europe known,
In every Court the gallant PEDRO shone;
The glorious HENRY! kindling at his name,
Behold, my sailors' eyes all sparkle flame!
Henry the chief, who first by heaven inspired,
To deeds unknown before, the Sailor fired;
The conscious Sailor left the sight of shore,
And dared new Oceans, never ploughed before:
The various wealth of every distant land
He bade his Fleets explore, his Fleets command;
The Ocean's great discoverer he shines!
Nor less his honours in the martial lines:
The Painted Flag the cloud-wrapt siege displays,
There Ceuta's rocking wall its trust betrays.
Black yawns the breach; the point of many a spear
Gleams through the smoke; loud shouts astound the ear:
Whose step first trod the dreadful pass? whose sword
Hew'd its dark way, first with the foe begored?
'Twas thine, O glorious HENRY! first to dare
The dreadful pass, and thine to close the war.
Taught by his might, and humbled in her gore,
The boastful pride of Afric tower'd no more.

■ Prince Henry, who was the *fifth* son of John the first (many writers have been led to imagine he was the fourth), was created knight of the garter by Henry the sixth of England.
Probably

BOOK
1.

TALENT DE BIEN FAIRE, prove that he had imbibed the generous virtues of christianity.

1412,
First Voyage.

Three years before the reduction of Ceuta, the Duke of Viseo had sent, in 1412, a vessel to explore the coast of Africa, which was the first voyage of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese. This attempt, rude as it now appears, was then pregnant with a series of alarm, particularly adapted to depress the resolution of seamen, who are always well versed in legendary horrors. Africa, from time immemorial, has been the land of wonder or fairy illusion; and though the industry of the eighteenth century may have removed many of the plausible theories that darkened the beginning of the fifteenth, we still have gained little more than a knowledge of its coasts. The philosophic ideas of "Cicero, who collected whatever had been approved by the antients, were now become the errors of the vulgar; the arguments that convinced the reason of "Pliny, may be allowed to have possessed some weight on the minds of Portuguese seamen: they believed, therefore, that the middle regions of the earth, in the torrid zone, teemed with scorching vapours; and that the unexplored southern continent of Africa, after extending in breadth towards the west, diverged with an unbroken sweep to the east; and having joined the continent of Asia to the eastward of the Golden Chersonese, the peninsula of Malacca, was not surrounded by sea, but stretched in breadth to the ' south Pole.

This

Probably he received this pledge of regard about the year 1443, the twenty-first of Henry the sixth; as an order bearing that date was issued to carry the insignia of the order to *Lynfranc de Henryche*, uncle of the King of Portugal; which probably was intended for *L'Infant Don Henri*. See Antis' order of the garter (vol. i. p. 180.) for a life of the Duke of Viseo in his history of the thirteenth stall on the prince's side.

" *Somnium Scipionis*, ch. vi.

" *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. ch. lxxviii.*

" This error, as already mentioned (page 65.) originated with Ptolemy (*Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.*) See also Dr. Vincent's valuable *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (Part the first, page 180)*; and his map of the world (Appendix, page 83), taken from an Arabian manuscript of AL ENKIS, who

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This first voyage of the Portuguese was annually followed by others; as the duke sent every year some ships to the coast of Africa, they gradually advanced beyond *Cape Nam*, which extending itself from the foot of Mount Atlas, had hitherto been the impassable limit of European navigation, and accordingly received its name from a negative term in Portuguese. But the mariners, who sailed with every instruction and encouragement their prince could furnish were arrested in their course by the sight of a tremendous cape; which, at the distance of sixty leagues from the former, stretched boldly out towards the west, and formed the coast, they had hitherto passed from Cape Nam, into an extensive bay. With considerable alarm and disappointment, they beheld a frightful sea raging on the shoals, which agitate its waves for six leagues: the terrors of the torrid zone were not forgot; their imagination presented its fiery flames and scorching vapours, and suggested that they might already have advanced too far. On their return, the dangers of the newly discovered Cape were not diminished by narration; and the Spanish term of *Bojar* was given to the barren and dreary promontory of ¹ Bojadore.

Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

The

who lived in the twelfth century, and appears to have followed the ideas of Ptolemy relative to the southern regions of Africa. Ptolemy's *Geography*, in seven books, was one of the first Greek manuscripts which the Arabians translated, and probably about the year 827, when their *Almagestum*, or *Magna Constructio of Ptolemy*, appeared. The Greek text of the *geography* was printed at Basil 1533; and a Latin version with notes, by Gerard Mercator, was published at Amsterdam, in the year 1605. Through means of the Arabian translation, his errors, relative to Africa, were circulated and believed by the Moors of Barbary, from whom they were conveyed to Portugal.

¹ It is imagined that this was the *Cape Canerea* of Ptolemy. The word *Bojar* appears in the Spanish dictionary by Barette (*verb active*), to go about; and *Boja*, compassing, going about: but no such term is to be found in the *Diccionario de la lengua Castellana, por la real Acad. Espanola, reducido a un tomo.* Madrid 1783. Veyra, in his Portuguese dictionary, also mentions *Bojar, verb active*, to stretch out.—Dr. Johnson, in his Introduction to the World Displayed, a collection of voyages and travels, published in four small volumes by Newberry, gives its etymology with his usual facility and clearness. *Bojador*, so called, from its progression into the ocean, and the circuit by which it must be doubled.

BOOK
I.

The systems which the narrow faculties of men frame in every age, and substitute for the sublime truths of nature, would here probably have repressed, at least for many years, the daring exploits of navigation, if the unprejudiced and clear mind of the Portuguese prince, had not dared to question the validity of the antient sages, the most enlightened philosophers, and the most accurate geographers, which Greece or Rome had produced. With a judgment matured by the converse of various scientific men, whom his patronage had attracted in Africa; and with a mind enlarged by the perusal of every work, which illustrated the discoveries he had in view, the conqueror of Ceuta returned to Portugal. The high land of *Cape St. Vincent*, as he approached the coast, displayed the extensive command of an ocean hitherto unexplored; and probably a view of its cliffs, at a time when his mind glowed with future projects of discovery, might suggest the first idea of constructing his romantic town of *Sagres*, on the *promontorium sacrum* of the Romans. Here, as *Faria* says, the view of the Ocean inspired his hopes and endeavours: removed from the hurry of a court, from the fatigue or indolence of a military life, the prince indulged that genius for mathematics and navigation, which he had hitherto been obliged to neglect. At *Sagres*, his arsenals and dock-yards were constructed; whilst the industry or skill of the ship-wrights were improved, by the presence of their royal master. Under such auspices, the Mariner's Compass was brought into general use; a knowledge of the longitude and latitude, and the means by which they could be ascertained by astronomical observation, increased the skill of his seamen. The sea^{*} Astrolabe, which derives its name from the armillary sphere, invented by Hipparchus at Alexandria, was improved, and introduced into the Portuguese service. Skilful mariners from all countries found encouragement to settle at *Sagres*. A public school and obser-

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* See Appendix (H).

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observatory was opened by the prince, in which an inhabitant of Majorca presided, of the name of *James*, whose experience in navigation, and the construction of ' charts, had reached the ears of this promoter of science. Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

Thus improved and encouraged, the Portuguese, by the order of their prince, undertook another voyage of discovery about the year 1418. Every thing relative to it had been daily inspected by the Duke; and with little exertion of the imagination, a scene of considerable maritime interest is formed on the shore of Sagres. Two naval officers of his household volunteered their lives, in an attempt to surmount the perils of *Bojadore*; the mariners of Great Britain may smile at such apprehensions, but after the lapse of succeeding centuries, many exploits of the present age will probably shew, that science was even yet, and perhaps ever will be, in a progressive state. *Juan ' Gonzales Zarco*, and *Tristan Vaz Texeira*, having received the thanks and grateful wishes of their patron, went on board a vessel that was called a "*barcha*, and steered for the tremendous Cape. Puerto Santo.
1418.

The

' *Monn. D'Après*, when speaking of the early Charts that were composed under the auspices of the Duke of Viseo, thus describes the mode which was then adopted. " Ces premieres Cartes Marines sont celles qu'on a nommées depuis *cartes plates*, pour les distinguer des *reduites*; à cause que dans leur construction on n'avoit aucun égard à la convexité du globe terrestre, et que la portion, qu'elles comprennent, étoit supposée à une surface plate. De plus, les méridiens y sont représentés par des lignes droites parallèles entr'elles." (Preface, *Neptune Oriental*, p. 5.)

' *Juan Gonzales Zarco* was the first knight created by John the first, in consequence of the capture of Ceuta. He served in all the expeditions against Africa, during the life of John and his son; and is recorded to have introduced the use of artillery in ships.

" The *Bark*, and *Barcha longa*, are vessels but seldom employed, since the late improvements in ship-building. The *first* may be described as a sort of brig with topsails, having its courses and topsails set on the same Pole, without sliding masts, which is at present in use on board those vessels known by the names of *Tartans*, and *Settees*; the *second*, or *Barcha longa*, was a smaller kind of galley, with one mast, and oars.

BOOK
I.

The Portuguese had yet to learn the particular winds that were to be expected on the coast of Africa, with the causes by which their influence is varied or increased. Between the latitudes of 28° and 10° north, seamen constantly meet with a fresh gale near the land blowing from the north-east. The currents also that prevail, and set towards the continent, the long banks of sand which extend a great way to sea, and are extremely difficult to be distinguished in the morning and evening, were powerful obstacles to the enterprising spirit of these navigators. About six leagues off Cape Bojadore, a most violent current dashes upon the breakers, and formed a dreadful object to the inexperienced mariners: though the voyage of *Zarco* and *Vaz* was short, they had many * dangers to surmount. Their skill and firmness were soon tried by a sudden storm, which heightened every

* The Portuguese Historians give only a general account of this interesting Voyage. The reader may therefore form a more correct idea of the danger to which *Zarco* and *Vaz* were exposed, by the following extract from the more recent voyages of *Monf. Saugnier* and *Briffon*, who were both ship-wrecked, in different vessels, on the north-west coast of Africa; the former near *Cape Bojadore*, in the month of January 1784, the latter near *Cape Blanco*, in July 1785. *Monf. Saugnier* relates, "that on the night of the fourteenth, they perceived the land of Africa, then at three leagues distance, for which the ship was running with the wind abaft. One hour later not a soul would have been saved. At four in the morning the ship struck on a sand bank; nothing could be distinguished: horrible cries were heard on every side, and the sailors ran about the deck without being conscious of what they did.—The sea broke entirely over us; the darkness of the night, the dreadful roaring of the waves, our officers' ignorance of the place where they had run the ship aground, deprived us of recollection, and drove us to despair. About half after five the ship, beat by the breakers, which followed one another incessantly, filled with water. About seven, the captain ordered all work to cease, that we might come to some resolution; nobody could ascertain our situation: some asserted we were ashore on one of the Canary islands, and others on the coast of Africa. Being recovered however from the first alarm, our whole attention was turned to the safest means of reaching the land."—This vessel was of about three hundred tons burthen, and *Dutch* built. Let her dimensions, and the experience of her crew, be compared with the vessels and seamen of the Portuguese, and the danger they were exposed to will proportionably increase: let the reader also compare this vessel, and the surrounding perils, with the miserable barks of the antients, and then believe if he can the voyages of *Hanno* and *Hamilco*; or the triennial circumnavigation of Africa, by the seamen of *Necho*, king of Egypt, six hundred and four years before the Christian æra.

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every peril: before they could reach their destination, an heavy gale^y arose from the east; the billows of the Atlantic were gradually elevated, and the smallness of the vessel increased the horrors of the scene. For the first time the Portuguese were driven out to sea; and, as if the very tempest was favourable to their early projects, the error, which their own inexperience could not detect in so uniformly keeping within the sight of land, was proved by the storm which threatened their destruction. The ship's company, on losing their accustomed bearings, had given themselves up to despair; but unexpectedly the violence of the gale abated, and they found themselves approaching an island, situated about one hundred leagues to the south-west of Africa. When the first transport of joy allowed them to make any observation, they beheld its coast extending about twenty miles in length: as the only roadstead is on the south-west side, they probably there cast anchor. Gratitude to providence for their escape immediately suggested a name for the new discovery; and *Puerto Santo*, or the * Holy Haven, the smallest of the Madeiras, being only two miles in breadth, marks this memorable epocha, when the Portuguese first abandoned the coasting voyages of the antients, for the bolder enterprise of an improved, and more intrepid age.

Thus after a passage of only one hundred and sixty leagues from the promontory of *Sagres*, which at present in moderate weather

^y In steering to the southward from *Cape St. Vincent*, when the weather is settled, the wind is generally from the northward; and gradually veers towards the east, until you get into the latitude of 18°. 00. north, where you may expect a confirmed Trade Wind, which is from north-east to east north-east; and although the strongest gales usually blow from the West, they also at times come with great fury from the East. It must have been an easterly wind which carried the Portuguese out to sea, and brought them to *Puerto Santo*.

* *Asia* of De Barros, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. ii. Faria y Sousa *Asia Portug.* tom. i. cap. i. Only a part of the first decade of the *Asia* of De Barros has yet been translated into English, which is very scarce.

BOOK
I.

ther may be performed in three days, *Zarco* and *Vaz* returned with elated minds to make known the eventful story of their perils. They described the inhabitants of *Puerto Santo*, as being in an intermediate state of civilization; that neither their conduct nor disposition betrayed any signs of savage ferocity; that the soil was fertile, and the climate mild: both the navigators confirmed the truth of this favourable report, by requesting the duke's permission to return and settle in the island. The anxious mind of HENRY was thus considerably relieved: a more advanced station towards the south, particularly favourable to any future discoveries on the coast of Africa, was secured, whence the adjacent parts of the * Atlantic could be explored with greater ease; and the perils of the hitherto impassable *Bojadore* might now be avoided, by preserving a bolder course, in a south-westerly direction from *Puerto Santo*. He therefore granted the request of *Zarco* and *Vaz*, with considerable marks of commendation; and yielding at the same time to the importunities of a maritime spirit, which this successful voyage had such a tendency to increase, he complied with the earnest desire of many who wished to behold the new discovery; among these, *Bartholemew Pereftrello*, a nobleman of his household, was the most distinguished.

Settlement of
Puerto Santo.

Three vessels were immediately fitted out in the course of the same year, 1418, commanded by *Pereftrello*, *Zarco*, and *Vaz*, who accordingly sailed for *Puerto Santo*. The different animals and feeds, which Prince Henry had selected, having been landed and distributed under the eye of *Pereftrello*, he returned to Portugal. *Zarco* and *Vaz* remained to superintend the infant colony, and soon perceived, that their introduction of rabbits would in time, from the rapid increase of those animals, destroy the vegetable produce of the

* On leaving *Puerto Santo*, or *Madira*, the Portuguese were gradually taught, in the progress of their discoveries towards the Cape of Good Hope, to keep to the south-west; by which means they left all the African islands to the eastward, and had a clear ocean, without any dangers from the coast of Africa, or the currents that set towards it.

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the island, and baffle every hope of rendering it a place of refreshment for the Portuguese ships.

Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

It was the firm belief both of the inhabitants of Puerto Santo, and of the most enlightened among the Portuguese, that the sea to the westward beyond that island, which had originally been discovered by *Juba*, was not navigable on account of weeds and mud; that the course of a ship would also be arrested by concealed rocks, and dreadful whirlpools. This idea had originated with the ancients, and was supported by a strange appearance in the horizon, that perplexed the minds of our navigators: to the south-west of *Puerto Santo*, a thick impenetrable cloud continually hovered on the waves, and thence extended to the heavens. Some believed it to be a dreadful abyss; superstition traced amidst the gloom, the inscription and portal of Dante; whilst the learned pronounced that it could only be the island of *Cipango*, where Spanish and Portuguese bishops had retired, with other Christians, from the persecuting Moors, and that no one could approach under the penalty of death.

Gonzales, and his companion Trifan Vaz, bore this state of suspense with the impatience of seamen; from the earliest return of light to the close of day, the meteor preserved an uniform sullen aspect. At length Gonzales, after a long residence in the island, unable to possess courage sufficient to develop the mystery, or to obtain instruction that might elucidate the real truth, returned to Portugal. But neither his patron, nor any of his followers, could give

^b Puerto Santo, and Madeira, were styled *Insula Purpuria*, from the manufactory of Getulian purple established there by Juba.

^c I have endeavoured, in the following account, to reconcile the relation by Alcaforado, who was esquire to Prince Henry, with that of De Barros (decade the first, book i. chap. ii.). The reader may compare this with Galvano's remarks in the Appendix. According to *Alcaforado*, Gonzales having left Puerto Santo two years, was in 1420 sent to the coast of Africa; when he captured Morales the pilot, with whom he afterwards failed to discover Madeira.

BOOK
I.Geographi-
cal MSS.

give Gonzales the explication he sought; the distance at which they were placed, increased the terror of an object they could only behold in imagination.

The geographical knowledge which the Duke of Viseo received from the Arabs and Moors of Africa, must have been very extensive; but no light was thence reflected on the undiscovered islands of the Atlantic. It may however be interesting to the reader, to consider what particular sources of information it is probable the Portuguese prince in this respect enjoyed. The character of a noble Arabian, ISMAEL ABULFEDA, Prince of Hamah, a city of Syria, bears a striking resemblance to that of the Duke of Viseo; not only in his rank as a prince, but in the zeal with which he studied and improved the science of geography. Abulfeda was born at Damascus about the year 1273, and was invested with the dominions of his ancestors by the Soltân al Nâser in 1310. In the eleventh year of his reign he composed his learned * geographical work, entitled, "Chorasmîæ et

Mawer-

* Considerable additions may be made to this subject by the industry of Sir William Ouseley, in his purposed examination of the geographical system of the Asiatics: through the innumerable Arabic and Persian authors that pass in review before him, a most interesting account might be given of those manuscripts, which were the most likely to have formed the library, or enlarged the knowledge, of Henry Duke of Viseo. Besides the works of Abulfeda, Edrisi, and others, that are well known, Sir William has mentioned many Oriental manuscripts, whose names are by no means common to Europeans. *Hest Aklim*, or seven Climates, by Emir Rauzi; *Ajaieb al Boldan*, or Wonders of Regions; *Tabkik al Irab*, a geographical dictionary by Mokammed Saduk Isfahani; and the *Tohfus al Irakein*, or poetical description of the two Iraks, Arabian and Persian provinces, by the celebrated Khakani, with many others. (Preface to Ebn Haukal, p. 31.)

* This had been preceded by the observations of some travellers, relative to India, about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century; which appeared in the *Collection of Palladius*, an anonymous writer, and *Ambrosiaster*, printed at London 1665. The famous Egyptian merchant, Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator (see preceding *Hijl. Memoir of the Progress of Discovery by the Antients*), performed his voyage A. D. 522, and composed his subsequent work, *Christian Topography*, at Alexandria, between A. D. 535, and 547. The most valuable part is given in Greek by Melchisedec Thevenot in his valuable *Collection of Voyages*, with an engraving of *le Mûse* and *le Pourceau Cerf*; and the Pere Mountfaucon has published in the French language, a splendid edition of the whole, (*Nova Collectio Patrum*, Paris 1707, 2. vols. folio.)

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JOHN NEWBER

* Dr. Greav
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Maweralnahr, hoc est, regionum extra fluvium Oxum descriptio, Ch. II. § 1. ex tabulis Abulfedæ Ismaelis, principis Hamah: "*A description of Chorasmia, and Mawaralnabre, or the regions beyond the river Oxus, from the tables of Abulfeda Ismael, Prince of Hamah.*" In the course of this work, he cites no less than thirty different geographers, but expresses his principal obligations to the labours of 'Ptolemy, Albiruni, Alfaras, Ebnfabid, and the author of a work, entitled, *The fourth part of the habitable world*; which he says was translated from the Greek into Hebrew, and from the Hebrew into Arabic, by the orders of Almamoun, another Arabian prince. Abulfeda passed some time in 'England; but his work did not appear before 1650, when it was printed by our learned countryman Dr. Greaves. Abulfeda's geography consists of ^a tables of the latitude and longitude of places, in imitation of Ptolemy, with their descriptions, under the title

¹ See *Relation de divers Voyages Curieux, qui n'ont point été publiés*, 2 vols. folio, par M. Melchisedec Thevenot, Paris 1696. Tom. premier, p. 18.

² His work on Geography, however, could not be found in England by Hakluyt, since he commissioned his friend M. John Newberie to procure one abroad; who in consequence sent the following Letter from Aleppo, May 28, 1583:

"Right wel beloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c.—After we set saile from Grauesend, which was the 13th day of February last, wee remained upon our coast until the 11th day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and never ankered till wee arrived in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprile last past, where wee stayed fourteen dayes; and the twentie of this present wee came hither to Alepo, and with God's helpe, within fise or fixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis, I haue made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of *Abulfeda Ismael*, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia; but notwithstanding, I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara; and if I can finde it in any of these places, I will send it you from thence. --- This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there every yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their country. --- Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty, who bleffe and keepe you, and send us a joyfull meeting. Your louing friend to command in all that I may, JOHN NEWBERIE."—(Vol. ii. Hakluyt, p. 245.)

^a Dr. Greaves published two of the tables, with a Latin translation. Three appeared in 1712, inserted by Mr. Gagnier in the third volume of Dr. Hudson's *Minor Greek Geographers*.

BOOK title of *Takwim al Boldân*. The learned writer of the additional
I. remarks to *Abulfeda's Life*, inserted in the General Dictionary, corrects many of the errors both of Bayle and Dr. Greaves, and answers with ability the severe criticisms of *Renaudot* on this eastern geographer; who also composed a general history from the beginning of the world to his own time, the last edition whereof he continued to the year 1329. The following translation, with remarks relative to that side of the Atlantic which we are now considering, is extracted from Major Rennell's ¹ *Illustration of the Geography of Herodotus*:—"It is called the *Ambient Sea*, because it surrounds the whole extent of the Continental Lands; and hence Aristotle calls it the Crown Sea, as if it surrounded the earth, just as a crown does the head. --- The *western* border, then, of this Ambient Sea, namely, that which washes Africa and Spain, is called the Ocean; in which are the *fortunate islands*, ten degrees distant from the shore of Africa. Some reckon their longitude from these islands, others from the (western) shore of Africa². This sea begins to extend itself from the most southern shore of Mauretania, until it has passed the *Desert of Lamtun*, which is a vast wilderness of barbarians, situated between the borders of Mauretania, and those of the various tracts of country belonging to the Nigritæ. From thence it stretches (yet further) towards the south, along uncultivated, uninhabited, and unfrequented countries, until it has passed beyond the Equator: after which it bends to the east, behind the mountains ³ *El Komri*, from whence
the

Art. vi. *Abulfeda descriptio Chorasmie, &c. Arabicè et Latinè*, and Art. vii. *Abulfeda descriptio Arabie, Arab. et Lat. cum binis Tabulis Geographicis; una Nassir Eddini; altera, Ulug Beigi.*

¹ Page 688. Major Rennell refers to the Prolegomena in *Reiske's Translation of Abulfeda*, in Busching's *Hist. and Geogr. Mag.* vol. iv. p. 140. Abulfeda's description begins with what he terms the *western* side, he then proceeds to the *southern*, and successively to the *eastern*, and *northern*, and then completes his circuit by returning to the point whence he set out.

² The *Major* considers this as a proof, amongst others, that Abulfeda thought the coast of Africa lay very much in the direction of the Meridian, from the Strait of Gibraltar southward.

³ *Lunar* mountains, or mountains of the Moon, as they are called by Ptolemy: and it appears from Mr. Browne, that they are really so called in Africa. *Rennell.*

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the Nile of Egypt has its sources. Again, it proceeds southward, and afterwards turns again to the eastern quarter, passing by uncultivated shores, behind the regions of the Zengitar, whence it takes a north-easterly course to its junction with the seas of *India* and *China*. It then takes an easterly course, till it reaches the eastern extremity of the Continent, that is, the region of *China*; whence it bends northward, and in its progress shuts up the eastern quarter of China, until it faces the mound or rampart of Jajuje and Majuje (Gog and Magog^m). Thence it bends westward, passing by regions, of which we are ignorant; and having passed the territories of the Russians, it takes a south-west direction, and then again westward, along the coasts of various *Infidel* nations, until it comes opposite to Italy, on the west. (Perhaps it should be *north*, as the German ocean seems to be meant.) Thence bending southward, it washes the countries lying between Italy and Spain, which having passed, it proceeds to the shores of Spain; and finally, having extended itself along its western side, it comes opposite to Sabta (*Centa*) which is situated at the passage or crossing place (of the Strait of Gibraltar) from whence we set out."

Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

The Oriental Geography of EBN HAUKAL, an Arabian traveller of the tenth century, which Sir William Ouseley has lately translated, might also have been known to the Duke of Viseo; or at least through means of the Arabs, might have increased to the oral information he

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^m In another part of his work, Major Rennell has inserted a sketch to explain *Edrifi's* idea of the position of *Gog* and *Magog*; by which it appears "that it bordered southward, and south-westward, on the *Eluth Kalmaes*, on *Turkestan*, the *Djibt Kipsak*, and the country of the *Baskirians*; and consequently contained the tract, situated to the north of the mountains which divide the Great Steppe, now possessed by the Kirgees tribes." He also refers the reader to the thirty-first volume of the *Mem. Acad. Inscip.* for a memoir on the position of the rampart of *Gog* and *Magog*.

ⁿ Sir William conjectures that he flourished before A. D. 968, and after the year 902; probably about 914 (page 137).

BOOK
I.

received. From all countries men of science resorted to *Sagres*; of whom the prince naturally enquired, and liberally encouraged to seek for such Oriental manuscripts, as would tend to elucidate and promote the great object he had in view. "Abulfeda informs * us, that *Edrisi*†, *Ebn Khordadbeh*, and many other writers of high reputation, have only traced on paper the footsteps of *EBN HAUKAL*, who it appears, from his own words, had actually visited most of the places which he describes." This curious tract has so recently appeared, that after giving a few extracts, intimately connected with our present subject, I must refer the reader to the work itself.

The intention of *Ebn Haukal* was to describe the various climates, and regions of the face of the earth, comprised within the circle of *Islam* or Mohammedanism. He begins with Arabia, and proceeds to the *Deryai-Pars*, or Persian Sea; he then visits the western countries *Zemeen-i-Magreb* (*part of Africa*), and having noticed Egypt, Syria, Sufiana, and parts of Persia, with the places bordering on *Sind*, and *Hind*, the confines of Hindoostan, and the rivers of that country,—he next describes, among other places, the *Deryai Kboxr*, or Caspian Sea, and the various nations that surrounded it; the deserts between *Khorasan* and *Fars*; the province of *Seistan*; with *Khorasan*, and *Maweralnabr*, or Tranfoxania.

His observations on Africa are particularly interesting, and strikingly accord with our present subject. "As for the land of blacks, in the west (*Africa*), and the *Zingians*, *Æthiopians*, and such tribes, I make but slight mention of them in this book; because naturally loving wisdom, ingenuity, religion, justice, and regular government, how could I notice such people as those, or exalt them

* See Sir William Ouseley's preface, (p. 2.) who refers his reader to *Abulfeda's* work in quarto, London, 1650.

† His work intitled *Edrisi Africa* was published at Gottingen in 1796 by J. M. Hartmann, 8vo.

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them by inserting an account of their countries? Yet one race of them has some degree of civilization, and religious observance, the *Nubians*, and *Habeshians*, Abbyssinians: the reason of this is, their vicinity to the other more polished countries; thus Nubia and Habeshch are situated on the borders of the *Deryai Kolzum*, the sea of *Kolzum*, or Red sea: nothing farther can be said in their favour." Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

"From 'Egypt to the extremity of the west, *Magreb*, is a distance of an hundred and eighty 'merhileh: from the extremity of the east to that of the west is near one hundred merhileh: --- From *Roum* ' to the *extreme boundary* of the land of the Nubians about eighty merhileh. Between *Yajouge* and *Majouge*, and the northern ocean, and between the deserts of the blacks and the other limits of the ocean, all is desolate and waste, without any buildings. I know not what are the roads or stages of those two deserts which are on the coasts of the ocean, because it is *impossible to travel in them* on account of the excessive heat, which hinders the building of houses, or the residing there. Thus also *in the south, no animal can exist*, so excessive is the heat, nor any person dwell there. But between *Cheen* ', and the west, *Magreb*, all is inhabited, and the ground cultivated; and the ocean surrounds the land like a collar, or necklace. --- From *Kolzum* ' or the west of the sea (the Red Sea) the dry deserts stretch very far to the land of *Bajeb*. This country is situated between *Habesh*, Abbyssinia, the land of Nubia, and Egypt. In it are *gold mines*, which extend from near the borders of Egypt to a certain castle on the sea coast, which they call *Affat*, or *Affab*,
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' Sir W. Ouseley's Translation, pages 4. and 7.

' Sir William observes in his Preface that Greaves translates *Merhileh* by statio, dieta, mensio. According to Edrisi it consisted of thirty miles; Abulfeda considered it as undetermined

' Natolia:—Ebn Haukal assigns to it the borders of Slavonia, of Russia, and Armenia. The Mediterranean is styled by him the sea of Roum. See preceding page 123, note x.

' China or Tartary.

' Ibid, page 13.

BOOK
I.

a distance of about ten merhileh : there are not in any quarter of the world such gold mines as these. On the sea-coast there is a place called *Zeilaa*, which is the port for those who go to *Yemen* and *Hedjaz*; then begin the deserts of *Nubia*. The Nubians are Christians, and their country is wider than that of the Abyssinians ;—and the Egyptian Nile passes through their territories, and goes on to the land of the *Zingians*, *Æthiopia* ; and one cannot proceed beyond that. The sea continues to the land of *Zingbar*, *Æthiopia*, opposite *Aden* ; thence it departs from the regions of *Islam*.”

“ *Magreb* (the west) or *Africa*, is chiefly remarkable for the black slaves : the white slaves come from the quarter of *Andalus* ; and coral, and ambergris, and gold, and honey, and silk, and seal-skins. One cannot enter *Sejelmahab*, but by the way of the desert, which the sand renders difficult. This town is situated near the Gold Mines, between them and the land of the Blacks, and the land of *Zouilab* : these mines are said to be of the most pure and excellent gold. --- This land of the Blacks is a very extensive region : their skins are of a finer and deeper blackness than that of any other blacks, whether *Habesbis*, Abyssinians, or *Zingians*, *Æthiopians* ; and their country is more extensive than that of any other nation of Blacks : it is situated on the coast of the ocean to the south.”

Respecting *India* we are informed, “ that on the east of the land of *Islam*, are the regions of *Hindooistan*. The country of *Tibet* is situated between *Kburkbis*, and the empire of *Cheen*. *Cheen* lies between the sea and the land of *Ghuz* and *Tibet* ; and *Cheen* itself constitutes this climate (or division). *Hormuz*, the port of *Kirman*, is a well inhabited and flourishing city. From this you go

to

* Sir William remarks in a note, that this last sentence, which seems obscure, is literally, “ and after that, it is impossible to go on.”

† Spain.

* Pages 16. and 21.

* Page 22.

* Page 5.

* Page 10.

* China.

* Page 12.

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to *Daibul*, where there are merchants, who trade in all places: this is the port of the land of *Sind*; and *Sind* is the same as *Manfurch*; and the region of *Lattian*, as far as *Cheen*, extends along the coast of Hindoostan, to Tibet, and *Cheen Macbeen*, beyond which no one passes. - - *Hormuz* ' is the emporium of the merchants in Kirman, and their chief sea-port."

Ch. II. § 1.

John ib. § 1.

Such probably were * some of the principal resources, to which the zealous mind of the Portuguese Prince applied to sustain, and enforce the validity of the opinions, he had resolved to encourage. It was however in vain to search the manuscripts of Orientalists, for an explanation of a terrific phenomenon in the horizon of *Puerto Santo*. The perplexity of *Gonzales Zarco* therefore continued; and in this state of mind he was sent by John the first on an expedition to the coast of Africa, during the year 1420.—*Don Sanchio*, youngest son of *Ferdinand*, king of Arragon, and grand-master of the order of Calatrava, dying on the 15th of March 1416, left a considerable sum of money to redeem such Castilians, as had been taken and sold for slaves in Morocco. A cartel ship sailed in consequence from Spain during the year 1420, and on its return from Africa, fell in with *Gonzales Zarco*: though their respective governments had not openly declared war, the coolness, which ensued, induced *Gonzales* to board the cartel; but when the noble Portuguese heard of the service, on which the Spanish vessel was employed, and also beheld the miserable objects just released from a Moorish dungeon, he felt and acted like a seaman; and only retained from the crew a Spanish pilot, *John de Morales*, who

*Gonzales
Zarco.
1420.*

volun-

* Page 142.

* One of the most celebrated of the Arabian translators of the works of the ancients, was *Nonin Ben Isbac*, a Syrian physician, and a Christian.—Nor should we here omit the name of an early writer, *Orderick of Forli*, who in 1322, composed his *Voyages*, or a *Treatise of the wonders of the world*. The Duke of Viseo might also have seen the Spanish manuscript of the curious travels into Tartary during the year 1409, afterwards printed at Seville in 1582. See in Appendix (B.) the explanatory Catalogue of *Spanish Voyages and Travels*.

BOOK
I.

volunteered his experience to promote the discoveries of the Duke of Viseo.

The skill and information of the Spaniard were soon discerned by Gonzales, and he listened with solicitude to the history of his sufferings; but what was his astonishment, when he perceived a ray of light arising from the narrative, which tended to dispel the darkness that had so long hovered in the horizon of *Puerto Santo*. "Among the companions of my misery," said Morales, "were some *English Seamen*; and the following^a adventure, which they related, has often beguiled the weary hours of our captivity."

It

^a The subsequent discovery of Madeira, by some writers assigned to the year 1419 rather than 1420, forms the subject of a Latin poem by Doctor Manoel Clemente, styled *Insulana*; he also composed an history of it in Latin prose, which he dedicated to Pope Clement the fifth. *De Barros* considers this important discovery in the first decade of his *Asia*; *Antonio Galvano* (Appendix, page 22) was the author from whom Hakluyt first introduced the narrative of *Machin* to the attention of the English (vol. ii. part 2. page 1). I have preferred the account given by *Francisco Alcaforado*, who was equerry to the Duke of Viseo. He differs, as the reader will remark, from the passage in Galvano. Mr. Ovington, chaplain to king William, informs us (Voyage to Surat in 1689.) that the inhabitants of Madeira firmly believed in the discovery of their island by Macham. *Faria y Sousa* notices the discovery of Madeira in his Portuguese *Asia*, and cites Alcaforado, when commenting on the following stanza of Camoens. (Canto 5.)

V.

"Passámos a grande Ilha da Madeira,
Que do muito avoredo assim se chama,
Das que nós povoámos a primeira,
Mais celebre por nome, que por fama:
Mas nem por ser do mundo a derradeira,
Se lhe avantaço quantas Venus ama,
Antes sendo esta sua, se esquecera
De Cipro, Guído, Paphos, e Cythera."

"Named from her woods, with fragrant bowers adorn'd,
From fair * Madeira's purple coast we turn'd:
Cyprus and Paphos' vales, the smiling loves
Might leave with joy for fair Madeira's groves;

* Insula: Purpuraria.

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¹ Some writers
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It was in the glorious reign of Edward the third of England, that Ch. II. § 1.
John the 1st. ROBERT A MACHIN, a gentleman of the second degree of nobility, whose genius was only equalled by his gallantry and courage, beheld and loved the beautiful ANNA D'ARFET¹: their attachment was mutual; but the pleasing indulgence of ardent hope gratified and betrayed their passion. The pride of the illustrious family of *D'Arfet* was insensible to the happiness of their daughter; they preferred the indulgence of ambition to the voice of duty and love. The feudal tyranny of the age was friendly to their cruel design; and a warrant from the king seemed to justify the vanity of a parent. The consolation of an ingenuous mind supported Machin in confinement, its energy, thus compressed, sought only for redress; nor did it yield to despondency, when on being delivered from prison, he found that the innocent cause of his persecution had been forced to marry a nobleman, who had carried her to his castle, near *Bristol*. The friends of Machin made his misfortune their own; and one of them had the address to be introduced, under the character of a groom, to the service of the afflicted Anna. The prospect of the ocean, which during their rides extended before them, suggested or matured the plan of escape; and the probability of a secure asylum, was opposed to the dangers of a passage to the coast of France. Under pretence of deriving benefit from sea air, the victim of parental ambition was enabled, without delay, to elude suspicion; whilst *Machin*, in the successful completion of his anxious design, was equally insensible to the particular season of the year, or the portentous

A Shore so flowery, and so sweet an air,
Venus might build her dearest temple there."

Mickle's Lusad, Book 5.

An account of the discovery of the island of *Madeira* abridged from the Portuguese original, was published by *Payne* and *Bouquet* in 1751.

¹ Some writers have preferred the name of *Dorset*, which a foreign orthography might turn into *D'Orset*, and thence to *D'Arset*. (See *Le Harpe's Collection of Voyages*, vol. i. p. 216.)

BOOK
I. tentous appearance of weather, which in calmer moments he would have duly observed.

The gradual rising of a gale of wind rendered the astonished fugitives sensible of their rashness; as the tempest approached, the thick darkness of night completed the horror of the scene. In their confusion the intended port was missed, or could not be reached; their vessel drove at the mercy of the winds; and in the morning they found themselves in the midst of an unknown ocean, without the skill that could determine their situation, or the experience that could direct their course. The dawn of twelve mornings returned without the sight of land; when at length, after a night of increased anxiety, as they eagerly watched the earliest streaks of day, an object loomed in the horizon: continual disappointment produced a querulous despondency; whilst they alternately believed and doubted, the thick grey haze was dispersed by the rising sun, and a general burst of joy welcomed the certainty of land. A luxuriance of trees was soon visible, to whose appearance they were utter strangers; and the beautiful plumage of unknown birds, who came in flocks from the island, gave at first the semblance of a dream to their astonishing deliverance.

The boat being hoisted out to examine the coast, returned with a favourable account. *Machin*, and his friends, accompanied their trembling charge, leaving the rest to secure the vessel. The wilderness of the adjacent country possessed additional charms to men escaped from destruction; and the rich scenery of ^{the} *Madeira*

was

* *Madeira* in the Portuguese language, or *Madera* in Spanish, signifies wood, and hence, says Voltaire (*Découvertes des Portugais*), came our French word *Madrier*, a term used in fortification, for a thick plank. The woods seen by *Machin* consisted of the Cedar, *Vignatico*, *Laurus Indicus*, which has a considerable resemblance to *mahogany*; Barbazano, Chestnut, and the beautiful Mirmulano and Paobranco.—Mr. *Thomas Nicols*, who resided for seven years in the *Canaries*, in his description of these islands, and *Madeira*, with their strange fruits and commodities, (*Hakluyt*, vol. ii. part 2. page 3.) mentions a current report, that be-

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was again beheld, after a lapse of many centuries, by the eyes of Europeans. An opening in the extensive woods, which was encircled with laurels and flowering shrubs, presented a delightful retreat; a venerable tree, the growth of ages, offered, on an adjoining eminence, its welcome shade; and the first moments of liberty were employed in forming a romantic residence, with the abundant materials supplied by nature.

A curiosity to explore their new discovery was increased by the novelty of every object they beheld; this varied occupation continued for three days, until the survey was interrupted by an alarming hurricane, which came on during the night, and rendered them extremely anxious for their companions who were on board. The ensuing morning destroyed every prospect of happiness: they in vain sought for the vessel, which had drove from her moorings, and was wrecked on the coast of Morocco; where all on board were immediately seized as slaves, and sent to prison.

The afflicted *Machin* found this last trial too severe for his terrified and disconsolate companion: her tender mind, overcome by

tween the sayd island and the ile of Palma, is an island not yet discovered, which is the true island Madeira, called saint Brandon.—One of the two *Capitanias*, into which Madeira is divided, bears the name of *Machico*, as does also its principal town. The other *Capitania*, Funchal, was so called from *Funcho*, the Portuguese for *Fennel*, which abounds on the rocks.—In the thin quarto journal of Cook's first voyage (printed for Becket in 1771), the island of Madeira is placed in latitude $32^{\circ} 33' 33''$, and longitude $16^{\circ} 49' 45''$ west from London: the variation by several observations was found to have decreased westerly $15^{\circ} 30'$, the dipping needle being $77^{\circ} 18'.$ The best anchoring ground is near the Loo Castle, in 20, 25, or 30 fathom, the east side of the bay being hard rocky ground. The island rises very high, and terminates in a peak called *Pico Rucco*, which is 5068 feet in height: the land rises by very unequal elevations from the sea, and forms a ridge which is frequently interrupted by chasms of unequal depths; these extend almost the whole length of the island.—*Dr. Hawkefworth*, in his narrative of the same voyage by Cook, notices the beautiful appearance of Madeira when first approached from sea; and remarks that there is great reason to suppose, that this island was at some remote period thrown up by the explosion of subterraneous fire; as every stone, whether whole, or in fragments, seen by Lieut. Cook, appeared to have been burnt; and even the sand itself to be nothing more than ashes.

BOOK
I.

by the scenes she had endured, needed the conscious sense of a strict discharge of duty to renew its strength. From the moment it was reported that the vessel could not be found, she became dumb with grief; expired after a few days of silent despair, and was soon followed by her inconsolable lover. The companions of Machin, forgetting their own situation, were entirely occupied in watching over their emaciated friend; but all attempts to administer consolation were fruitless: on the fifth day they received his parting breath, and earnest injunction, *that they would place his body in the same grave, under the venerable tree, which amidst an agony of tears they had so lately made for the unfortunate victim of his temerity; where the altar that had been raised to celebrate their deliverance, would now mark their untimely tomb.* This painful duty being performed, they fixed a large wooden cross over the grave, with the inscription which Machin had composed, to record their melancholy adventures; and to request, that if any Christians should hereafter visit the spot, they would in the same place build a church, and dedicate it to Christ. The companions of Machin having thus obeyed the dictates of friendship, fitted out the boat, which from their first landing had been kept ashore; their intention was to return if possible to England: but either owing to want of skill, to the currents, or unfavourable weather, they were driven on the same coast with their shipmates, and joined them in their Moorish prison.

John

¹ The narrative of *Robert a Machin* is of considerable importance, as it records the first discovery of Madeira by an Englishman. The attention paid to it by *Alcaforado*, enquiry to Prince Henry, gives it every authority that can be wished; but yet considerable difficulties arise respecting the exact date when this event took place. The reign of *Edward the third* extends from 1327, to 1377. *Galeano*, who is not always correct, dates the discovery, on the authority of the *Chronicles of Castile*, to about 1344. *Herbert* places it in 1328.—Both these dates give a longer imprisonment to Morales than is consistent with history: probably the exact year was never recorded. Even the relation of *Alcaforado* is full of subsequent interpolations, many of which are pointed out by Mr. Green (*Askle's Collection*, vol. i. page 571). The reign of Edward the third might have been thus inserted, to give greater authority to the adventures of our countrymen.

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John de Morales had scarcely concluded his interesting narrative, when Gonzales ordered the ship to be immediately put about; and steering with a press of sail for the port of ^{Ch. II. § 1.} *Terça Nabal*, hastened to introduce his Spanish pilot to the Portuguese prince. Duke Henry was so much delighted with the information thus unexpectedly received, that he sent Gonzales, with the Spaniard, to the king at Lisbon, in order to propose an expedition to Madeira; hoping that their conversation might subdue a spirit of opposition, which envy or ignorance sedulously endeavoured to foment. The flame which malignancy had with difficulty repressed, was now fanned by the encouragement and celebrity, which the relation of the Spanish stranger gave to the designs of Prince Henry; and his immediate presence at Lisbon became necessary to silence the cabal. On his arrival, the murmur ceased; and was succeeded by the abject emulation of sycophants, who anxiously strove to conceal their past and future machinations. A ship well manned, and completely equipped, accompanied by a row-galley, or sort of sloop then in use, impelled by oars, were instantly appointed for the service. The command was given to *Gonzales Zarco*, who carried with him Captain João Lourenço, *Francisco Alcaforado*, author of the subsequent relation of the voyage; Francis de Carvalail, Ruy Paes, Alvarez Alfonso; and two experienced sailors from *Lagos*, Antonio Gago, and Lourenço Gomez.

Our navigators arrived in safety at *Puerto Santo*, and were cordially received by *Tristan Vaz Texeira*, who had long expected the return of Gonzales: they immediately communicated their design, and

Madeira re-
discovered.
1420.

■ Probably the port adjoining to *Sagres*; which town, according to *Cada Moſto*, appears to have had also the appropriate name of *Repoſera*,—"in una villa vicina chiamata Repoſera, nella qual per eſſer remota dalli tumulti delle genti, et atta alla contèplatione de gli ſtudii ſuoi, vi habitaua molto volentieri." (Ramusio, vol. i. p. 97.) The ships employed on discovery by Prince Henry generally resorted to the bay of *Lagos*, which thus became the *Portsmouth* of Algarve.

B O O K
I.

and the important information that had been given by *Morales*. The Spanish pilot, with the Portuguese who accompanied *Gonzales*, were now shewn the dreadful SHADE, which continued to hover in the horizon to the south-west of *Puerto Santo*. *Morales* defied the terrors which appalled the greater part of the company; declaring it as his firm opinion, that what they beheld could only be the land they were in search of. After a consultation, it was determined, that the expedition should at least be delayed until the change of the moon, when probably some alteration might take place in this alarming spectre: its tremendous form however still continued; and the whole design would most likely have been frustrated, had not *Morales* insisted, that the ground of the concealed island being shaded from the sun by thick and lofty trees, a vapour was continually exhaled, which spread itself throughout the sky: he also added, that according to the information he had received, from the English seamen in his Moorish dungeon, and the course they described to have held, the land enveloped in the dark cloud could not be very distant.

The arguments, and experience of *Morales*, had little effect on the minds of any of his hearers except *Gonzales*, who at length yielded to their force; and it was secretly agreed between them, that the first favourable morning they should set sail, without any previous communication of their intentions to the rest. Accordingly, when the Portuguese least expected it, the vessels at day-break, and as *Alcaforado* relates on *St. Elizabeth's day*, were found boldly standing with a press of sail towards the dreaded abyss. If we consider the prevailing credulity and ignorance of the age, and the imperfect state of navigation, we must allow that the attempt required the consummate resolution of a mariner. The firmness of *Gonzales*, and the pilot, increased the apprehensions of those on board; for as the ship advanced

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advanced, the high and extended vapour was observed to thicken, until it became horrible to view. Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

Towards noon the roaring of the sea reverberated throughout the horizon. The Portuguese could no longer endure the painful suspense, and they called loudly on Gonzales, not to persist in a course which must inevitably terminate in their destruction. Gonzales, and the Spanish pilot, attempted to calm their agitation; they urged every possible argument to convince them, that the whole was an idle alarm; and at length reconciled their trembling companions to abide the event. The weather was fortunately calm; but the rapidity of the current obliged Gonzales to have his ship towed by two ^a shallops along the skirts of the cloud; whilst the dashing of the sea on the breakers served as a guide, by which he either increased or diminished his distance.

As they proceeded, the tremendous vapour gradually lessened towards the east, but the noise of the waves increased; when on a sudden, something of a deeper shade was feebly discerned through the gloom, the vessels still continuing at a great distance. Some persons, who probably caught a faint glance of the rocks, with which the shore is lined, exclaimed, that they saw giants of an enormous size. A clearness was at length remarked on the sea, the hoarse echo of its waves abated; and, to complete their joy, a little point, which received the name of *San Lourenço*, opened on the astonished spectators: doubling this, the high land to the southward extended before them, and, the cloud being dispersed, the woodlands, for a considerable distance up the mountains, were unveiled.

Ruy Paes immediately embarked with Morales in the sloop to observe the coast; and they soon reached a bay, which so exactly answered to the description given the latter by the English, that
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^a The shallop is a large boat with two masts, rigged like a schooner.

B O O K
I.

he landed with Paes to seek the tomb of *Machin*, which was found. They immediately hastened with the news to Gonzales, who took possession of the island in the names of King *John the first* of Portugal, and his illustrious son, *Henry Duke of Viseo*; after which, another altar was raised, near that which Machin had constructed. They searched in vain for any traces of either inhabitants or cattle; and could only procure some birds, that suffered themselves to be taken by the hand.—It was then agreed to trace the windings of the coast: doubling a point to the westward, they passed the mouths of four rivers, in which Gonzales filled a few bottles, that the prince might judge of the excellency of the water for the future service of his mariners.

As the Portuguese advanced in this delightful excursion along the coast of Madeira, they came opposite to a valley, which formed the bed of a river, and was contrasted by an adjacent glen covered with trees: the ravages of an hurricane, visible on their fallen trunks, gave a wildness and variety to the landscape. Gonzales, struck with the beauty of the scene, landed with his companions; a cross, formed of the boughs that were scattered on the ground, marked their gratitude, and gave the place its name of *Santa Cruz*. Led on by the novelty of every thing they beheld, they then crossed a narrow slip of land, that stretched out from the island, where the number of jays that arose, on being thus disturbed in their long unfrequented haunts, suggested the appellation of *Punta dos Galbos*.

Another projection of land, at the distance of about two leagues, formed a bay, skirted with an extensive grove of venerable cedars; whilst a rivulet, issuing from a glen, whose paler verdure formed a striking contrast, seemed to pour a stream of milk into a spacious basin. The seamen rested on their oars, whilst Gonzales admired the wild luxuriance of nature, which superstitious timidity had so long dreaded to approach: he then sent *Gonzalvo Ayres*, with some

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soldiers, to penetrate into the country ; and the report they soon were enabled to make, that they had seen the sea quite round the land, proved the fallacy of an opinion, in which some of the Portuguese had persisted, who imagined the coast before them was a part of the continent of Africa.

Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

Beyond the grove of cedars, an extensive tract, not so woody as the rest, but covered with fennel (*funcho*) marked the future site of the town of Funchal : here the junction of three rivers, uniting at their entrance into the sea, formed two small islands. Gonzales moored the sloop under their lee ; and, having taken in wood and water, continued his course, until he arrived at a point which had been seen from the southward ; where a second cross recorded the progress of his navigation. The extent of coast, that faded in distant perspective beyond this point, and the calmness of the sea, whose gentle undulation glittered on the shingles, as far as the eye could reach, induced him to style it the *Playa formosa*, or beautiful shore. Two of the Portuguese, in attempting to swim a clear but rapid stream, which they afterwards met with, were nearly lost ; in consequence of which it was called *Soccorridos*, or the helped.

They next opened an high rocky point, forming an haven with the main of the island, where they first discovered the traces of animals ; which raised their curiosity, as they had not hitherto found any, though *Machin* was reported to have seen many wild beasts on his arrival, who did not attempt to molest him. The Portuguese were however soon undeceived, on beholding a number of sea wolves rush into the sea, from a cave that had been hollowed by the tide at the foot of a mountain : this cave in Portuguese was styled *Camera dos Lobos* ; and hence, as is remarked in the narrative of *Alcaforado*, Gonzales obtained his surname.

Though our navigators had advanced thus far in safety, they do not appear, according to the narrative of *Alcaforado*, to have entirely divested

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I.

divested themselves of the terrors of the cloudy spectre. At this place its gloom began to deepen, and to hover on the very surface of the waves; whose violence seemed in the same proportion to increase. Gonzales therefore agreed not to proceed, but immediately returned to the ship; and having procured a considerable quantity of wood, water, birds, and plants, from the ° Island, they set sail for Lisbon, which they reached by the end of August 1420; without any loss or disaster, that tended to abate the joy and satisfaction they experienced.

On their arrival, a public day of audience was appointed by the King to give every celebrity to their successful voyage. From the various specimens of excellent wood, and the trunks of trees presented on this occasion, the name of ° *Madeira* was given to the newly

° An account of the island of *Madeira* was published in Latin by *Landi*, and afterwards translated into Italian, intitled "Descrittione dell' Isola della Madera scritta nella lingua Latina dal Conte Giulio Landi, trad. in volg. da Alemano Fini, in 8, in *Vicenza*, 1574.

¶ See preceding note (v). *Mr. G. Forster*, son of the celebrated *Dr. John Reinold Forster*, who accompanied Captain Cook during his second voyage, in an excellent history of it (2 vols. 4to. 1777), offers some valuable remarks relative to *Madeira*, communicated by Englishmen, who had been many years inhabitants of that island. He describes it as being fifty-five English miles long, and ten broad. *Funchal* is the only city. "It consists of one large mountain, whose branches rise every where from the sea towards the centre of the isle, converging to the summit, in the midst of which I was told is a depression, or excavation, called *the Val* by the inhabitants, always covered with a fresh and delicate herbage. The stones on the isle, which we examined, seemed to have been in the fire, were full of holes, and of a blackish colour; in short the greater part of them were lava. A few of them were of the kind which the Derbyshire miners call *dunstone*. The soil of the whole island is a tarras, mixed with some particles of clay, lime, and sand, and has much the same appearance as some earths we since found on the isle of *Ascension*. From this circumstance, and from the excavation of the summit of the mountain, I am induced to suppose, that in some remote period, a volcano has produced the lava, and ochreous particles, and that *the Val* was formerly its crater. At first sight of *Madeira* I was of a different opinion; but the black *Loo Rock*, the cliff on which *St. John's* castle stands, the nature of the soil and stones, and the situation of the *Val*, convinced me, that the whole had formerly undergone a violent change by fire. Many brooks and small rivulets descend from the summits in deep chasms or glens, which separate the various parts of the isle. We could not however perceive any plains, mentioned by others, through which the waters would probably have taken their course, if any such had existed." (Vol. i. p. 20.)

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SANGUINEM I

° De Barro

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newly discovered island. With the approbation of his father, Prince Henry divided it into two *Capitanias*, or captainships; that of *Funchal* was assigned to Gonzales, with the following arms illustrative of his surname *CAMERA DOS LOBOS*—*On a green escutcheon, a tower, argent, charged with a cross, or; two sea wolves proper, as supporters* *: to Tristan Vaz Texeira, the captainship of *Machico* was allotted, in whose family it continued until the year 1540; when the direct line of inheritance failing, it was given by John the third, to *Antonio da Silveira de Meneses*, son to Nuno Martins da

Ch. II. § 1.

John the first.

"The wines are not all of equal goodness, and consequently of different prices: their method of keeping the ground clean and moist, and ripening the grapes in the shade, by means of walks arched over with laths, contributes to give the Madeira wines that excellent flavour and body for which they are remarkable. The best, made of a vine imported from Candia, by order of the Infante of Portugal Don Henry, is called *Madeira Malmsey*, a pipe of which cannot be bought on the spot for less than forty or forty-two pounds sterling: about thirty thousand pipes, upon a mean are made every year, each containing one hundred and ten gallons. About thirteen thousand pipes of the better sorts are exported, and all the rest is made into brandy for the Brazils; converted into vinegar, or consumed at home.

"The shores of Madeira, and of the neighbouring *Salvozes*, and *Desertas*, are not without fish; but as they are not in plenty enough for the rigid observance of Lent, pickled herrings are brought from Gothenburg in English bottoms, and salted cod from New York, and other American ports, to supply the deficiency. On this occasion I shall mention a general remark, which ought to be applied to all the islands we have touched at during the course of our voyage. Quadrupeds, amphibious reptiles, and insects, are not numerous in islands, at some distance from a continent; and the first are not to be met with at all, unless they are transported thither by men. Fishes and birds, which are able to pass through water or air, are more frequent, and in greater variety. Continents, on the other hand, are rich in the above mentioned classes of animals, as well as in those of birds and fishes, which are more universal. Africa, which we visited during this voyage, in a few weeks supplied us with a great variety of quadrupeds, reptiles, and insects, whilst all the other lands where we touched afforded no new discoveries in those classes.—It is probable, that not only the Canaries, but likewise Madeira, and Porto Santo, were known to the antients; a circumstance from which it is possible to reconcile their various accounts of the number of these islands. (See Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. xxxvii.) The description given of them by antient writers, agree with the modern accounts. (See Vossius in Pompon. Melan, ad cap. x. v. 20.) *Ex iisdem quoque insulis cinnabaris Roman adhibebatur. Sane hodie etiamnum frequens est in insulis fortunatis arbor illa quæ cinnabarin gignit. Vulgo SANGUINEM DRACONIS appellant.*"

* De Barros, decade 1. book 1. chap. iii.

BOOK 1. da Silveira, in testimony of his important services at the siege of Diu, against Solyman Bassa. The island of *Puerto Santo* was assigned by the Duke of Viseo to Pereestrello; at the time when he received this grant, his lot appeared preferable to either of the captainships of Madeira, but in the course of a short period, it was overrun by rabbits, who baffled the industry of the settlers, and could not be kept under; there was also a considerable want of water for the plantations. An immediate attention was paid in 1420, by Gonzales and his associate, to their respective governments: it is reported that the former, in order to clear a space for his intended town of Funchal, set fire to the surrounding shrubs and plants, with which the ground was covered; and that the flames having reached the adjoining forests, a conflagration took place, which was not overcome for seven years. Dr. Johnson observes, with his usual bluntness, in the 'treatise already cited, "Green wood is not very apt to burn; and the heavy rains which fall in these countries, must surely have extinguished the conflagration, were it ever so violent."

In the month of May 1421, Gonzales sailed from Lisbon for Madeira with his family, consisting of *Constantia Rodriguez da Sa*, or *d'Almayda* his wife, *Juan Gonzales*, his eldest son, and two daughters, *Helena* and *Beatrix*; he arrived, after a short voyage, in what had hitherto been called *English Port*, which was now changed, in honour of Robert a Machin, to *Puerto de Machino*.

The

' Introduction to the World displayed, (vol. ii. Murphy's ed. p. 211.)

■ Yet in our own country, where rain is more frequent, where one day frequently displays the different seasons of the year, and where the sun, though some times powerful, can seldom reach the degree of heat that prevails in Madeira, what an alarm did the conflagration of *Radnor Forest* occasion during the summer of the year 1800. "The range of fire, on one side of the vale of *Llangollen*, extended from eight to ten miles, and on the opposite side about four. To a person standing on any of the central mountains, a circumference of twenty miles appeared like an immense volcano. Every exertion was made in cutting trenches to intercept the progress of the flames, but for a considerable time without success."

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The monumental injunction of the original discoverer was afterwards faithfully performed; and Gonzales employed the tree, under whose shade the first altar had been raised in Madeira, for the principal timbers of his church^b, where he afterwards placed the bones of the unfortunate *Anna D'Affet* and *Machin*.

Ch. II. § 1.

John the first.

Prince Henry soon derived a very considerable resource from the discovery and settlement of Madeira, in the fifth of its sugars¹ annually paid to the Order of Christ, of which he was the Grand-master: during the succeeding year, his captains in that island introduced the cultivation of the sugar cane, and the vines that have since become so valuable: a considerable interval however elapsed, before the destructive ravages of a worm, which infected the canes, induced the Portuguese to change the² sugar plantations of Madeira, for the celebrated vineyards, which at present occupy the principal attention of the islanders.

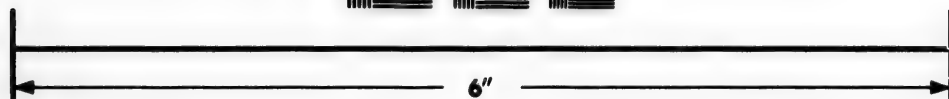
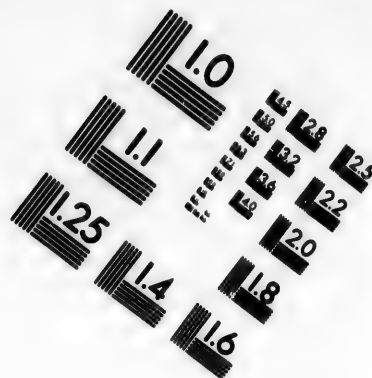
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^b Lafitau says, that two churches were built in Madeira by the orders of Prince Henry, *Notre Dame de Caglio*, and *Notre Dame de l'Ascension*.—Funchal, which at first had only the privileges of a town, conferred on it by Alphonso the fifth in 1451, was advanced to the rank of a city in 1508 by Emmanuel; and in 1514, *Notre Dame de l'Ascension* became the cathedral of a bishop. John the third raised it to metropolitan dignity, and made its archbishop the primate of India.

¹ This, according to *de Barros*, amounted to more than sixty thousand arrobes: an arrobe is worth about thirty-two pounds. *Giovanni Botero*, in his Italian treatise on the causes of the magnificence and grandeur of cities, written about 1590, notices the excellence of Madeira sugars.

² The *Sugar Cane* was first made known to Europeans by the conquests of *Alexander*, whose admiral, *Nearchus*, discovered it in India three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ. During the *crusades*, with many other comforts of civilized life, it became more generally in use; and after flourishing in the *Morea*, i. e. the island of *Rhodes*, and at *Malta*, was introduced into *Sicily*, according to Lafitau, previous to the year 1166, whence it was carried to *Madeira*. The sugar works, afterwards constructed by the Portuguese in the *Brazils*, were the first known in America: these were soon followed in 1506, by a plantation which Ferdinand, king of Spain, made in *St. Domingo*, with the canes that were brought from the *Canaries*; and the first sugar house in the West Indies seems to have been built by *Pedro D'Atencia*. The trade however centred in the port of *Lisbon*, until the Dutch drove the Portuguese from the northern part of *Brazil*. The early trade for sugar has been already noticed, (Ch. i. p. 60.)





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BOOK
I.Prevailing
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Henry.

The Duke of Viseo, by discovering the islands of *Puerto Santo* and *Madeira*, had now surmounted some of the principal obstacles which ignorance or prejudice opposed to the object of his laudable

¹ To what is termed the *Madeiras*, the adjacent *Desertes*, or *Deserters*, should be added, which consist of three small rocky islands, trending to the south-east, from the east point of *Madeira*. Sir John Narborough, in his voyage to the straits of Magellan, says, the *Deserts* are barren rocky islands, of a good height, lying off the south-east point of *Madeira*, above a mile from the shore. In the mid-way from which, there is water enough, and no danger.—By later navigators they are thus represented, (*Oriental Navigator*, Laurie and Whittle, p. 26. ed. 1794.) “The *Deserters* lie nearest north and south by compass, the largest inclining to the north north westward: when they bear west by north, about ten leagues distant, they appear in two separate islands; the *northernmost*, or *Flat Deserter*, being nearly even, long, and high; the *southernmost*, or *Bogio*, in two hummocks, almost as high, and about two thirds long: at six or seven leagues distance, a small island off the northernmost extreme, becomes discernible like a low wall; close to this is an high rock, frequently mistaken for a large ship under sail. The passage between the two *Deserters* is clear, though bounded on each side by breakers, or rather by a surf, but not to be attempted unless from necessity, as it is very narrow, and no soundings, or at least very deep water in it; and a ship is liable to be becalmed in it by the northernmost *Deserter*, which overlaps the *Bogio*. — Between the *Deserters* and *Madeira* is a clear passage, in from fifty to sixty fathom water.”—The two uninhabited islands called the *Salvages*, are sixty leagues from *Madeira*, further to the southward: they are thus noticed by the *Chevalier des Marchais*, (*Voyage to Guinea* 1725.) “The soil is barren, which is probably the reason why the *Portuguese* at *Madeira*, and the *Spaniards* at the *Canaries*, have left them to the canary birds, which breed here in great numbers.”—To this note may be subjoined some account of the marvellous island of *St. Brandon*, or *St. Borondon*, mentioned by Mr. *Nichols*, (see note k, p. 168.) and noticed by *Linschoten* (p. 177. chap. xevi.) *De Bry* terms it *Borodon*. It is conjectured to lie about an hundred leagues west from *Ferro*. As the *Voyages* of *Linschoten* are scarce, I shall give the passage from Wolfe’s translation in 1598: it is noticed in *Astley’s Collection* (vol. i. p. 566.) and the *Modern Universal History* (vol. xii. p. 48.) “On the right side of this island (*El Hierro*, one of the *Canaries*) about an hundred miles distant, there is yet an other wonder to be noted, which is, that oftentimes there is an islande scene thereabouts, called *San Borondon*, where diuers men haue been on lande, being onely such as fell uppon it on the sodaine, and not looking for it: who affirme it to be a very fayre, pleasant, and greene countrey, full of trees, and all kind of victuall, and that it is inhabited by people that are Chriilians; but no man knowes of what nation they are, neyther what language they speake. The *Spaniards* of the islandes of *Canaria* have many times sayled towards it to view it, but they could neuer find it: whereupon there goeth diuers opinions of it; for some think it to be enchanted, and that it may not bee seene but uppon certaine dayes: some thinke it to bee very small, and alwaies couered with cloudes, and that therefore it can not be seene nor founde out; and also the great stormes and strength of the water drieth the shippes from it: but to conclude, it is holden for a truth, that the islande lyeth thereabouts, as all those that come from thence doe certainly affirme.” The same passage may be referred to in the French translation of *de Linschot*, (p. 171.) third edition, printed at Amsterdam in 1638.

able ambition ; but he had also other difficulties to subdue, and these were raised by his own countrymen : though a prince, and one of the most illustrious, *Henry* was obliged to pay the heavy tribute which the malignity of human nature seldom fails to exact from those who attempt to confer important benefits on mankind.—The Systematic Philosophers were alarmed, lest their favourite, and long established theories, should be perverted by the acquisition of real knowledge, which a continuation of the Portuguese discoveries would inevitably produce. The Military beheld with impatience the increase of fame that was obtained by a profession, they had always considered as inferior to their own. The Nobility of Portugal dreaded the opening of a source of wealth, whose influx, as it tended to raise the mercantile character, would proportionably equalize the ascendancy of rank, and check the rapacious sway of territorial possession. A numerous party was moreover formed of the Indolent and Splenetic, who invariably oppose whatever seems to reproach their own supineness, or the perverted talents of a morbid disposition. Such were the leaders of a powerful cabal, that had been long forming against the noblest efforts of the human mind : their sentiments assumed a plausible and specious guise : “ it was presumption to search for a passage to the southern extremity of Africa, since the wisest of the antient geographers had pronounced it to be impracticable. Philosophy had long proved, that even if such a Cape existed, the seas beyond it could not be navigable : what stubborn obstinacy then to persist contrary to such unanswerable arguments ? what dangers would the Portuguese be exposed to ! who, if they succeeded in passing Bojadore, would probably be changed into “ *Blacks*, and retain to the last a mark of disgrace for their

Ch. II. § 7.

John the first.

^m See Mr. Locke's history of navigation (Appendix B). These strange ideas required many years to extirpate. Abraham Hartwell, who at the request of Hakluyt translated, what the latter termed, *The Portuguese pilgrim apparelled in an Italian vesture*, consisting of a report of the

BOOK
I.

their temerity. Preceding princes had sought a nobler object in the field of military glory; nor had wasted the revenue in search of barren countries, and sandy deserts, never intended to be explored. The lives of many valuable subjects were thus sacrificed for precarious and uncertain advantages; and the bravest of the Portuguese would be lost to their country, in attempting to pass the desolate cape of *Bojadore*. If land was wanting to the increased population of Portugal, they tauntingly reminded the king of many tracts that were yet uncultivated: they represented the number of widows and orphans, who by these voyages would be reduced to distress, yet at the same time cherished the military ardour of the monarch, by a view of the conquests that were neglected in Africa; and the trophies that might be gained from the Moors". The sycophants of the

the kingdom of Congo, by *Odoardo Lopez*, brought numerous arguments to support the *Paradoxes* of Lopez, that the torrid and frigid zones are not only habitable, but inhabited, and very temperate, contrary to the opinion of the old philosophers. "If the author's reasons, here alledged, do not sufficiently answer, I refer them that will not yield therein, to the excellent treatise of *Josephus a Costa, de natura novi orbis*, composed by him in the year 1584. --- It was one of the chief motives which moved me to translate this report, to the end it might be more publicly known, that it was not the single fancy of one man, touching the temperature of these two zones, but likewise of divers others, that by their own travel have tried the certainty thereof; among whom, this *Lopez* was one, who delivered this relation in the year 1588, being four years after the treatise made by *Josephus a Costa*." (Churchill's collection, *Harleian*, vol. viii. p. 519.)

"The leading arguments, thus urged against maritime discoveries, have too often been revived. It is sufficient for the present to subjoin only the quaint reply to their fallacy, which PURCHAS offers in his *Commendations of Navigation, as an Art worthy the care of the most worthy; the Necessities, Commodities, Dignities thereof*. (Vol. i. lib. i. p. 17.) "Man that hath the Earth for his Mother, Nurse, and Graue, cannot find any fitter object in this world, to busie and exercise his heavenly parts, than in the knowledge of this Earthly Globe, except in his God. --- The Sea couereth one halfe of this patrimony of man: --- Thus should man at once loose halfe his inheritance, if the *art of Navigation* did not inable him to manage this untamed beast, and with the bridle of the Winds, and saddle of his Shipping, to make him serviceable. Now for the *SerVICES of the Sea*, they are innumerable: it hath on it Tempests and Calmes, to affect and stupifie the subtillest philosopher; sustaineth moueable fortresses for the souldier, mayntayneth, as in our Island, a wall of defence and waterie Garrison to guard the State; entertaines the Sunne with vapours, the Moone with obsequiousnesse, the Starres also with a natural looking-glasse. --- Neither should we alone loose this halfe of Nature's dowrie, without

the court closed the varied tissue of malignancy, exclaiming, how much it was to be lamented, that the Prince would not imitate the prudence of his father, and be content with following the footsteps of such illustrious ancestors." Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

The designs of the Duke of Viseo thus experienced a considerable opposition; and for a time the ardour of his countrymen was so much abated, that he found it difficult to procure seamen, who would dare the raging billows of the tremendous *Bojadore*. Yet as religion had throughout influenced and supported all his designs, he now felt the energy of a mind independent of the world, and resolved to obtain by perseverance, what he could not effect by an appeal to the reason of his enemies.

In virtue of a brief from *Pope John* the twenty-second, given at the city of Avignon, March 14, 1319, King Denis of Portugal had instituted the military order of Christ, on the extinction of the knight templars; assigning it the rents which the latter received from his

without the benefit of this art; but even the earth itself would be unknown to the earth; here immured by high impassable mountaynes, there inaccessible by barren way lesse deserts, here divided and rent in sunder with violent riuers, there ingirt with a strait siege of Sea; here possessed with wild deuouring beasts, there inhabited with wilder man-deuouring men; here covered with huge worlds of wood, there buried in huger spacious lakes; here loosing it selfe in the mids of it selfe, by showres of sand, there remoued, as other worlds out of the world, in remoter islands; here hiding her richest mynes and treasures in sterill wildernesses, which cannot bee fed but from those fertile soyles, which there are planted, and as it were remoued hither by helpe of Nauigation."—And in his *Asia* (vol. v. p. 553.), *Purchas* adds, "Now that I have, after my ability, answered the objections, and produced so many arguments (the most of which are store-houses, and heads of many), let this be the *last argument*, which to me was not the least, and here was placed first,—the increase of learning and knowledge by these worthy discoueries of marine worthies. How little had we knowne of the world, and the wonders of God in the world, had not the Sea opened vs a passage into all lands. *Pegasus* the winged horse, which (the poets fained) with the stroke of his foot first made *Heli-con* the muses' well to spring, was the issue of *Neptune*, and that snaky headed monster *Medusa*. *The mariner seems rough-heaven and rude, according to the ocean that breeds him; but he that can play with those dangers which would transforme others into stones, and dares dwell within so few inches of death; that calls the most tempestuous elements his parents; he, I say, is the true Pegasus, that with his wing-like soiles flies over the world; which hath helped to deliuer Andromeda (geography) before chained to the rocks, and ready to be deuoured of that monster ignorance.*"

BOOK
1.

Portuguese
discoveries
supported by
Pope Martin
the fifth.

his subjects. *Don Fr. Gil. Martins* was appointed the first master: after seven successors, the last of whom was *Diego Lopez da Sousa*, the dignity descended to *Henry Duke of Viseo*, who considerably increased the power and ^o revenue of the Order, by attaching to it the spiritual seigniory of the countries he discovered; and this power was afterwards enlarged, when the same seigniory was extended to the Asiatic and American settlements, through a sense of gratitude and respect for the eminent services of the Grand-master.

His station at the head of the order of Christ, gave a considerable sanction to the designs of this Prince; not only as it tended to influence the opinion of the lower ranks in his favour, but also as it enabled him to unite in a pre-eminent degree, a religious zeal with an enterprising spirit. In the parish of *Nossa Senhora D' Ajuda*, adjoining to Lisbon, and in the place called *Rafello*, an hermitage dedicated to *Nossa Senhora de Belem*, or Bethlehem, was built by his directions, that the friars of the order of Christ might there administer the sacrament to his officers: and from the same devout principle, consistently with his sacred character as *Grand-Master*, he applied to the Pope for assistance, against the faction that opposed the enterprize of navigation; and thus employed the craft of Rome to overcome the subtlety of its various emissaries. *Ferdinand Lopez d' Azevedo*, accordingly hastened to the footstool of ^o *Martin the fifth*,

^o The income of the 454 *Commendas* of the Order of Christ, including 45 which the House of Bragança provided, from a general chapter held in the month of April, 1620, was about 26,000*l.*, and this sum has since been nearly doubled.

^p It is difficult to ascertain the exact year when Prince Henry obtained this *Bull* from the Pope. *De Barros* and *Laftau*, are of opinion that it was after the expedition of *Gonzales*, in 1440. *Purchas* places it in 1441; whereas Pope Martin died in the year 1431. The *Abbe de Guyon*, however, declares that this document bore the date of 1444.—The Prince probably applied for this authority, when he stood most in need of its sanction; and did not wait until a later period, when the successful exertions of his captains had dispersed his enemies. The above writers seem to have confused the first *Bull* which HENRY obtained from *Martin the fifth*, with subsequent confirmations. The curious reader may refer to *Leibnitz* (*Codex Jur. Gent. Diplom. Pars I. p. 489.*) who notices the different privileges, graces, and indulgences, given to the Portuguese Navigators.

fifth, and in a full consistory enforced with eloquence the cause of reason and Portugal. When Lopez dwelt on the benefits, which the Christian church received from the zeal of the *Grand-master*; when he pointed out the heavy expences this Prince had cheerfully sustained; he reminded the cardinals, that the blessings of religion had thus been received in countries, where its benign influence had not before penetrated; that the desolating progress of Mohammedism would thus be effectually opposed, and the scattered sheep brought back to the fold of the true Shepherd.—Ferdinand concluded a long and successful exhortation, by requesting his Holiness to bless the labours of the naval profession, which had afforded such assistance to the Church of Rome; and to consecrate the memory of those who, in so noble a cause, had found a watery grave.

The Jesuits of the Sacred college were not insensible to the advantages they might thus obtain. The Pontiff beheld an increase of power, which the present opportunity was likely to afford, and, without hesitation, acceded to the arguments of Lopez. An exclusive right was immediately given the Portuguese in the islands they already possessed, and also to whatever countries their perseverance might in future explore; concessions that were afterwards confirmed and increased by *Eugenius* the fourth, *Nicholas* the fifth, and *Sextus* the fourth. The discoveries of the Portuguese were thus sanctioned by the very power which afterwards perverted their beneficial effects, and finally destroyed both the heroism and enterprise of the national character, by the racks and dungeons of the Inquisition.

The Duke of Viseo, thus supported, proceeded with resolution towards the object he had continually in view; but this energy was again depressed, by the loss of his distinguished father JOHN THE FIRST, who died at Lisbon on the eleventh of August 1433, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the forty-eighth of his reign. The life of this monarch rapidly hastened to its conclusion, from

Ch. II. § 1.
John the first.

Death of
John the
first.
1433.

BOOK
I.

the moment it was announced that his steadfast friend *Nuno Alvares Pereira* had expired in the devout retreat, where for nine years he had constantly resided. The death-bed of John was a scene of resignation, and parental tenderness: surrounded by his weeping children, he earnestly implored them to love one another; and his parting breath conveyed a lasting injunction to EDWARD his successor, to watch with anxious solicitude over the religion of the State, and the liberties of Portugal. The plague, then raging at Lisbon, prevented the possibility of any public respect being immediately paid to his memory: but when the first anniversary of his death had nearly arrived, the body, attended by the three estates of the realm, was removed with solemn pomp to the monastery of *Batalha*, which John had founded, in consequence of the eventful termination of the battle of Aljubarota. The distance from the metropolis was divided by three stages; and, at each, the royal corps received the tears of his children, and the blessings of his subjects.—The device which this monarch emblazoned, singularly illustrated the future events of his reign. A rock of adamant was represented, surrounded by the sea; and from clouds that concealed its summit, proceeded a *Single band*, grasping a sword, which had penetrated through the *stubborn bardness* of the stone; whilst the motto, *acuit ut penetret*, was exemplified not only by his own conduct, but by the keen and acute judgment, confirmed through his instructions and example, in the mind of Henry Duke of Viseo.

The character of *John the first* appears in the glory of his reign, and in the distinguished virtues of his family. He supported the authority and influence of the crown, yet preserved the loyalty of an heroic and independent people. His children were corrected by the impartial discipline of education, but their filial tenderness, and attachment, experienced no abatement. The throne which John obtained by the specious arts of a politician, was merited by the virtues of a patriot;

who having reached the summit of his wishes resolved, that the splendour, both of his public and private character, should justify an ambition, that impelled him to grasp the sceptre. The strength of his mind was marked on the features of an impressive countenance; and the majestic form he received from nature, which his ponderous helmet and battle axe still denote, was rendered captivating by the simplicity of his manners, and the even hilarity of his disposition.

The short reign of EDWARD THE FIRST who married the *Infanta Leonora of Arragon*, and received his name as a mark of respect for *Edward the third of England*, was worthy of the son of so renowned a father. This young monarch, with a magnificent and liberal spirit, attracted men of science and literature to the court, and rewarded their labours. His enterprising spirit was gratified, by affording every encouragement to the naval projects of his brother; to whom, as Superior of the order of Christ, he gave the sovereignty of *Puerto Santo*, *Madeira*, and of all the islands he might discover on the western coast of Africa. *Gilianez*, a native of *Lagos*, returned from a vain attempt on the invincible *Bojadore*, soon after the accession of Edward: the former had been driven by stress of weather into one of the Canary islands, and from an imprudent zeal in the service of his PRINCE, had been led to seize some of the unoffending natives, whom he brought as captives to Sagres. The liberal mind of Henry was offended at this breach of faith in one of his officers: his reserved coldness to *Gilianez* so affected him,

Ch. II. § 1.
Edward the first.

Edward the first.
1433.

* Edward succeeded John the first, as knight of the garter: see Anstis's Register of the Order, vol. i. p. 185.

* First known to Europeans between the years 1326, and 1334, by means of a French ship driven among them by a storm, prior to their re-discovery by *John de Betancourt* in May 1400. See Appendix (F.)

BOOK
I.

him, that on being sent during the year ' 1433 on another voyage to *Bojadore*, he vowed to perish rather than return unsuccessful. Such determined resolution subdued the obstacles which had baffled so many repeated attempts, and he arrived in exultation at *Sagres*, having accomplished an event, which as Faria remarks, was not inferior, in the general opinion of his countrymen, to the labours of Hercules. *Gilianez*, who had thus regained the confidence of the Prince, was soon employed to continue his successful progress on the coast of Africa. In the following year he again failed in his *barcha*, accompanied by the Duke of Visco's cup bearer, *Alphonso Gonzales Baldaya*, in a *barinel*, the ' largest vessel that had hitherto been employed on discovery. The weather continuing favourable throughout the voyage, they advanced ninety miles beyond *Bojadore*, with

* Writers differ considerably as to the exact date of this memorable event. De Barros leaves it uncertain, near 1434. *Laftau* places it in 1433, after the death of John the first. Dr. Vincent (*Periplus Erythrean*, p. 192.), and Mickle, in his *Lusiad*, prefer 1434;—Dr. Campbell, in Harris's collection of voyages, extends it to 1439. The first seems the most probable, as it allows a sufficient time for the Portuguese to reach the *Angra dos Cavallos* before the year 1336; when their progress was in some measure interrupted by the expedition to Ceuta.

† Owing to their imperfect knowledge of Navigation, the Portuguese imagined that the size of a Vessel, sent on discovery, should be in proportion to the dangers of its Voyage. Notwithstanding the improvements of the present age, the Model of a Ship, best adapted for the purposes of discovery, may be placed amongst the *desiderata* of the nineteenth century. Cook was the first who commissioned a *North-Country* built vessel; strong, and of an easy draught of water: these vessels are also more roomy for their tonnage than most other ships. *Vancouver's* crew were exposed to continual perils from the size and tonnage of the Discovery sloop (340 tons) which was at first designed to be a *Jamaica-man*; and her upper works were thrown out, in no very judicious manner, to give more room on deck, and between decks, contrary to the original plan: the health of his officers, as well as his own, was most severely tried during their extensive survey of coast, from being obliged in all weathers to use the open boats of the ship. It has been suggested by an *old seaman*, and valuable friend to this work, that every ship sent on discovery should have materials to frame, what he styles, a sort of *Dutch schuyt*, as being a form best adapted for accommodation, in proportion to its dimensions, of any that has appeared. This sort of vessel might be made to sail extremely well on a wind, with the help of *lee-boards*; and by reason of its very small draught of water, might pass without danger, where a common shallop, or cutter, would be lost. This small vessel could be rigged as a schooner, and might either attend the ship from her first leaving port, or be put together when she arrives on the coast, or seas, intended to be explored.

with the conscious pride of being the first Europeans, who had dared to venture so far into the trackless waste of the Atlantic. All the interest, which novelty has a tendency to create, was daily presented to the delighted navigators, though they might sometimes "snatch a fearful joy," as they looked back on the receding cape. Having landed to view the adjoining country and inhabitants, they were disappointed in finding only tracks of the caravan, which made the arid plain that stretched before them appear doubly wretched: they however amused themselves in collecting plants, and samples of the soil; and returning to their vessels, called the bay "*Angra dos Ruyvos*, from the abundance of *gurnets* which the seamen had taken.

Ch. II. § 1.
Edward the first.

The Duke of Viseo made every exertion to pursue the development of a coast, which his own perseverance, and the skill of officers, formed in his school of Sagres, gradually opened to the astonishment of Europe. But this partial survey of the western coast of Africa, though it at length conducted his ships to the gold of *Mina*, was only subservient to nobler objects which he had in view—the connection of the Atlantic and Indian seas, and the conducting of the Portuguese to those countries, where the Arabians, in concert with their Venetian agents in Europe, monopolized the trade with India, that *Alexander* and *Nearchus* had introduced. Gilianez and Baldaya were therefore ordered, in the year 1435, to continue their discoveries; the voyage was to be prolonged, if possible, until they met with inhabitants.

* The coast, says *Barbot*, all along from Cape Bojador to *Angra dos Ruyvos*, a large bay thirty-five leagues west of it, is very hilly and mountainous; but lowering, as it draws nearer to the bay, and has no place of any note besides *Penha Grande*, ten leagues south of the cape. *Angra dos Ruyvos*, facing the west, has three fathom water between the two points, and two within, and consequently is only capable to receive small ships. Four or five leagues farther to the southward lies *Porto de Meden*: the shore here is flat and barren, producing nothing but bulrushes. The inhabitants of the Canary islands, and of Madeira, come hither with a number of barks and sloops yearly to catch *gurnets*, or *snappers*, being of the shape of the former, but much larger, which they salt like Newfoundland-bank cod, and make a great trade thereof in their islands. (*Churchill's Collection*, vol. v. p. 526.)

BOOK inhabitants*. After ranging along the coast for forty miles beyond
 I. the *Angra dos Ruyvos*, without seeing a single African, they at length

1435.

determined to adopt the plan that had been suggested by the Duke. Two horses were accordingly landed, and given to riders, who had not yet attained their sixteenth year; the names of these undaunted cavaliers are preserved. *Hector Homen*, and *Diego Lopez D'Almada*, the Nisus and Euryalus of the day, were brought up under the immediate eye of the Prince, and formed a part of his household. They prepared, with eagerness, to penetrate into an unknown country, of whose terrors and burning regions so much had been asserted: these heroes, for they deserve the name, were not allowed armour, lest they should rashly venture to engage the natives. Gonzales gave a sword and spear to each, and taking an affectionate leave, "enjoined them to keep together, to stray on no account from their horses; and if they could effect it without danger, to bring back some of the Moors." The young Portuguese, delighted with being thus preferred, instantly disappeared, and their captains waited the event with a tender impatience.

After wandering for the greater part of the day over a barren sand, they at length beheld nineteen Africans approach, armed with the assagay of that country. To return unseen was impossible, nor did the spirit of either approve the timidity of flight; they therefore ventured to disobey their orders, and rushed on the natives. The Moors, astonished at the sight, instantly retreated to an adjoining cave for security: in vain did the cavaliers exert themselves to dislodge their trembling prisoners; and as one of the Portuguese was wounded in the foot, they judged it prudent to desist. Their zeal had

* They were afterwards called by the Portuguese *Zenagui*, and by the French *Zuenniga*: which province is by some reckoned to have been a part of *Lybia interior*, extending it to Cabo Branco; its limits are assigned by others to the coast between Cape Nao and Cape Bojador. Ancient geography lays down a place near Cape Bojador, south of *Chifarus Fluvius*, giving the name of *Siranga* to the people inhabiting that maritime part of Africa. (Barbot, ib. p. 525.)

had already led them to such a distance from the shore, that they did not receive the hearty congratulation of their commanders until the ensuing morning. Gonzales immediately sent a stronger force to the cave, but they only found some of the weapons, which the Moors in their panic had left: from this event the place was called '*Angra dos Cavallos*, or the bay of horses.

Ch. II. § 1.
Edward the first.

As they proceeded along the rugged coast, on which the sea breaks with a terrible noise, they came to the mouth of a river, situated at the distance of about twelve leagues from the above bay. This Gonzales entered, with the vain hope of meeting with the natives; and being anxious to procure some novelty that might be acceptable at his return, he took the skins of some 'sea wolves, killed by his men on an island which divides the river at its entrance, who had met with them asleep to the number of five thousand. The voyage was then continued as far as *Punto de Gale*, where a fishing net was found made from the interior lamina of bark, resembling the palm tree: none of the inhabitants however appeared; and

Seven leagues south of *Sette Montes*. It has ten fathom water, and without it, four leagues off, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five—red sand mixed with little white transparent stones. Some leagues to the southward of the bay, the coast is hilly, and called *Otagedo*, that is, the *rocky place*, because all faced with rocks and small islands next the shore. We sounded in twenty fathom water, and found rough pebbles, and stony ground. (*Barbot*, ib. p. 527.)

Mr. Park, the African traveller, observed the same want of inhabitants on the sea coast. "The population, however, considering the extent and fertility of the soil, and the ease with which lands are obtained, is not very great in the countries which I visited. I found many extensive and beautiful districts entirely destitute of inhabitants; and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled, or entirely deserted. Many places are likewise unfavourable to population, from being unhealthy. The swampy banks of the *Gambia*, the *Senegal*, and other rivers towards the coast, are of this description. Perhaps it is on this account chiefly that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts."

This animal, so often mentioned by the Portuguese in their early voyages, is since better known by the appellation of the *Seal*, called by the Spaniards *Lobo Marino*, and by the French, *Le Veau Marin*, ou *loup de Mer*. Its flesh was formerly considered as a dainty, and appeared at the great feast given by Archbishop Nevill in the reign of Edward the fourth. (*Pennant's Brit. Zoology*, vol. i. *Leland's Collectanea*.)

BOOK
I.Expedition
to Tangier.
1436.

and after ranging for a considerable distance up and down the coast, our navigators were at length compelled, from a want of provisions, to steer for ^b Lagos.

The unfortunate ambition of the Portuguese monarch, *Edward the first*, to possess the city of *Tangier*, here occasioned a pause in the discoveries of his illustrious brother; and the military ardour of the young king repressed a commerce for three years, which his subjects afterwards opened for gold dust in the river, whose entrance had been explored by Gonzales in the above voyage. The mariners of Sagres were now employed in the numerous fleet that sailed for *Ceuta* on the twenty-second of August 1436. Henry Duke of Viseo, and his brother Ferdinand, commanded this unfortunate expedition. A general confederacy of the Moors was immediately headed by the King of Fez; and the siege of Tangier had scarcely commenced, before the assailants were attacked in their trenches: a promise of restoring Ceuta to the Moors, obtained the safe return of the Portuguese troops. *Ferdinand* generously became an hostage for the faith of his country; his captivity which was only terminated by ^c death, cast a shade on the political history of this period, and justified the inveterate sarcasms of the Africans. The health of the Duke of Viseo was shaken by the painful sensations he endured for Ferdinand: the fleet also which had been ordered to return, suffered from a storm on the coast of Andalusia; many of the ships were wrecked, and although his brother *Don John* soon appeared off Ceuta with another powerful squadron, it was of little service in restoring either the fame or honour of the Portuguese. At length a positive order arrived for the immediate recal of Prince

Henry:

^b De Barros, Asia Decad. i.—Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa, tom. i.

^c Camoens notices this event. (Mickle's *Lusiad*, book iv. p. 24. vol. ii. 8vo. ed.). A note illustrative of this part of the Portuguese history is subjoined by the translator.—An account of the captivity of Ferdinand, who died in 1443, was written by his secretary, Ferreras (t. vi. p. 512.). The martyrdom of this prince is annually commemorated by his countrymen on the fifth of June.

Henry. His mortified spirit avoided the malicious sneer of the court of Lisbon, and he immediately retired to *Sagres*, where his own perseverance and industry recruited the expences of the expedition against Tangier.

Ch. II. § v.
Edward the first.

The plague which raged at Lisbon, during the year 1438, terminated the short reign of EDWARD, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He had retired to the abbey of *San Tomar* in Estremadura; when, on opening a letter from the metropolis, he was immediately seized with the infection, and died, according to the register of the order of the garter, on the nineteenth of September: *Henry the fifth* of England, his cousin, had conferred this honour of the blue ribband. Previous to his death, every exertion was made to restore *Ferdinand* to liberty, and in his last moments Edward enjoined his ministers to give a strenuous support to the preparations then making both by sea and land: a considerable sum was assigned for his brother's ransom; in case that should be refused, the King entreated them to give up Ceuta, according to his original desire.—This monarch united the abilities of a scholar, with the talents of a statesman. As a legislator, his character was deservedly esteemed: he excelled in all the manly exercises of the age; nor can his versatile genius be better exemplified, than by remarking, that among the many works he composed, Edward was author of some political reflections, entitled the *Good Counsellor*, and of a *Treatise on Horsemanship*, in which he was very skilful.

The mild and equitable virtues of *Don Pedro* supported the government of Portugal, during the infancy of his nephew ALPHONSO THE FIFTH: one of the first acts of his regency was to renew a ^c treaty of

Regency of
Don Pedro.
1438.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 736. In the preceding year (1438) Henry the sixth granted a licence to the Portuguese agent in England,—to export to Florence sixty sacks of wool of Cotteswold in Gloucester, for the service of the king of Portugal, in order to procure at Florence certain cloths of gold and silk for that king's use. (*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 684.)

BOOK
I.Antonio
Gonzales.
1441.

of friendship and commerce with the English.—The disposition of the two brothers, equally inclined to favour the progress of discovery; and the unwearied exertions of *Prince Henry* received a seasonable and uniform support from the abilities of the *Duke of Coimbra*. Two caravellas sailed in the year 1440 from Sagres, but were forced back by unfavourable weather. In 1441, these were succeeded by a Voyage which a young officer, *Antonio Gonzales*, made in a small vessel, with twenty-one men, to the island where such a number of sea-wolves had been seen by *Alphonso Gonzales*. To this ship *Alphonso Gotterez* was appointed secretary, who was gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince. Their instructions were to obtain an account of the inhabitants and country; and, that he might not return without some commercial advantage being gained, Gonzales was also commissioned to procure a cargo of the skins of the sea-wolf. The enterprising mind of the intrepid Portuguese was so anxious to execute the former part of his instructions, that on having received his lading, he thus declared his own impatience and zeal for the service in which he had engaged:—"Let us strive my friends to carry home a more valuable acquisition to the Prince than these furs; a seaman should never be contented with a mere discharge of duty. Let us endeavour to penetrate this inhospitable country: the intention of the Duke is not so much to open a trade on the coast, as to convert its natives to Christianity. Traces of population have been already observed by my predecessor: let ten be selected from the crew; I am ready to lead them on. I feel already that our attempt will be rewarded, and that we shall return to Sagres with more glory than was expected from this voyage." The ardour of their young commander could not be resisted, his determination was applauded by every one; but they all united in a request that he would continue with the ship. Their persuasions were ineffectual, and having landed

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landed on the first approach of night, Gonzales, with nine of his followers, entered on their perilous attempt.

Ch. II. § 1.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Coimbra.

Having advanced ten miles from the shore, they discerned a native pursuing a camel, with an assagay in each hand. The sudden appearance of the Portuguese rendered him perfectly motionless with astonishment; and before he could recover, he was taken by the secretary *Gotterez*, who had outrun his companions. As they returned with their prize towards the shore, they plainly traced some recent footsteps, which the glimmering light enabled them to discern on the sand, and advancing, beheld at a distance forty natives assembled; these had been companions of their prisoner. The Portuguese could only secure a female Moor, who had strayed from the party; the rest withdrew on the first appearance of an enemy, and from an adjoining eminence, contemplated the unusual figures of their invaders. Gonzales opposed the general wish to ascend the hill, he reminded them of their distance from the ship; that the day already began to close, and that an unnecessary effusion of blood was directly contrary to the humane orders he had received from the Duke. This prudent advice secured the few advantages already obtained; and they returned unmolested by the Moors. The next morning when preparing to set sail, another Portuguese ship arrived, commanded by *Nuno Tristan* of the Prince's household, who from infancy had enjoyed the support of this renowned patron of naval merit.

A second excursion from the coast was planned without delay, and executed the following night: they were joined by *Diego de Vigliadores*, and *Gonzales da Cintra*, afterwards so distinguished; nor was it long before some inhabitants appeared. The shout of *Portugal! Portugal! San Jago! San Jago!* stupified the Moors with fear; but on their recovering, a struggle ensued, in which three of them were slain. Nuno Tristan was at one time in imminent danger;

BOOK
I.

nothing but his being armed could have saved him from the strength of the Moor with whom he wrestled; ten prisoners were secured. Gonzales was intreated to commemorate this voyage, by receiving the order of knighthood on the continent, and giving a name to the place. The importunity of Nuno Trifan at length induced Gonzales to comply, and this circumstance suggested the appellation of *Puerto del Cavallero*, or the Knight's harbour.

When the Portuguese had reached their ships, they endeavoured, by every means that ingenuity could suggest, to derive information from the captives; and found that an Arab, who was on board, understood their language. It was agreed that this interpreter should return with the female captive, and persuade the natives to redeem their countrymen; but the event did not answer the general expectation. In about two days some of the natives were seen approaching the shore, purposely sent to decoy the Portuguese into an ambush; finding that this scheme did not succeed, those who were concealed issued from their lurking place, and presented themselves with the Arab, who was bound. Whilst he nobly warned Gonzales from any attempt to land, a general volley of stones, discharged at the boats, shewed the Portuguese how much the natives were exasperated. The officers of Prince Henry strictly obeyed his humane orders, in not returning any act of hostility. Gonzales immediately got under weigh, and carried the Moors to Sagres: he was rewarded for this, and other services, with the Alcaidariate of San Tomar, and a commandary; and was also appointed by the Prince to be one of his private secretaries. *Nuno Trifan*, having first careened his ship, proceeded according to his orders along the coast, until he reached a cape which from the whiteness of its cliffs, received the name of ^d *Cabo Blanco*: he landed, and found some fishing nets on the shore; but though repeated excursions were made into

^d De Barros, *Faria y Sousa*.

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into the country, they could not meet with any of the inhabitants. He therefore 'surveyed the coast, and returned to Portugal.

Ch. II. § 1.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Coimbra.

Among the prisoners, taken in the joint expedition of *Antonio Gonzales* and *Nuno Trifan*, were three Moors of rank and opulence. The principal captive not only promised to pay a ransom for his safe return, but also to give the Portuguese six or seven of his slaves; and similar offers were made by the two others. The acquisition of so many converts from Mohammedism, was eagerly embraced by the Grand-Master of the order of Christ: he also considered, that the favourable report which these might make, on their return to Africa, of the friendly treatment they received from the Portuguese, would accustom the natives to entertain a more favourable idea of his navigators; and that among so many, something certain might be known respecting the strange accounts of the burning regions of their continent. Preparations were therefore made for another

* The Portuguese historians, *Du Barros* and *Faria y Sousa*, do not mention any drawings of the coast being ever taken, or that the soundings were noticed: but the encouragement that was given by the Prince to the construction of charts, clearly proves that hydrographers from the academy at Sagres, if not the noted Majorcan *President James* himself, sailed with the captains on their voyages of discovery; and from their drawings, the coast of Africa, from *Cape Non* southwards, was first laid down. A curious object of research is here presented to any antiquarian, who may hereafter chance to reside at Lisbon: probably some of these geographical MSS. still exist, or might be restored from early copies that were taken. *Bartholomew Columbus*, who supported himself for some time in London by the sale of Charts, was the first person who brought a knowledge of them into England from the *Portuguese school*. In 1489, he printed the first map of the world that appeared in this country, and dedicated it to Henry the seventh. It is remarkable, that in tracing the subsequent improvement of the science of Navigation among the Portuguese and the English, an astonishing contrast appears: the Portuguese, as they advanced in skill, became like the Dutch avaricious of their experience; whereas the English uniformly preserved that open liberality, which distinguishes the British seaman.—*Dr. Vincent*, in his *Periplus of the Erythrean*, notices (page 191. note 307.) this circumstance from *Purchas*. "*Pietro della Valle*, who sailed both in English and Portuguese ships, in the East Indies, about 1620, observes, that the *Portuguese masters and pilots* made a mystery of their knowledge; whereas on board the *English ships* all the youths were summoned to take the observation at noon; their books and calculations were then likewise corrected." Hence, adds *Dr. Vincent*, we may trace a cause why the Science has always been increasing among the English, and declining among the Portuguese.—Ought we not to add, that the mind, and exertions of the latter, were palsied by the *Inquisition*?

B O O K
I.

another voyage to the coast, during the year 1442: the command was again given to the gallant *Antonio Gonzales*, accompanied by a gentleman of the name of *Balthazar*. He had been sent by the Emperor *Frederick the third*, to serve under the Portuguese princes at *Centa*, where his bravery procured him the honours of knight-hood. *Balthazar* was at this time on a visit to the Duke at Sagres; and being anxious to carry home some account of the newly discovered countries, had requested permission to attend Gonzales.

Antonio
Gonzales.
1442.

The romantic mind of Balthazar expressed a desire to behold the unusual storms, which he heard described as arising in the Atlantic; nor was it long before he enjoyed or lamented his inclination: so dreadful a gale of wind came on before they reached the coast of Africa, that no one on board expected to survive it. They however providentially weathered out its rage, and returned to port, where every exertion was made, without delay, to refit the damage sustained. Balthazar preserved his resolution, and displayed a firmness worthy of his country: his conduct also shews what a degree of confidence was at this time placed in the skill of the Portuguese seamen. Having at length gained the coast, the principal Moor was landed, and a deference paid him, which his professions and conduct seemed to justify: but the liberal courtesy of his late masters was contrasted and not rewarded by his behaviour; he forgot all his promises with the possession of liberty. It is however probable, that the Moor informed the natives, the other captives were returned; as before the ninth day had elapsed, there appeared above an hundred who wished to barter for the ransom of their countrymen. Ten negroes, from different parts of Africa, were offered and accepted for two remaining captives; but the sight of a considerable quantity of 'GOLD DUST, then first beheld by Europeans, occasioned the most lively emotions. The Moors

Gold dust
first offered
to the Por-
tuguese.
1442.

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also presented a buckler, made of the undressed skin of a buck, and some Ostrich Eggs, considered as being great rarities by the Prince. This river, as it was called, though only an arm of the sea, running about six leagues into the continent under the tropic of Cancer, received from its * gold dust the name of *Rio-del-Ouro*.

Ch. II. § 1.

Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Cumbra.

The

* As the trade for gold dust was of so much importance, in destroying the opposition that had been made against the discoveries of the Portuguese, and as this trade led to the first establishment of a Mercantile Company at *Lagos*, I have subjoined the following account from *Mr. Park's Travels*, (p. 446.)—"The gold from the hilly country of *Manding*, which lies to the south-east of Cape de Verd, between the fifth and seventh degrees of west longitude, and the twelfth and thirteenth degrees of north latitude, so far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in small grains, nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head, to that of a pea, scattered through a large body of sand or clay; and in this state it is called by the *Mandingoes* *Sanoos Munko*, gold powder. About the beginning of December, when the harvest is over, and the streams and torrents have greatly subsided, the *Manfa*, or chief man of the town, appoints a day to begin *Sanoos koo*, gold washing; and the women are sure to have themselves in readiness by the time appointed. An hoe, or spade, for digging up the sand, two or three calabashes for washing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold dust, are all the implements necessary for the purpose. On the morning of their departure, a bullock is killed for the first day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are used to ensure success. The *Manfa* of *Kamalia*, with fourteen of his people, were, I remember, so much disappointed in their first day's washing, that very few of them had resolution to persevere, and the few that did had but very indifferent success; for instead of opening some untried place, they continued to dig and wash in the same spot where they had dug and washed for years, and where, of course, but few large grains could be left.

"The washing the sands of the streams is by far the easiest way of obtaining the gold dust; but in most places the sands have been so narrowly searched before, that unless the stream takes some new course, the gold is found but in small quantities. While some of the party are busied in washing the sands, others employ themselves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the stream has carried away all the clay, sand, &c. and left nothing but small pebbles. The search among these is a very troublesome task. I have seen women who have had the skin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold, which they call *Sanoos birro*, "gold stones," that amply repay them for their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of *Kamalia*, found in one day two pieces of this kind; one of five drachms, and the other of three drachms weight. But the most certain and profitable mode of washing is practised in the height of the dry season, by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near some hill which had previously been discovered to contain gold. The pit is dug with small spades, or corn hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabashes. As the negroes dig through the different strata of clay or sand, a calabash or two of each is washed, by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed,

until

BOOK
I.

The same and advantage of the Portuguese discoveries were now placed beyond the reach of prejudice or detraction. It pleased God that their illustrious projector should live to enjoy the accomplishment of this event, though the short period of human existence was too confined for the final completion of his hopes, in witnessing the discovery of the Cape, which his superior mind had certainly in view. This gold dust brought by his captains to Portugal, operated as a sovereign panacea on the irritation and obstinacy of the public

until they come to a stratum containing gold; or until they are obstructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a stratum of fine reddish sand, with small black specks therein, they find gold in some proportion or other, and send up large calabashes full of the sand for the women to wash; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always washed by the women.

"The manner of separating the gold from the sand is very simple, and is frequently performed by the women in the middle of the town; for when the searchers return from the valleys in the evening, they commonly bring with them each a calabash or two of sand, to be washed by such of the females as remain at home. The operation is simply as follows: A portion of sand or clay (for gold is sometimes found in a brown coloured clay), is put into a large calabash, and mixed with a sufficient quantity of water. The woman, whose office it is, then shakes the calabash in such a manner, as to mix the sand and water together, and give the whole a rotatory motion; at first gently, but afterwards more quick, until a small portion of sand and water, at every revolution, flies over the brim of the calabash. The sand thus separated, is only the coarsest particles mixed with a little muddy water. After the operation has been continued for some time, the sand is allowed to subside, and the water poured off; a portion of coarse sand, which is now uppermost in the calabash, is removed by the hand, and fresh water being added, the operation is repeated until the water comes off almost pure. The woman now takes a second calabash, and shakes the sand and water gently from the one to the other, reserving that portion of sand which is next the bottom of the calabash, and which is most likely to contain the gold. This small quantity is mixed with some pure water, and being moved about in the calabash, is carefully examined. If a few particles of gold are picked out, the contents of the other calabash are examined in the same manner; but, in general, the party is well contented, if she can obtain three or four grains from the contents of both calabashes. Some women, however, by long practice, become so well acquainted with the nature of the sand, and the mode of washing it, that they will collect gold, where others cannot find a single particle. The gold dust is kept in quills, stopp'd up with cotton, and the washers are fond of displaying a number of these quills in their hair. Generally speaking, if a person uses common diligence, in a proper soil, it is supposed that as much gold may be collected by him in the course of the dry season, as is equal to the value of two slaves (about thirty-six or forty pounds Sterling)."

public mind. As a learned ^a writer remarks, "This is the primary date to which we may refer that turn for adventure which sprung up in Europe, which pervaded all the ardent spirits in every country for the two succeeding centuries, and which never ceased till it had united the four quarters of the globe in commercial intercourse. Henry had stood alone for almost forty years; and had he fallen before these few ounces of gold reached his country, the spirit of discovery might have perished with him, and his designs might have been condemned as the dreams of a Visionary."

Ch. II. § 2.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Cumbria.

The dock-yards at *Sagres* resounded with the renewed activity, and exertions of its shipwrights. In 1443, *Nuno Trifstan* was ordered to sea at a short notice, that he might advance the knowledge of a coast, so likely to prove advantageous to the Portuguese commerce. Trifstan accordingly doubled *Cabo Blanco*, which had been explored by his perseverance, and standing about ten leagues to the south-east, fell in with an island, called by the inhabitants *Adeget*, but since ¹ *Arguin*, a name given to the bay in which it lies. The

Almadias,

^a Dr. Vincent's Periplus of the Erythrean sea, p. 192.

¹ The Portuguese gave the cluster of seven islands, on the northern part of the coast of Senegambia, which had their respective names, *Las Garzas, Nar, Tider*, &c. the general appellation of *Arguim*, or *Arguin*; because of the factory, or fort, which King *Alphonso* built on the island so called: that of *Adeget* was the first discovered. *Barbot* dates this event from 1440; I have followed de Barros. The former observes, (Churchill's Collection, vol. v. p. 530.) "It is reported, that the Portuguese fort at *Arguim* was in former ages possessed by a Moorish nation, called *Schek Arabs*, who drove a trade there, and applied themselves to fishing; and that the French in those days used to send some ships thither, in January and February, to catch sharks, on the coast betwixt *Arguim* and *St. John's river*, about twenty leagues to the southward, which they dried in the sun ashore, and boiled the livers fresh to extract lamp-oil, whercof they carried home considerable quantities."—The *Cerne* of Ptolemy, moved by the learned into a variety of places, is now generally thought to signify *Arguin*; an idea which originated chiefly from D'Anville. The following statement of the trade at *Arguin* is preserved by Hakluyt (vol. ii. part 2. page 188.) in a *Relation sent by Melchior Peteney to Nigil de Moura at Lisbon, from the island and castle of Arguin, concerning the rich and secret trade from the inland of Africa thither, Anno 1591*. "As concerning the Trade to this Castle, and Island of *Arguin*, your Worship is to understand, that if it would please the King's Majesty to send

BOOK
I.

Almadias, or small canoes used by the natives, were at first mistaken for birds, as their mode of using these boats was to sit athwart, and employ their feet instead of paddles.—Nuno Tristan sailed from Adeget to another small island west of Arguin; on account of the seasonable supply it afforded, he named it *de las Garças*: during his stay every attention was paid to explore the country. He then returned with some of the inhabitants, and probably with specimens of their *Almadias*, and other curiosities.

The

hither two or three caravels once in a yeere with Flanders and Spanish commodities, as brace-lets of glasse, knives, belles, linnen-cloth, looking-glasses, with other kinds of small wares, his highnesse might do great good here. For sixty leagues up into the land, the Moores have many exceeding rich golde mines; insomuch, that they bring downe their golde to this castle to traffique with us; and for a small trifle they will give us a great wedge of gold. And because here is no trade, the sayd Moores carry their golde to *Fm*, being 150 leagues distant from hence, and there doe exchange the same for the foresayd kindes of commodities. By this meanes also his Majesty might stop that passage, and keepe the King of Fez from so huge a masse of golde. Scarlet-clothes and fine purples are greatly accepted of in these partes. It is a most fertile country within the land, and yeeldeth great store of wheat, flesh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were possible, you should do well to deale with his Majesty, either himselfe to send a couple of caravels, or to give your worship leave to traffique here; for here is a very good harbour where ships may ride at ancre hard by the castle. The countrey where all the golde mines are, is called the kingdome of *Darba*. In this kingdome are great stores of cities and townes; and in every city and towne a capitaine, with certaine souldiers, which captaines are lords and owners of the sayd townes. One city there is called *Coston*, another *Xanigeton*, as also the cities of *Tubguer*, *Aucque*, *Amader*, *Qyarberque*, and the towne of *Faroo*; the which townes and cities are very great, and fairely built, being inhabited by rich Moores, and abounding with all kind of cattell, barley, and dates. And here is such plenty of golde found upon the sands by the rivers side, that the sayd Moores usually carry the same northward to *Morocco*, and southward to the city of *Tombuto* in the land of *Negros*, which city standeth about three hundred leagues from the kingdome of *Darba*; and this kingdome is but sixty leagues from this island and castle of *Arguin*. Wherefore I beseech your worship to put his Majesty in remembrance hereof; for the sayd cities and townes are but ten dayes journey from hence. I heartily wish that his Majesty would send two or three merchants to see the state of the countrey, who might travell to the foresayd cities, to understand of their rich trade. For any man may go safe, and come safe from those places: and thus without troubling of your worship any further, I humbly take my leave.

"Your worship's servant,

"From the Island and Castle of Arguin,
the 20th of January 1591."

MELCHIOR PITONEY."

The reader has been already referred to another part of this work for an ^a abstract of the excellent account of the ¹ Canary islands, published by Mr. Glas. *Lancerota, Fuertaventura, and Ferro*, were exchanged by the Duke of Viseo in 1444, with *Maffiot de Betancour*, for some possessions in the island of Madeira: this gentleman was nephew to the Frenchman, who obtained the original grant of the Canary islands from Henry the *third* of Castile, at the intercession of *Robin de Braquer morte*. The Duke of Viseo immediately fitted out a powerful squadron, under the command of *Fernand de Castro*, grand-master of his household, to subdue the remaining islands of *Canaria, Palma, Gratiota, Inferno, Alegresse, Santa-Cbiara, Rocca, and Lobos*. The king of Castile, however, afterwards claimed this conquest of Prince Henry's; nor did the latter feel any inclination to resist this demand, since the produce of the islands by no means answered his expectation.

Ch. II. § 1.
Regent of Don
Pedro, Duke of
C Coimbra.

The inhabitants of *Logos*, in the kingdom of Algarve, were the first to project a chartered commerce on the discoveries of their countrymen; the liberality with which the Prince granted their request, proves, at this distance of time, that the Gold of Africa was only a secondary object to his capacious mind: and though the observations of an experienced writer are hostile to the corporate rights of ^a commercial aggrandizement in general, yet still this primary institution

Origin of the
East India
Company.

^a Appendix (F.)

¹ See also "Histoire de la premiere decouverte et conquête des Canaries, faite en 1402 par Jean de Bethencourt, Chambellan du Roi Charles VI. écrite du tems même, par *Pierre Poutier* et *Jean le Verrier*, et mise en lumiere par Galica de Bethencourt, in 8. Paris 1630." To which may be added, "Conquista y antiequedades de las islas de la gran Canaria, y su descripción, con muchas advertencias de sus privilegios, conquistadores, por D. Juan Nunez de la Pena, in 4. en Madrid 1676." These islands are noticed by *Lincolton* (chap. xcvi.), who says that they were called Canaries from the number of *dogs* found on them when first discovered. This however is contradicted in Mr. Glas's work.

^a Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (Vol. ii. p. 479.). "A company of merchants are, it seems, incapable of considering themselves as sovereigns, even after they have become

BOOK
I.

stitution of a company at *Lagos*, must have been of essential service to the future discoveries of the Portuguese. The designs of their Prince, thus substantiated with the rising trade of the kingdom, from henceforth no longer depended on the life of an individual; the mercantile interest was now united with the investigation of science, and the improvement of navigation.

The southern coast of Algarve, trends from Cape St. Vincent to the river Guadiana, containing the bays of *Lagos*, *Faro*, and *Tavira*. This kingdom originally extended into the Spanish territory; and at one time comprehended a considerable part of the opposite shore of Africa. The city of *Lagos*, capital of a district of the same name, was founded, according to *Refende*, on the site of the antient *Lacobra* built by a colony of Carthaginians, three hundred years before the Christian æra; and is situated about six leagues from Cape St. Vincent: for a considerable time *Lagos* was honoured with the residence of the supreme officer of Algarve. Its large and spacious bay, sheltered from the north, north-west, and west north-west winds, is capable of receiving a numerous fleet; the city arises on the western side; the harbour, which lies before it, contains from seven to eight fathom water: five leagues of an irregular and rocky

rich. Trade, or buying in order to sell again, they still consider as their principal business, and by a strange absurdity, regard the character of the sovereign, as but an appendix to that of the merchant. . . . Their mercantile habits draw them in this manner, almost necessarily, though perhaps insensibly, to prefer upon all occasions the little and transitory profit of the Monopolist, to the great and permanent revenue of the sovereign, and would gradually lead them to treat the countries subject to their government, nearly as the Dutch treat the Moluccas."

▪ Has any statue, or public testimony of respect, been raised to the memory of the Duke of Viseo, in our New East India House? It would commemorate the name of a prince who laid the foundation of the East-Indian commerce of Europe, and would also be a memorable record of the early alliance that subsisted between Portugal and this country.

• In consequence of which, the title of the Portuguese monarchs was couched in the following terms: *Reys dos Algarves, daquem, e dalem Mar em Africa*.

► There was also a town of the hither Spain, of this name, situated between *Viminacium* and *Segisama*, the inhabitants of which were termed *Lacobricenses* by Pliny.

rocky coast extend from Lagos to Sagres. This city was soon resorted to from all parts, on account of the astonishing curiosities, which some reported had been conveyed thither by the Portuguese navigators from the islands and coast of Africa. The favourable situation of their town, and its vicinity to Sagres, cherished the enterprise of its inhabitants: the tunny Fishery on their coast furnished an excellent nursery for seamen; and a fertility of soil which supplied the uncultivated regions of the North, with its oil, dried fruits, and corn, had already nurtured a commercial spirit. The inhabitants of Lagos, thus prepared, beheld the discoveries on the coast of Africa in an unprejudiced light: on the very spot, which a colony of Carthaginians had originally chosen, from its advantageous situation for trade, preparations were now making to lay the first foundation of that commerce, which gradually extended from the *Rio del Ouro*, to the distant seas both of India and China.

The names of these celebrated merchants are preserved; and what is remarkable, one of the first was ancestor of the distinguished *Bartholemew Diaz*, who afterwards discovered and passed the Cape of Good Hope. *Lançarot*, of the Prince's household, *Juan Diaz Gilianez*, who doubled Cape Bojadore, *Estevan Alfonso*, and *Rodrigo Alvarez*, were the partners of this memorable company. Having received the sanction of their Prince, a squadron of six caravels was fitted out, over which Lançarot was appointed commander by the Duke. They sailed from Lagos during the year 1444, and arrived at the island *de las Garças*, on the eve of Corpus-Christi day:

Ch. II. § 1.
*Reign of Dom
Pedro, Duke of
Cambrés.*

Camens was sensible of the advantages which his Country in this respect possessed:

" Proud o'er the rest, with splendid wealth arrayed,
As crown to this wide empire, Europe's head,
Fair LUSITANIA smiles; the western bound,
Whose verdant breast the rolling waves surround,
Where gentle evening pours her lambent ray,
'The last pale gleaming of departing day.'"

Mickle's Lusitadas, vol. i. book 3. p. 92.

B O O K
I. day: they then proceeded for the adjoining island of *Nar*, which the captive Moors had described; but lest the sight of so many vessels should alarm the inhabitants, two boats were dispatched, commanded by *Martin Vicente*, and *Gil Vazquez*, and it was determined that Lançarot should follow with the ships. The boats reached the island at break of day; an eager desire to procure information, by seizing the persons of the inhabitants, overcame the wonted humanity of the Portuguese; the village was in consequence assailed, and one hundred and fifty captive Africans raised a spirit of revenge, which quickly extended to the adjacent coast. Lançarot then returned to Lagos, having first visited the desert island of *Tider*. The honour of knighthood was conferred on him for this expedition; he was also raised by the Prince to the rank of nobility, nor were the different officers of the squadron neglected.

Gonzales da
Cintra.

The fatal voyage of *Gonzales da Cintra* expiated the want of forbearance which the squadron under Lançarot had shewn. The character of Gonzales stood high in every point of view; and his merit had gradually raised him to be gentleman of the Prince's household. A Moor of the *Assanhaji* tribe, whom he received on board as an interpreter, obtained and betrayed his confidence: considerable hopes of plunder were held out by the crafty African, if Gonzales would steer for the island of *Arguin*; proceeding thither, the ship
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A description of this tribe occurs in the subsequent voyage of Cado Mosta, by whom they are termed *Axanaghi*. Major Rennell informs us (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 428.) that they are the *Zenbaga* of our maps, and the *Sanbaga* of Edrisi and Abulfeda. They are at present placed by geographers at no great distance from the coast of the ocean, between the rivers of *Nun* and *Senegal*, in the position in which the early discoverers found them. Herodotus divides the inhabitants of Africa, with the exception of strangers, who were the Phœnicians and Greeks, into the Africans and *Æthiopians*; one of which possessed the northern, the other the southern part of Africa. By these nations, adds Major Rennell, are evidently intended the *Moors* and the *Negroes*. At present the negroes are not found higher up than the Senegal river, or about 17°, and that only in the inland parts. It appears that the *Senbaga* tribe, who are not negroes, possessed the coast about Cape Verde, in the time of Ptolemy, which received from him the epithet *Asynarium*.

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put into a bay on this side of Cape Blanco, about fourteen leagues beyond the Rio-del-Ouro: the Moor, having obtained leave of absence, under the pretence of visiting some relations, escaped with another of his countrymen. Gonzales, when too late, perceived he had been treacherously dealt with; and that this interpreter had only come on board to procure information relative to the object of the voyage. The high spirit of Gonzales was mortified at thus becoming the dupe of a Moor; during the night he embarked with only twelve of his men, and pressed forward with too much eagerness to chastise the perfidy he had experienced: they had omitted to watch the flowing of the tide, and in consequence of this the boat was stranded. The ensuing morning shewed their situation to an ungenerous enemy, and two hundred Moors immediately hastened to seize their prey. Gonzales fell, with seven of his companions; the remaining five swam to the ship, and returned to Lagos with two Moors taken on the coast: the name of *Angra de Gonzales da Cintra* marks the place, where the first Portuguese were killed in their newly discovered countries.

Ch. II. § 1.
*Regency of Don
 Pedro, Duke of
 Coimbra.*

The DUKE OF VISEO had always opposed any act of cruelty or oppression towards the Africans; and though he was anxious to obtain information from all quarters, his captains had only received orders to make prisoners of some of the natives: even the mild disposition of more experienced officers, has not always been able to preserve the humanity, which they were inclined, and instructed to cherish amidst the islands of the Pacific. When we look back over the lapse of more than three centuries, we must not expect a general influence of the virtue which *suffereth long, and is kind*: it must therefore often have been difficult for the Patron of discovery, in a rude uncivilized age, to enforce the principle of doing good, which invariably actuated his own mind; nor can the severe moralist be justified, who, in contemplating the progress of these discoveries, has made the following

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I.

following remarks: "On what occasion, or for what purpose, cannons and muskets were discharged among a people harmless and secure, by strangers, who, without any right, visited their coast; it is not thought necessary to inform us. The *Portuguese* could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reason to believe but that they murdered the negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would destroy, or what would be the consternation of those that should escape. --- What mankind has lost and gained, by the genius and designs of this PRINCE, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed; the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practise cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of *Henry* had slept in his bosom, and surely more happy for the oppressors. But there is reason to hope, that out of so much evil, good may sometimes be produced; and that the light of the gospel will at last illuminate the sands of *Africa*, and the deserts of *America*."—In such a manner did JOHNSON consider the noblest efforts of the human mind; his prejudices confused the character of the Portuguese and Spaniards; and his zeal for religion made him forget, that if the number of its converts was not considerable, yet that the desolating progress of the doctrines of Mohammed was arrested by the discoveries of the Duke of Visco.

The

* Introduction to the World displayed (vol. ii. pages 218. 220. Murphy's edition).

* It is equally interesting, and useful, to compare the sentiments of great men, on points which involve the happiness of mankind, and respecting which much diversity of opinion has arisen. To the remarks of Dr. Johnson may therefore be opposed the experience and judgment

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The decided manner in which the Duke of Viseo reprobated the conduct of *Gilianez*, a native of Lagos, towards the inhabitants of the Canary islands, has been already noticed, nor was this prince insensible to the injuries that had been received by others from his officers.

Ch. II. § 1.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
C Coimbra.

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ment of *Adam Smith*. (Vol. ii. p. 458.) "The discovery of America, and that of a *passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope*, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind. Their consequences have already been very great: but, in the short period of between two and three centuries which has elapsed since these Discoveries were made, it is impossible that the whole extent of their consequences can have been seen. What benefits, or what misfortunes to mankind may hereafter result from those great events, no human wisdom can foresee. By uniting, in some measure, the most distant parts of the world, by enabling them to relieve one another's wants, to increase one another's enjoyments, and to encourage one another's industry, their general tendency would seem to be beneficial. To the natives, however, both of the *East* and *West Indies*, all the Commercial Benefits, which can have resulted from those events, have been sunk and lost in the dreadful misfortunes which they have occasioned. These misfortunes, however, seem to have arisen *rather from accident than from any thing in the nature of those events themselves*. At the particular time when these discoveries were made, the superiority of force happened to be so great on the side of the Europeans, that they were enabled to commit with impunity every sort of injustice in those remote countries. Hereafter, perhaps, the natives of those countries may grow stronger, or those of Europe may grow weaker, and the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force, which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the rights of one another. But nothing seems more likely to establish this equality of force than that mutual communication of knowledge, and of all sorts of improvements, which an extensive Commerce from all countries to all countries naturally, or rather necessarily, carries along with it.

"In the mean time one of the principal effects of those Discoveries has been to raise the Mercantile System to a degree of splendour and glory which it could never otherwise have attained to. It is the object of that System to enrich a great nation rather by trade and manufactures, than by the improvement and cultivation of land; rather by the industry of the towns than by that of the country. But, in consequence of those Discoveries, the commercial towns of Europe, instead of being the manufacturers and carriers for but a very small part of the world (that part of Europe which is washed by the Atlantic ocean, and the countries which lie round the Baltic and Mediterranean seas) have now become the manufacturers for the numerous and thriving cultivators of America, and the carriers, and in some respects the manufacturers too, for almost all the different nations of Asia, Africa, and America. Two new Worlds have been opened to their industry, each of them much greater and more extensive than the old one, and the market of one of them growing still greater and greater every day."

VOL. I.

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1446.

The death of Gonzales da Cintra afforded *Henry* a melancholy opportunity of enforcing the humane instructions he had so often given, "to pass unnoticed the insults, or neglect of honour, they might experience from the negroes;" and that nothing should be wanting to justify the principle of his conduct *Talent de bien faire*, the Duke fitted out three vessels during the year 1446, to heal the animosity that prevailed among the negroes. The command of this squadron was given to *Antonio Gonzales*, and *Diego Alfonso*; *Gomez Perez*, the king's pilot, was added by the permission of the Duke's brother, *Don Pedro* the regent. Before they embarked, their benevolent patron earnestly enjoined them, when they had entered the Rio-del-Ouro, to cultivate the friendship of the inhabitants by every possible means; to establish peace among them, and to use their utmost diligence in making converts to the Christian religion. The generous Portuguese endeavoured, but in vain, to remove the angry suspicions of the natives; both the captains carefully abstained from any aggression, that might tend to renew hostilities; and returned with only a negro whom they had received in ransom, together with an aged Moor who was so much won by their behaviour, that he requested permission to accompany them to Portugal. *Juan Fernandez* impelled by an ardent desire to procure information for the Prince, and probably still further to gain the confidence of the natives, requested to continue in that part of Africa which is inhabited by the *Affanbaji* negroes, and was accordingly left amidst its dreary solitudes.

After an interval of seven months, *Antonio Gonzales* was ordered to return for his adventurous countryman, from whose inquisitive disposition, and retentive memory, much was expected. *Garcia Mendez*, and *Diego Alfonso*, accompanied Gonzales with their caravellas, but they were soon separated by a storm. Diego being the first who reached the continent, landed at Cape Blanco, and raised a large wooden cross as a signal to his companions; he then proceeded according

cording to the custom of the Portuguese to the islands of *Arguin*, which afforded shelter from the tremendous surf that broke on the coast of Africa. Whilst *Diego* waited at *Arguin* for the arrival of the other ships, he paid many visits to the continent, and endeavoured to obtain information from the only source that offered: five and twenty of the natives were procured, seven of whom were taken by *Lourenço Dias*, an inhabitant of *Setubal*. When the remainder of the squadron had joined, they immediately sought their countryman *Juan Fernandez*, who had been looking out for a vessel for some days. After experiencing severe hardships, his conduct had at length obtained the friendship of a Moor, whose slaves accompanied *Fernandez* in a body to the shore; where they eagerly embraced the opportunity of ransoming some of their countrymen. *Gonzales* was thus enabled to procure nine blacks, and a quantity of gold dust; the place itself was named *Cabo do Resgati*, or Cape Ransom, and was honoured by the knighthood of an aged nobleman, *Fernam Tavares*; who, though he had long merited the distinction, declared that he would only receive it on the newly discovered coast. During the passage home, *Gonzales* touched at a village beyond Cape Blanco, and increased his number of captives to ninety. The sight of *Juan Fernandez*, however, was more acceptable to the Prince, than any other part of the cargo; and the interesting recital of his countryman was listened to with all the impatience that novelty could excite.

His report, though so remote from the present age, bears a striking resemblance to the narrative of Mr. Park. *Fernandez* described the natives as shepherds, related to the Moor brought by *Antonio Gonzales* to Portugal. When they had conveyed *Fernandez* to a considerable distance from the coast, they immediately deprived him of all his cloaths, and also of the biscuit, wheat, and provisions, that remained; a kind of tattered rug, called an *albaik*, screened him from the va-

Ch. II. § i.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Cimbra.

Report of
Juan Fer-
nandez,

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I.

rious inclemency of the feverish atmosphere of Africa. His food consisted principally of a small farinaceous seed; and this homely meal was occasionally varied by the roots of the desert, or the green sprouts of wild herbs. The mind of Juan Fernandez had been prepared to encounter hardships, but it also was doomed to experience persecution. The inhabitants, with whom he lived in a state of slavery, unless supplied by the chase, or the adjoining ocean, fed on dried lizards, and a sort of locust or grasshopper: their principal drink was milk, on account of the scarcity and badness of the water: their cattle were only killed on great festivals; like the Tartars, they roved from one spot to another in search of a precarious sustenance for their herds and flocks. A view of the country presented either an arid sand, or an uncultivated heath, on which a few straggling palm trees, and the stubborn vegetation of the Indian fig, marked at intervals an extensive and dreary solitude. Towards the end of his voluntary banishment, *Fernandez* obtained an asylum, and probably some considerable information from an *Azanbaji* Moor of distinction, *Huade Meimon*; who not only honoured this intrepid stranger with his confidence, and permitted him to watch the arrival of ships on the coast; but also assigned on such occasions the escort, which is mentioned to have accompanied Fernandez, when he at length rejoined the Portuguese.

Cape Verde
discovered by
Denis Fer-
nandez.
1446.

Another Voyage had been made by Nuno Trifan to the Rio-del-Ouro in 1446, when Antonio Gonzales returned with the Moor, from the place where he had left *Fernandez*, the first explorer of the interior of Africa; and in the same year a gentleman from Lisbon, *Denis Fernandez*, who had belonged to the household of the late king, *John the first*, encouraged by the patronage he had already received from the Duke of Viseo, fitted out a vessel for the purposes of discovery: his principal object was to advance further to the southward than any preceding navigator. Having accordingly passed

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the *Senegal* river, which divides the *Azanbaji* Moors from the *Jaloffs*, he fell in with some " *Almadias*, and captured one with four of the inhabitants, the first of that country which the Portuguese had seen. Thence he proceeded along the coast, and not being delayed by any idle curiosity in visiting the shore, stood boldly on, until he reached the most westerly promontory of Africa; which, from the number of palm trees that grew there, he named " *Cabo Verde*. Alarmed by the breakers with which the shore is lined, Denis did not attempt at that season of the year to advance any further, but returned with his captives to Portugal. He was received in the most flattering manner by the Prince; who expressed himself particularly gratified, that the natives were brought from the newly discovered coast, without being traded for with the Moors.

Ch. II. § 1.

*Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Coimbra.*

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* These *Almadias*, so often mentioned, are described by *Barbot* (ibid. vol. v. p. 41.). " They are generally about thirty foot long, and eighteen or twenty inches broad, all of one entire piece, being the hollowed trunk of a large soft tree, and will carry ten or twelve men. These boats carry two small masts, with each of them two little sails, and sometimes three, in imitation of great ships, with main-sails, top-sails, and top-gallant-sails. In these canoes they will launch three, four, and five leagues to sea, if the weather be not very boisterous. They generally set out in the morning with the land breeze, and having done their fishery, return at noon with the sea-breeze; or if the wind fails them, and it proves very calm, they row for it with a sort of short, pointed, flat shovels, one on each side; and that so swiftly, that the best pinnace, though ever so well manned, will find it an hard task to overtake them."

* The country that extends from *Cape Verde* to the interior of Africa, has been explored, as far as *Silla*, on the river *Joliba*, or *Niger*, by a second Juan Fernandez—*Mr. Mungo Park*; and a map compiled from his observations, notes, and sketches, is prefixed to his travels by Major Rennell. No material change has probably taken place in these districts since the time of the Portuguese discoveries. *Mr. Park* describes the adjacent country of the village of *Pisania*, to the south-east of *Cape de Verde*, as being an immense level, covered with a gloomy uniformity of wood. During the night, the traveller is terrified by the croaking of innumerable frogs, the shrill cry of the jackall, and the deep howling of the hyæna, interrupted only by the roar of such tremendous thunder, as no person can form a conception of but those who have heard it. The river *Senegal*, to the north of *Cape Verde*, and the river *Gambia* to the south of it, form the intermediate country, which extends to the east into a peninsula. *Mr. Park* divides the natives bordering on the *Gambia* into the *Feloops*, the *Jaloffs*, the *Foulabs*, and the *Mandingoes*. Of these the *Jaloffs*, or *Yaloffs*, are the principal occupiers of the above track of country near the sea. They are represented as an active, powerful, and warlike race, with a skin of the deepest black; the traders esteem them the finest negroes on this part of the continent.

BOOK
I.

The discovery of *Cape Verde* by no means terminated the maritime labours of the Duke of Viseo; who looked with patient hope, however prolonged, towards the utmost extent of a continent, which, notwithstanding the continued voyages of his seamen, still drew *its slow length* along towards the south. *Gonzales Pachecos*, an opulent officer of the Prince's household, obtained permission to indulge that love of enterprise, which so illustrious an example encouraged. Gonzales accordingly fitted out a ship at his own expence, and gave the command to *Dinisianez da Gram*, one of the Duke's equerries; who was accompanied by *Alvaro Gil*, an assayer of the Mint, and *Mafaldo de Setubal*. After touching at [†] Cape Blanco, as was the custom of the Portuguese, they steered for the island of Arguin; and having made some descents on the coast against the Moors, stopped at the island *de las Garças*, where they found another caravella, commanded by *Lourenço Dias*, which formed part of the squadron that had sailed from Lagos.

The inhabitants of this port were not inattentive to the privileges they now enjoyed; fourteen caravellas, under the auspices of the Duke, had been sent to the coast of Africa before the return of Dinisianez, to curb the depredations of the Moors; who seized every opportunity that offered to interrupt the discoveries of the Portuguese, and the trade which the Lagos Company had opened for gold [‡] dust. The command of the squadron was intrusted to *Lançarot*, one of the [§] directors of the *Lagos* Company; under whom the

[†] Another Cape of this name, on the western coast of Africa, is placed by Major Rennell in Morocco, nine hundred miles to the north of that on the coast of the *Zabara*. (Geography of Herodotus, p. 413.)

[‡] Lafitau is of opinion, that the gold coin styled *crusadoes*, was struck from this dust, when Pope Calixtus the third, during the reign of Alphonso the fifth, published a crusade against the Turks.—In the subsequent African War (1459), the king was much assisted by the ships of his uncle, the Duke of Viseo.

[§] Page 205.

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the following noblemen accepted commands, besides other distinguished gentlemen of Lagos :

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*Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Coimbra.*

SUERO DA COSTA, his brother-in-law, Castellan of Lagos, who had been groom of the bedchamber to Edward, King of Portugal, and was noted for his valour at the battle of Agincourt.

ALVARO DI FREYTA, commander of Algizur, had distinguished himself in the war against the Moors of Granada.

BELLAMARINA, captain of a caravella.

RODRIGUEANES TRAVASOL, page to the Duke of Coimbra.

PALAZZANO, commanded ten gallies, and had obtained military experience in frequent wars against the Moors.

GOMEZ PEREZ, governor to the young King during his minority, commanded what was styled the King's caravella.

This force was also increased by two caravellas from Madeira, under the command of *Tristan Vaz Texeira*, and *Alvaro Dornelas*. *Juan Gonzales* commander of Funchal, was on board, with his nephew *Alvaro Fernando*; to whom may be added the names of *Denis Fernandez*, the discoverer of Cape Verde, and *John of Castile*.

The public display of national power has often experienced mortification, since it seldom performs any action commensurate to its strength; whilst the patient efforts of individuals on a smaller scale, like the early voyages of the Portuguese, generally surpass expectation, and render more essential benefits to mankind. This Squadron was the greatest that had hitherto sailed from the port of Lagos, and performed the least: it can only be considered as a vain parade, which commerce offered to the genius of discovery. The whole was however regulated with the utmost order; and at the appointed hour, the different vessels with a fair wind got under weigh from the respective ports in which they had been fitted for sea, and sailed for the island of Arguin. Fourteen caravellas from Lagos were beheld with exultation by its merchants; but scarcely had the squadron lost sight of the coast of Algarve, when

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when the ships were separated by a storm: those from Madeira, were forced back by contrary winds, before they made Cape Blanco. Lançarot, commander in chief, had fixed on the island *de las Garças*, for a place of general rendezvous. *Lourenço Dias*, as already mentioned, was the first who arrived; and in two days he was joined by Lançarot, and nine other caravellas. *Dinísianez da Gram* immediately informed him of the fifty Moors he had taken, but that these captives were dearly purchased by the loss of his boat, and the murder of its crew. The implacable hatred which all Christendom then cherished against the Moors, and the professed object of the expedition being directed against this nation, may palliate, though it cannot justify the subsequent conduct of our navigators. It was the constant order of the DUKE not to oppose force to force; and his principal inducement in patronising this formidable squadron, must have been with the hope, of thus convincing the Moors, that all hostility on their part, would eventually terminate in their own destruction. Unfortunately the first ideas which Lançarot indulged were those of revenge; he accordingly sailed for the islands of Arguin to accomplish his intentions, accompanied by *Dinísianez*: many of the Moors fortunately escaped on the first appearance of the squadron; but the lives of eight, and the liberty of four of the natives, were sacrificed to the memory of *Gonzales da Cintra*, and the followers of *Dinísianez*.

The desire which the Portuguese nobility and cavaliers possessed, to be knighted on a coast, explored by the perseverance of their countrymen, is a convincing proof of the prevailing zeal for discovery. On the present occasion *Suero da Costa* received the honour of knighthood, from the sword of the commandant of Algiezur, and *Dinísianez* was also complimented in the same manner. In the mean while the remaining vessels of the squadron joined; upon which *Dinísianez* parted company, and sailed for Portugal.

Lançarot,

Lançarot, who was too anxious to inflict a severe chastisement on the Moors, passed over to the island of *Tider*; the inhabitants here also escaped under shelter of the night; and having reached the Continent, vainly imagined they could disperse their enemies, and insult them with impunity. A page of the Duke of Viseo, and Pedro Alemanno, a native of Lagos, immediately seized their arms, and plunging into the sea, without communicating their intention to any one, swam to the beach; nor were they long alone, their companions soon followed. The astonished Moors fled on all sides, and many were taken prisoners. Lançarot then assembled his officers to prevent the further effusion of blood; he bestowed high encomiums on their bravery and discipline, declared that the chief design of the Voyage was now accomplished; and having dwelt with pleasure on the character of their illustrious prince, he proceeded to resign the authority of commander in chief: since, according to the remainder of their orders, they were now directed to separate, and to pursue whatever track appeared most advantageous.—“For my part,” exclaimed Lançarot, “I am ready to follow any officer who may be inclined to make a further progress on the coast:” he was immediately joined by *Gomez Perez*, *Alvaro de Freytas*, *Rodrigueanes Travazos*, and *Lourenço Dias*. Suero da Costa, with four other officers, pleaded the weak state of their ships, and returned. In their passage homewards they fell in with another caravella, and steered for the island of *Gomera*, one of the Canaries. The captains of the island assisted Suero in a descent on the port of *Palma*, where they took about seventeen prisoners. Prompted by a love of gain, and the base suggestions of *Juan da Castilla*, who was disappointed in not being present with the rest at *Arguin*, Suero on his return to *Gomera*, made slaves of some of the natives, notwithstanding the kind reception which the Portuguese had experienced. This however soon reached the ears of the Duke of Viseo: after a severe re-

Ch. II. § 1.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Cimbra.

BOOK primand of his officers, he ordered the captives to be clothed, and
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Langarot, who possessed the enterprising spirit of a seaman, when he had parted company with *Suero*, advanced along the coast of Africa, until he got beyond what the Moors denominated *Cabara*, which is described by navigators as the ' *Sarrab of the Assanbaji*. He then proceeded twenty leagues further to the southward, and found a remarkable river already seen by Denis Fernandez, called by the natives at its entrance *Ovedech*, but now, says *de Barros*, *Zanaga* ; from the name of a trader of distinction among the natives, who

Major Rennell (p. 428, note,) who adds that *Abulfeda* mentions them as the governing people in Audagost (*Agadez*), and as possessing the southern part of Morocco. They are therefore properly the people of the *Great Desert*, and its environs. Doubtless the Portuguese named the river, now corrupted into *Senegal*, from them ; as Ptolemy did the promontory *arsinarium* (Cape Verd) whence we may infer, that they then possessed both sides of the Senegal river, called by Ptolemy, *Dardalus*. At present the *Sanhaga* tribe are placed by geographers at no great distance from the coast of the ocean, between the rivers of *Nun* and *Senegal*, and the *Jaloffs* between this latter and the river *Gambia* ; both of them in the position in which the early discoverers found them.

The course of the river *Sanaga*, or *Senegal*, and the report of its junction with the Nile, have only been recently elucidated by the patronage of *The African Association*, and the exertions of *Mr. Park*. The course of the Senegal, from the time of its being first seen by *Denis Fernandes* in 1446, to the present century, has always been an object of research to the curious. " The river *Senega*, says *Barbot*, which parts *Negroland* from the Moors of *Genehoa*, in *Marmol*, formerly called *Benhays*, runs winding for above three hundred leagues from east to west, till it empties itself into the Atlantick at *Byburt*. The *Senegues*, according to *Marmol*, give it the name of *Senega*, or *Zanaga* indifferently. Some Portuguese authors pretend this name of *Senega* was first given to the river, from that of a mighty man in the country, with whom their nation first traded, after its discovery by *Denis Fernandez* ; but this appears to be a false notion, by what is said above. *Vasconcelos*, a more modern Portuguese historian, speaking of this river *Senega*, says it is called by several names in a very short space ; but that the aforesaid *Denis Fernandes* called it *Rio Portugues*.—Such another river comes down from the country to the northward, through *Genehoa*, into the *Senega*, not far above its mouth, and is called *Rio de San Joao*. The *Senega* is much shallower than the *Gambia*, and the tide flows not up it so far by much as in the other. The current is so swift and strong downwards, that the fresh water runs out above two leagues into the ocean, without mixing, and appears at a distance like a shoal or bank, above the surface of the sea : this water taken up four or five English miles without the bar, as is commonly done by the French company's ships, proves very sweet, and keeps good for a long time.

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who resided near it, and was famed for the various ransoms he had transacted. Lançarot passed in safety over the bar at its mouth, and

Ch. II. 4 v.
*Regency of Dom
 Pedro, Duke of
 Coimbra.*

"The rapidity of the River, occasioned by its narrowness, and the length of its course, and shallowness, is the reason why it continually carries down a great quantity of sand and slime to the mouth; and that being forced back again by the violent north-west winds, most constantly reigning about those parts, is by degrees heaped up together by the surges and rolling of the sea, forming a cross bank, called a bar, athwart the mouth of the river.—The mouth of the River *Senega*, according to the latest observations, is exactly in $16^{\circ} 12'$ of north latitude, and yet most maps in Europe of that western part of Africa, place it farther to the southward; and *Vasconcelos*, a Portuguese historian, assigns to it $15^{\circ} 35'$, which is a great mistake in him, and all others." (Churchill's Collect. vol. v. p. 16. 18.) A description of the river *Sanaga*, extracted from the remarks of the *Sieur Brue* in 1697 and 1698, published originally by *Labat*, is given in *Afley's Collection* (vol. ii. p. 45.) with an inquiry whether it be the *Niger* or not. (P. 59.) A general map is subjoined of the river *Sanaga* from the falls of *Govina* to the ocean, taken by a French engineer in 1718, and drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, from the particular draughts published by *Labat*. The *Sieur Brue* made three voyages up the river: "The mouth is about half a league broad, but is shut by a bank of sand; this bar is doubly dangerous, as it has little water on it; and every year shifts its place with the violent floods, that come down the river at the time of its inundation. The entrance would be impracticable, if the strength of the Tide, and force of the Current, did not open two passages; the largest of which is commonly one hundred and fifty, or two hundred fathom broad, and about two fathom water; so that it will admit only barks of forty or fifty ton: these openings change their situation almost every year. The season for crossing the bar is from January to August, the winds being then variable, and the tides running north. The best of these months are April, May, June, and July. The bad season is from September to the end of December; the east winds then bringing a great swell, and making all commerce impossible. After crossing the bar, you find a fine broad river from eighteen to twenty-five feet deep; the water clear and smooth, and its current as agreeable as the entrance was dangerous. The land on the left side as you go up, is a low sandy point, entirely barren. It is not above an hundred toises broad at the entry of the bar, but wider farther in; to one, two, and two leagues and an half broad, for twenty-five leagues.—It would extend this note too much, if any further particulars were added to illustrate that part of the river which *Nuno Tristão* explored. I therefore hasten to the valuable information given by *Mr. Park*, who ascertained that the Senegal and Niger were distinct rivers; the sources of which are placed in his map by Major Rennell, about five days' journey apart, between the six and eight degrees of west longitude, and near the eleventh degree of north latitude. "The thoughts of seeing the *Niger*, which the negroes call *Joliba*, or the great water, in the morning (July 21, 1796.) and the troublesome buzzing of musketoes, prevented me from shutting my eyes during the night; and I had saddled my horse, and was in readiness before day-light. Looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission; the long sought for, majestic *Niger*, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward." (P. 290. 291.) From Mr. Browne's travels in Africa we derive the additional information, that the *Niger* does not join the *Nile*.

* Barbot says in 30 degrees farther to the southward; which must be an error of the press, in Churchill's Coll.

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I.

and then hoisting out the boat, dispatched *Essevam Alphonso* to explore its coast: the first day passed in the discharge of this perilous duty, which nearly cost the lives of Alphonso, and *Vicente Dias* owner of the ship. According to the information which prince Henry had obtained from the *Affanbaji* Moors, this river flowed from the east, and was imagined to be a branch of the *Nile*; the inhabitants now added, that it had different names according to the various kingdoms and provinces established on its banks. The ensuing morning *Lançarot* and the other captains resolved to proceed up the river; but their intended survey was prevented by unfavourable weather, which drove them out to sea. Two of their caravellas were separated from the squadron, and returned to Portugal; *Lançarot*, with the remainder, stood for Cape Verd, and coming to a part of the coast, which *Alvaro Fernandez* the nephew of *Juan Gonzales Zarco*, had reached in his voyage from Madeira, two days were employed in procuring a supply of water and goats' flesh, which the peninsula afforded. A second storm coming on, the ships were again dispersed, except those commanded by *Alvaro de Freytas*, and *Vicente Dias*, who were alone able to keep company with *Lançarot*. These officers made another descent on the island of *Tider*; and as they advanced with more caution than they had previously observed, the Moors were surprised, and fifty-nine taken prisoners. With these, and the natives they had brought from the mouth of the Senegal river, *Lançarot* returned to Portugal.

Death of
Nuno
Tristão.
1447.

During the year 1447, *Nuno Tristão* made another voyage to the coast of Africa by order of the prince; stretching beyond the *Cabos dos Maftos*^d, he sailed one hundred and eighty miles to the southward

^d The Peninsula, already mentioned, which *Lançarot* visited on his return. It was thus named by *Alvaro Fernandez*, from some dead palm-trees, resembling masts, which stood upon it. The map given with *Barbot's Description of the Coasts of Africa*, in Churchill's collection (vol.

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southward of Cape Verd, and reached to the mouth of the 'Rio Grande, since called the *Gambia*. Having cast anchor, Nuno ordered a boat to be hoisted out, in which he embarked with twenty-

Ch. II. 6 1.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
C Coimbra.

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(vol. v. p. 16.) inserts the *Cabo dos Maftos*, which is thus described: "Cape Mafto lies next to the little river *Pifcina* (called in the above map *Baool River*), eight leagues from *Ruffeo*, corrupted by the French from *Rio Frefco*, and nine from Goree. The coast between this *Cape Mafto*, and *Cape Manoel*, bending in, forms the large open bay facing to the southward, by the French called *La Baye de France*. The coast from this cape to *Ruffeo* is clean and deep, so that ships may fail close under the shore." (Page 23.)

* Or the *Great River*, the name which the Portuguese at first gave to the *Gambia* river: since which, another to the southward has been called *Rio-Grande*. By *Marmol*, the former is termed *Gamber* and *Gambra*. *Vasconcelos*, the Portuguese historian, is of opinion, that the *Gambia* was the *Stachiris* of Ptolemy, and the *Durango*, the Senegal. By the negroes, this river was called *Gambu*, or *Gambie*. The earliest establishment on the *Gambia* was the Portuguese factory. The trade of the *Gambia* was afterwards nearly monopolized by the English, whose FIFTEEN SETTLEMENTS are thus described (*Astley's Collection*, vol. ii. p. 170.) The first, and only fortified settlement at present is *James Fort*, on an island of the same name. 2. *Kalata*, near the *Gambia*, on a river of the same name. 3. The factory of *Jillefree*, or *Jillefray*, commonly written *Gillefree*. 4. *Vintain Factory*, six leagues from *James Fort*, on a river of the same name, in the empire of *Fonia*, on the south side of the *Gambia*. 5. Factory of *Ferreja*, or *Geregia*. 6. *Kolar Factory* settled in 1731, on a river of the same name, in the kingdom of *Barrab*, on the north side of the *Gambia*; this settlement was quitted in 1733. 7. The factory at the town of *Tankrowal*, on the south side of the *Gambia*, in the kingdom of *Caen*, settled about 1731; chiefly for bees-wax. 8. Still proceeding up the river, on the north side, *Joar*, in the kingdom of *Barfalli*, and three miles to the eastward, *Kower*, the chief town on the whole river, and the best mart for trade; it has two ports on the *Gambia*. 9. The factory of *Yanimarew*, delightfully situated on the north side, in the kingdom of lower *Yani*. 10. Higher up on the south side, the Factory of *Bruboe*, in the empire of *Jemarraw*, settled in 1732; accidentally burnt the same year, afterwards rebuilt, and abandoned in 1735. 11. The factory of *Kuttejar*, near the north side of the *Gambia*, in the kingdom of *Upper Yani*: its situation is much commended by *Captain Bartholomew Tibbs*, who was sent in 1724 by the Royal African Company to explore how far the *Gambia* was navigable, and whether any gold mines could be found on its banks. This settlement being overflowed in 1725, the company removed to, 12. *Sami*, situated about twelve miles up a river of the same name which falls into the *Gambia*. 13. Thence the factory was removed four miles higher up to *Wallia*. 14. The factory of *Tamyamakundi*, destroyed by the floods in 1733, and since rebuilt. 15. *Fatatenda*, on the north side of the *Gambia*, the highest factory on the river, which is as broad there, as the Thames at London Bridge, and very deep; the tide rising in the dry seasons three or four feet: it lies in the kingdom of *Wooley*, and commands an extensive prospect of the river. The company forsook this settlement in 1734, owing to the ill treatment the factors had received from the king of *Tomani*.—*Purchas* (vol. ii. lib. vi. p. 921.) and *Astley* (vol.

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two of his men, resolutely following the course of the river; the tide was in his favour, and he soon advanced to a great distance from his ship. Eighty blacks, armed with poisoned arrows, who had observed the boat from its first appearance, now came in thirteen almadias, or canoes, to oppose its progress. With a feint, that could not be expected from negroes, the almadias at first seemed to give way; but it was only to take their respective stations, in the most advantageous manner, on both sides of the Portuguese; they then rushed forward with a dreadful yell, discharging the poisonous shafts with which their quivers were supplied: every wound inflicted death. 'Nuno Tristan found that his fate was inevitable, whether he advanced or retreated: his fortitude however remained unshaken; and taking advantage of the ebb tide, he drifted towards the ship. When they at length reached their companions, a melancholy spectacle was presented: the greater part of the crew had already expired, or writhed amidst the convulsive agonies of poisoned wounds. Nuno Tristan himself, who feebly struggled with the

(vol. ii. p. 174.) give *A True Relation of Master Richard Jobson's Voyage, employed by Sir William Saint John Knight and others, for the discovery of Gambia, in the Sion, a ship of two hundred tons, Admirall; and the Saint John fiftie, Vice Admirall, 1620.* It was originally published in quarto by Jobson himself, 1623, entitled, *The Golden Trade, or a Discovery of the River Gambia, and the Golden Trade of the Ethiopians: also the Commerce with a great Black Merchant, called Buckor Sano, and his report of the houses covered with gold, and other strange observations for the good of our own country. Set down as they were collected, in travelling part of the years 1620, and 1621, by Richard Jobson Gent.* London: Printed by Nicholas Oker, and are to be sold by Nicholas Bourne, at the entrance of the Royal Exchange, 1623.—In 1726, Mr. William Smith was sent by the Royal African Company on board the *Bonetta*, Captain James Livingstone, to take an exact survey of the Gambia, and of all the English settlements on the coast of Guinea. Two editions of his Voyage have appeared, the second in 1745. The land, at the mouth of the river, is low, but becomes rocky and mountainous up the country. The English were acquainted with the Gambia from the middle of the sixteenth century.

'Some of the Portuguese historians are inclined to think this fatal event happened in a river beyond *Rio Grande*; and that on this account it was afterwards called *Rio de Nuno Tristan*.

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the same direful effects^a, lived but to relate the melancholy history to his companions, and to give some few directions for their immediate return; which to the astonishment of every one was performed by the few hands that remained. The loss of so enterprising an officer was severely felt; as his abilities would even have gained him renown in the present age. The family of Nuno Tristan experienced the munificence and humanity of his afflicted patron, which was equally extended to all the relatives of those who had fallen in this melancholy expedition.

Alvaro Fernando, already^b mentioned as the nephew of the discoverer of Puerto Santo and Madeira, made in the same year (1447) a second voyage to the coast of Africa, and advanced forty leagues beyond *Nuno Tristan*. The fate of this navigator did not daunt the enterprising mind of Alvaro: being arrived at the mouth of a river called *Tabite*, one hundred miles to the southward of *Rio Nuno*, he entered it notwithstanding the determined opposition of the natives, who had assembled in five of their almadias. Alvaro proceeded with the utmost circumspection; but one of the almadias, standing out from the rest, attacked his boat, and discharged a number of poisoned arrows. The Portuguese were however provided with *theriaca*, and other antidotes, to counteract the venom: thus the caution of Alvaro baffled or weakened the attempts of the negroes; and, notwithstanding his wounds, he resolved, on leaving the river, to proceed along the coast of Africa. They accordingly kept in shore,

Ch. II. § 1.
*Reign of Don
 Pedro, Duke of
 Coimbra.*

Second
 Voyage of
 Alvaro Fer-
 nando.
 1447.

^a An account of the manner in which these negroes prepare that dreadful weapon, the *poisoned War Arrow*, is given by Mr. Park. (Page 419.)—"The poison, which is said to be very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *Koona* (a species of *Echites*), which is very common in the woods. The leaves of this shrub, when boiled with a small quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the negroes dip a cotton thread; this thread they fasten round the iron of the arrow, in such a manner, that it is almost impossible to extract the arrow when it has sunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point, and the poisoned thread, in the wound."

^b Page 215.

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I.

shore, until they came to a sandy point; and apprehending no danger in so open a situation, were preparing to land, when one hundred and twenty negroes suddenly discharged another shower of poisoned arrows, a deadly proof of their vigilance and implacable¹ hostility. Alvaro therefore desisting from any further attempt, returned to Lagos to give an account of the coast he had explored. This Voyage was considered of much importance at so critical a juncture; both the regent Don Pedro, and his brother the Duke of Viseo, favoured Alvaro with particular marks of attention; and, as an earnest of their gratitude, they each presented the daring navigator with an hundred gold ducats.

Ten Caravellas from Lagos.
2447.

The liberal rewards thus received by Alvaro, and his courage in daring to oppose himself to the poisoned arrows of the negroes, called forth the spirit, which the melancholy death of *Nuno Tristan*, and the greater part of his crew, had considerably abated: accordingly in the same year, ten caravellas sailed from *Lagos*; the names of five of the captains are preserved by *de Barros*:

GILIANEZ, a knight, inhabitant of Lagos.

FERANTE VALARINO, renowned for his exploits at Ceuta.

REFANO

¹ If the Portuguese, in their progress from *Rio Grande* (the Gambia) to the southward, found the ancestors of the same tribe, which at present inhabits the Coast from the river *Gambia* to *Cape Roxo*, namely the *Feloops*, they had an implacable enemy to resist their landing.—*Mr. Park* informs us, “they are of a gloomy disposition, and are supposed never to forgive an injury. A son becomes the avenger of his deceased father’s wrongs: he endeavours to procure his sandals, which he wears once a year, on the anniversary of his father’s death, until a fit opportunity offers of revenging his fate. This fierce and unrelenting disposition is however counterbalanced by many good qualities: they display the utmost gratitude and affection towards their benefactors; and the fidelity with which they preserve whatever is intrusted to them is remarkable. During the present war (1800) they have, more than once, taken up arms to defend our merchant vessels from French privateers.” (Page 22.) *Mr. Park* divides the natives of the countries bordering on the *Gambia* into four great classes: *The Feloops, the Jaloffs, the Foulabs, and the Mandingoes*. *Mr. Gibbon* remarks (vol. vii. p. 197.) that the inhabitants of the Western Shores of Africa, explored by the *Portuguese*, were the descendants of those independent Vandals, who on the subjection of the kingdom of *Gelimer* in A. D. 533, fled to the shores of the Atlantic.

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VOL.

REFANO ALPHONSO,
LOURENÇO DIAZ,
JUAN BERNARDO,

} Officers in the Duke of Viseo's household, reputed for their skill
in navigation.

Ch. II. § 1.
*Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
C Coimbra.*

Three of the ten caravellas belonged to the *Lagos* Company, and one is * mentioned as being the property of the † Bishop of Algarve. The squadron was joined at *Madeira* by a caravella from *Trifan Vaz*, and by another from *Garcia*, son-in-law of *Juan Gonzales*; thence they sailed to *Gomera*, to return the captives which *Juan da Castilia* had basely taken in a former voyage: no new discoveries were made. An attempt to invade the island of *Palma* was planned, but the natives were too much on their guard: some skirmishes also took place with the negroes of *Cape Verde*, in which five Portuguese were killed by poisoned arrows, and the caravella of the bishop of Algarve was lost on a sand-bank. The squadron then returned to *Lagos*.

Galvano under this year, 1447, ‡ mentions the discovery of the *Antilles*, or *Caribbee islands*, by a Portuguese ship, driven thither in a gale of wind: the fact seems to rest solely on his authority. In the same year, *Gomez Perez* sailed by the order of Prince Henry with two caravellas to the *Rio-del-Ouro*, in order to trade with the Moors; but finding they had forgot their professions, made on a former voyage, and were planning snares for the Portuguese, Gomez seized eighty of the natives and carried them prisoners to *Lagos*. During the following year (1448) *Diego Gilbomen* was sent by Duke Henry to form an alliance with the Moors of *Meça* or *Messa*,
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* Faria y Soufa, and De Barros.

† A similar instance of Maritime Enterprise appeared (page 50.) in the conduct of Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews.

‡ Appendix, p. 28. — The *West Indies* seem to have been visited by Europeans before the voyage of Columbus (see Appendix F.), where *Mr. Glaf* remarks, in a note, that Columbus on his second Voyage, found the stern post of a Ship on the shore at the island of *Gua-daloupe*.

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I.

eighteen leagues on this side of Cape Nam, in order more effectually to curb the animosity of the Moors at the Rio-del-Ouro. Diego was accompanied by *Juan Fernandez*; who, on the ship's coming to anchor, immediately went ashore with his wonted determination to examine the country. A sudden gale of wind arising, drove the ship to sea, and obliged them to leave *Fernandez*. Diego presented the Duke with the first lion brought from that part of Africa, which was considered a valuable addition to the rarities of the newly discovered countries. Henry gave it, as a mark of particular favour to an Englishman, one of his attendants, who enjoyed his confidence.

The fame of the Portuguese Discoveries had now extended throughout Europe: the descendants of the Normans inherited the naval spirit of their renowned ancestors; and *Ballarte*, a Dane, went from the court of his sovereign, with permission to serve in the maritime school of *Sagres*. The offer of this enterprising stranger was particularly grateful to Prince Henry. *Ferdinando Alphonso*, a knight of the order of Christ, was then preparing an embassy to the king of Cape Verde; with this officer *Ballarte* was associated. Two negroes were added as interpreters, who were also to assist in converting the natives. *Ballarte* being anxious to view the newly discovered capes, and coast of Africa, requested *Alphonso* to keep close in shore; owing to which, and the contrary winds they experienced, it was six months before they arrived at Cape Verde. The implacable negroes having marked the caravella from its first appearance on the coast, gave the alarm: on its approaching the cape, some *Almadias* ventured to oppose the landing of the Portuguese; but this animosity was appeased or protracted, when the purport of the Voyage was known. The king of Cape Verde being engaged in conducting a war that raged at the distance of about eight days' journey from the shore; the governor, whose name was *Farrin*, came

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came to the sea-side with a considerable retinue. Hostages were given and received, a trade with the natives immediately commenced; when the elephant's teeth which they offered astonished *Ballarte*, and he promised a considerable reward to the negroes, if they would procure him the sight of so uncommon an animal, either alive or dead; or even furnish him with only the bones and skin. After three days, the Dane was informed that his curiosity might be gratified: he accordingly went in one of the ship's boats, and had nearly gained the shore, when a Portuguese seaman, eagerly reaching to receive a flagon of palm-wine from a negro, fell overboard, and was lost in the mud: a confusion ensued, the management of the boat was neglected; and the negroes thinking it a favourable opportunity for revenge, rushed on the unfortunate crew: with the exception of a single individual, who swam back to the ship, the whole were murdered. *Ballarte*, like the unfortunate Captain Cook, was seen for a long time defending himself against the natives, and struggling with the utmost intrepidity against their treachery; but his efforts were overcome by numbers, and he fell an early, and memorable victim to a zeal for discovery.

Ch. II. § 1.
Regency of Don
Pedro, Duke of
Coimbra.

Some years previous to this fatal Voyage, the kingdom of Portugal had been disturbed by a cabal, which the queen mother secretly encouraged. *Pedro, Duke of Coimbra*, brother to Prince Henry, in executing his duty as regent, had a most arduous and thankless task to perform. Notwithstanding the justice, wisdom, and even mildness of his administration, he soon discovered the storm that was rising in the political horizon, and seemed to foresee its consequences. The inhabitants of Lisbon requested permission to raise his statue in their metropolis, as a mark of national gratitude. *Pedro*, in declining their offer, replied, *that it would grieve him to see any work of theirs demolished*. The event justified his forbearance: notwithstanding the attachment of a considerable part of the nobility, and the confidence

Cabal formed
against Don
Pedro.

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I.

fidence of the people at large, it at length became necessary for him to defend an integrity, which mortified his enemies. The death of the queen mother weakened, but did not subdue the flame; and it afterwards raged with greater fury. During the year 1445, Don Pedro had determined, though the young king, *Alphonso the fifth*, had not quite attained his majority, to abdicate the station of regent: this solemn act was accordingly performed in the presence of the assembled *Cortes*. The composed and manly demeanour of Pedro struck the beholders—I request pardon of my king and country for any errors I have committed; or if in ought I have been unmindful of the public good, and the glory of this Sceptre, hitherto entrusted to my charge. The young ALPHONSO, overcome by the virtuous energy of his uncle, requested him to assist his inexperience with that wisdom, which had rendered such service to Portugal. The king then celebrated his marriage with Isabella, daughter of *Pedro*; and for a time the public joy concealed and irritated the malice of its enemies.

About two years afterwards, the Duke of Bragança, brother to Don Pedro, assisted by the Archbishop of Lisbon, shewed from what quarter the hurricane would arise. The king was easily deluded by villainy thus speciously disguised, and fatally listened to its insinuations. Don Pedro, having first requested the king's permission, withdrew from the court in disgust. The news of these commotions soon reached the town of *Sagres*, and occasioned another pause in the successful labours of Duke Henry: he immediately left Algarve, and hastened to the presence of his nephew, to defend an injured brother; when an equal animosity appeared to prevail against himself. In the midst of this confusion, the zeal of a single individual had nearly subdued the angry spirit that prevailed. *Don Alvaro D'Almada*, Count of *Abranches*, the most renowned knight of his age, having covered himself with a robe, suddenly appeared before the king and council in complete armour, and with a daunt-

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less air exclaimed—*If any man shall presume to affirm that Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, is not a loyal servant to his Prince, and a friend to his country, I am ready with this sword to prove that man a liar, and a traitor.* The murmuring sycophants represented his conduct as insulting to the king; but Alphonso in this instance was not to be deceived; and he admired a virtue, which his prejudiced mind would not allow him to cherish.

Compelled to take up arms in his own defence, *Don Pedro*, and the brave *Almada*, prepared by open force to oppose their enemies. Many of the king's troops resorted to the standard of Pedro, the principal noblemen were attached to his cause; and even the son of the Duke of Bragança left Ceuta to assist his uncle. *Queen Isabella* made a vain attempt to render her husband sensible of his infatuation: but during the year 1449, the triumph of the calumniators of the good Duke of Coimbra was complete. In conjunction with the brave *Almada*, Don Pedro had seized an advantageous post, and prepared to defend it to the last. They were soon attacked in their intrenchments, and the renowned son of John the first was killed by an arrow: his friend *D'Almada* refused quarter, and fell with other persons of distinction. The obstinate prejudices of the king still remained; he even forbade the body of his uncle to receive the rites of sepulture, and it remained exposed for three days on the field of battle. The Duke who had been universally beloved, was at length privately buried by some peasants, who secretly conveyed the corpse to the ^a church of Alverca.

The Duke of Viseo retired to Sagres to mourn over an injured brother's memory, and to lament the disgrace which the minions of the court had thus brought on his nephew, merely to gratify their own malevolence. Except in this instance, *Alphonso the fifth* shewed himself worthy of his ancestors, and deserved the praises of

Camoens.

Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonso the fifth.
Death of
Don Pedro.
1449.

^a Le Quien, l. c. p. 429.

BOOK
I.

Camoens*. We must however leave this monarch to his future triumphs in Africa, and hasten to scenes more congenial to humanity. Although the subsequent progress of discovery, during this reign, was in some measure supported by the king himself, the Duke of Viseo still continued to take the lead: on the third of September 1448, *Alphonso* issued a grant forbidding all persons, except his uncle, to make discoveries beyond *Bojadore*; and in 1449 he gave the Duke permission to settle the AÇORES.

Discovery
of the
Açores.
1432.

These nine islands, sometimes described by the appellation of *Terceras* and *Western*, are situated nine hundred miles west of Portugal, at almost an equal distance from Europe, Africa, and America: they are termed by the Flemings *Ulaemsche Eylanden*, or Flemish islands, as they are anxious that one of their merchants, *John Vanderberg*, who sailed thither during a voyage from Lisbon in 1445, or 1449, should be thought the first discoverer: but the fact is, that they were explored in the following manner.—*Santa Maria*, distant two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, had been seen on the fifteenth of August 1432 by *Fr. Gonçalo Velho Cabral*, *Comendador* of *Almoural* belonging to the order of Christ, who sailed under the orders of Prince Henry. *Santa Maria* received its name from the day on which it was discovered by Cabral.—*San Miguel* was taken possession of by the same officer on the eight of May 1444, and obtained its name from that day. *Ponta Delgada*, the capital, and the seat of the primate of the Açores, first received its charter, as a town, from Emmanuel in 1449. *San Miguel* is the most popular and fertile of these islands: it produces yearly, on an average, 12,000 *moyos* of wheat, nearly the same quantity of Indian corn, and 5000 pipes of wine.

* Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. ii. book iv. p. 26.

† The Açores, or Açoras, so called from the number of hawks (Açor) seen on them when first discovered, are placed by Robbe among the *African* islands, and by De Lisse among the *Americ* n: most of the English geographers assign them to Europe.

‡ Thuanus gives the honour to *Monf. Betancourt*, who first explored the Canaries.

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wine. The town of *Villa Franca do Campo* is the most antient of any: its harbour, defended by an island in the front, might at a small expence be made equally commodious and secure.

Terceira was given by the Duke of Viseo to *Jacome de Bruges* on the twenty-first of March 1450. The exact time of its discovery is not known, but it fluctuates between the years 1444 and 1450. This island derived the appellation of *Terceira*, from being the third that was seen by the Portuguese. *Angra**, the capital, is built on the southern coast; its harbour is formed by two capes, which project into the sea, to the east and west: on the eastern point rises a dark mountain, called the *Mountain of Brasil*, defended by the castle of *S. Joan Bautista*; on the other point, but level with the sea, is the fort of *Santo Antonio*. This capacious harbour of *Angra* is secure

Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonso the fifth,

Terceira.
1444-1450.

* *Beawes' History of Portugal.* *Arte de Navegar, do Cosmografo mor, Manoel Pimentel.*—*Frenier* in his *Voyage to the South Sea*, and along the coasts of Chili and Peru, during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714, dedicated to the Regent Duke of Orleans (Paris, 4to, 1716), offers some remarks relative to the *Açores*, and notices the inaccuracy with which these islands are laid down in the Charts of *Pieter Goos*, and *Le Flambeau de Mer* (P. 282.) *TERCEIRA* is thus described; the passage is translated in the *Universal History* (vol. xii. p. 54.): I have therefore preferred the original: "Cette île est de bonne hauteur, elle est reconnoissable du côté du S. E. par une langue de terre basse qui s'allonge vers l'est, et par un cap coupé du côté de l'ouest, formé par une langue de terre où sont deux Mondrains; enfin par deux îlots taillez à Pic, qui sont une lieue à l'est de ce cap, ou les appelle *Ilheos*. Demi lieue au S. S. E. de ceux-ci, sont trois brisans à fleur d'eau. Les uns et les autres sont mal placez dans le *Flambeau de Mer*."—He subjoins an engraved plan of the harbour, town, citadel, and fort of *Angra*, and an excellent view of the city, as it appears in different directions. (Planche 36, 37.)—*Frenier* advises Seamen to beware of the following anchorage in *Angra* harbour, (which he inadvertently was placed in), twenty fathom water, with a bottom of grey sand, broken shells, and small white coral; having Cape St. Antoine to the south-west $\frac{1}{2}$ west, the Cathedral to the north-west, $\frac{1}{2}$ north, the *Ilheos* east south-east, and Fort St. Sebastien to the north north-west. According to *Frenier* the usual anchorage is in thirteen fathom water, with a bottom of black and muddy sand mixed with shells, about a good cable's length from the shore; having Fort St. Sebastien to the south-west, $\frac{1}{2}$ west, and that of St. Antoine to the north, $\frac{1}{2}$ north-east. The Portuguese ships of war anchor at a greater distance in thirty fathom, "au milieu des îlots et des Mondrains." *Angra* is the principal depot of naval stores, for refitting the Portuguese East India ships, and *Brasil* flota. The whole of the maritime department is placed under the inspection of an officer styled the *Desambargador*.

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1.

St. George.
1450.

Graciosa.
1450.

Fayal.
1445-1449.

cure from all winds but the south-east, and the anchorage is good. The form of Terceira is nearly circular, its coasts high, and surrounded with rocks; the woods produce excellent timber, particularly cedar. The long and narrow Island of *St. George* was discovered on that day (April the twenty-third, 1450), by *Joaon Vaz da Costa Corte-Real*: the southern side is well peopled, but towards the north the land is so rugged and mountainous, as to discourage any cultivation, or settlement; the natives derive a considerable trade from their forests of cedar. South-west from *St. George* lies an island called *Pico*; the date of its discovery is blended with that of the rest. It was so named from a mountain of an extraordinary height, reputed equal to the Peak of Teneriffe; according to *Frezier*, the *Pico* of the *Açores* may be seen at the distance of thirty leagues. In addition to the cedar, the natives of this island possess a beautiful wood called *teixo*, which is hard as iron; when finely polished, its veins appear like a rich scarlet tabby, and the brilliancy of its colour increases by keeping. This tree, which can only be felled by the king's order, is prohibited as an article of exportation. *Graciosa*, so called from its general pleasantness and fertility, was discovered about the same time as *St. George*: *Vasco Gil Sodre* is mentioned as being the first settler. It has two towns, *Santa Cruz* and *Praya*, and is the most northern of the whole cluster.—The island of *Fayal*, the most western of the *Açores*, received its name from the number of beech trees found on it by its first discoverers; but who these were is uncertain. Probably *Fayal* was first explored by the Flemish merchant, *John Vanderberg*; who not having heard of the prior voyage of *Cabral* in 1432, was willing to take the merit of discovering the *Açores* to himself; particularly as many years elapsed before they were regularly settled by the Portuguese: this conjecture is supported by the name which the latter gave to one of the rivers, *Rio dos Flamings*; and the present inhabitants of the islands,

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islands, who are Flemings, under the protection or command of a Portuguese garrison. The English frequently resort hither to procure timber: the principal harbour is situated towards the east, adjoining the town of *Horta*, and is bounded by two capes, about a mile distant from each other; between which ships may anchor in forty or fifty fathom water, sheltered from all winds but the east and north-east. The Islands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, are not reckoned by *Linschoten* among the *Açores*, as they lie seventy leagues west of *Terceira*. The *Ilha des Flores* was so named from the beautiful flowers it produced; that of *Corvo* from the flocks of crows, who on its first discovery had filled this island with their nests. A singular incident is related by *de Barros* relative to this latter island. On the summit of its highest land the Portuguese found an Equestrian Statue, made of a single block of stone: the head was bare; its left hand was attached to the horse's mane, whilst the right pointed towards the *west*, as if to mark the situation of another continent. An inscription appeared to have been traced on a rock beneath the statue, but in a language which the Portuguese did not understand.

Ch. II. § 7.
Alphonse de Albuquerque

Flores and Corvo.

The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope might have been delayed for many years, if the various clusters of islands, which arise in the Atlantic, from the *Açores* to *Cape Verde*, had not formed a succession of maritime colonies, and nurseries for seamen; which afforded a continual stimulation to the labours of navigators, and offered rewards particularly adapted to gratify their spirit of enterprise. The perils which the officers under Duke Henry endured both from Moors and negroes, would otherwise have exhausted the most patient resolution. A clamour against discovery murmured at intervals, as the principal Capes of Africa were explored; and the last

^a Decad. i. lib. i. ch. ii.

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last was always selected as the promontory, which nature intended for the eastern boundary of the Atlantic. The Settlement of the *Azores* was in this respect of considerable importance; and as the exact dates of their discovery have been confused or neglected, they seemed to demand a greater degree of attention from the reader. In 1457, Duke Henry procured many valuable privileges for this favourite Colony, the principal of which gave the inhabitants a free

Among the earliest Subsequent Voyages to the *Azores*, the following particularly deserve to be noticed. 1. *The Voyage of the Right Honourable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores*, in 1589, written by the excellent Mathematician and Engineer Master Edward Wright. (Hackluyt, vol. ii. part ii. page 155.—Purchas, vol. iv. page 1142, with other voyages of the same Earl.—Aitley, vol. i. page 206.) This is the same Wright who was the inventor of the charts, commonly called Mercator's. Captain Monson, afterwards Sir William, one of the commanders, has given an account of the Expedition in his *Naval Traits* (Churchill's Collection, vol. iii. page 153.)—2. *The Voyage to the Isles of Azores, under the conduct of the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex*, 1597. (Purchas, vol. iv. page 1935.)—3. *A Cruizing Voyage to the Azores in 1591, with a fleet of London ships under the command of Captain Robert Flicke, designed as supplies to Lord Thomas Howard*, written by the Captain. (Hackluyt, vol. ii. part ii. page 176.—Aitley, vol. i. page 221.)—4. *A True Report of the Honourable service at sea performed by Sir John Burrough, Knight, Lieutenant-General of the fleet prepared by the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon*. This account of a cruising Voyage to the *Azores* is imagined to have been written by Sir W. Raleigh. (Hackluyt, vol. ii. part ii. page 194.—Aitley, vol. i. page 245.)—A curious birds' eye view of the island of *Terceira*, done so early as in the year 1595, by *Linchoten*, is given in his *Voyages* (page 176.) with portraits of the vessels then in use. He also (chap. xcix. p. 179.) relates what passed at *Terceira*, during the Expeditions conducted by the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Martin Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenville and others, given by Hackluyt (vol. ii. part ii. page 178.)—*Melchisedec Thevenot*, in his collection, towards the end of the second volume, notices a Voyage to *Terceira*, by *M. le Commandeur de Chaste*, made by order of the queen mother of France, to assist *Antonio King of Portugal*. The celebrated geographer *Abraham Ortelius*, born in 1527, published the earliest map of the *Azores* that is known. In the *Atlas Maritimo de Espana*, 2 vols. folio, Madrid, 1789, by *Don Vicente Tofino de San Miguel*, an excellent chart, and the best extant, of the *Azores*, is given on Mercator's projection.

The Abbe Raynall considers the *Azores*, in his fourth volume (page 508.) when he delivers his *Observations concerning the means which the court of Lisbon ought to employ to extricate the mother Country and her Colonies from their present languid state*.—"PORTUGAL will recollect, that she was indebted to her Navy for her opulence, her glory, and her strength, and will attend to the means of restoring it. It will no longer be reduced to seventeen men of war, to twenty-five warlike ships of smaller rates, and about an hundred merchant-men, from six to eight hundred tons burden, which are still in a more ruinous state. Her population, reduced to one million

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free commerce, exempt from any duties either to the Portuguese or Spanish ports.

Ch. II. § 1.
Alfonso the fifth.

As a close to the discoveries of Henry Duke of Viseo, the *first* and *second* Voyages of the noble ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO, a Venetian, are subjoined; not only for the information they contain relative to the different countries already explored, but as giving a more regular and ample account of two early Voyages along the coast of Africa, than could be otherwise obtained. These Voyages of Cada Mosto are the oldest extant, next to the journal of *Alcaforado*: they appear in the collections of *Ramusio* and *Grynæus*; the latter has given them in the Latin language, but they were originally composed in * Italian, and first printed at Venice. Some of the most interesting

First voyage
of Cada
Mosto.
1455.

nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, will increase and fill her Harbours and Roads with active fleets. The revival of her Navy will be doubtless difficult for a power, whose flag is not known on any of the European seas; and which for a century past, has given up her Navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obstacle will be surmounted by a wise and prudent government. When once it carries on all the Navigation that should belong to it, considerable sums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now constantly expended for freight.

"This change will extend its influence to THE ISLANDS that are dependent on the Crown. *Madeira*, the annual exports of which amount to 4,658,800 livres (194,116l. 13s. 4d.) will extend its labour, its prosperity, and its riches. The *Azores* will be still more improved. We know that this Archipelago, consisting of nine islands, of which *Tercera* is the principal, hath no more than one hundred and forty-two thousand inhabitants; and sells at present to the mother Country, to *Brasil*, and to North America, its wines, its linens, its corn, and its cattle, to the amount only of 2,440 000 livres (101,666l. 13s. 4d.) Even the *Cape de Verd Islands*, notwithstanding the frequent droughts they experience, will be able to multiply their mules; and more especially to cultivate the *Perella*; that species of grass of the colour of moss, which the north of Europe employs with so much advantage in dying. The government will not confine themselves to the encouragement in their possessions, of the cultures only that are known there; they will take care to introduce new ones, which the fertility of the soil, and the temperature and variety of the climate, seem incessantly to require."

* The first edition bears the date, *Venice 1507*, which is extremely scarce. The curious reader will find a copy in the King's Library; and also in the valuable collection made by Mr. Dalrymple. I have followed *Ramusio*, edit. *Venice 1613*. *Grynæus* was misled as to the exact date of Cada Mosto's voyage, which, through some inaccuracy, he has placed in 1504, after the death of the Duke of Viseo, and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, by Diaz. *Ramusio* also, in his introduction to Cada Mosto's voyage, has been guilty

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resting passages will occasionally be inserted in the original language; and without giving a literal translation of both Voyages, such parts have been selected, as more particularly demand attention. Cada Mosto, in his preface, informs us, that he was the first *dalla nobilissima città di Venetia*, who sailed on the ocean without the Straits of Gibraltar, towards the southern parts of Negroland, and Lower Ethiopia; and having beheld in the course of his Voyage many novelties worthy of notice, he felt it his duty to record them in a plain unaffected narrative.

"I ALVISE DA CADA MOSTO, after visiting many parts of our Mediterranean Sea, being in our city of Venice during the year 1454, when I was about twenty-two years of age, determined to return to Flanders, a country which I had formerly visited in the character of a merchant: for my attention was always given, first, to the acquirement of wealth, and afterwards to the acquisition of fame. On the eighth of August I embarked on board of one of the galleys belonging to the Republic, commanded by *Marca Zen*, a Venetian cavalier. Contrary winds detained us near Cape St. Vincente for some days; during which I was told that the *Signor Infante Don Henrich* resided in an adjoining village called *Reposera*,

of an inaccuracy in saying, that it was undertaken by the command of John King of Portugal, who died in 1433. "Queste sono le navigationi del Nobil huomo il Signor Aluise, da ca da Mosto fu del Sig. Gio. fatte del 1455, lugo la costa della bassa Ethiopia," &c.

The *Proemio* of the Venetian reminds us of the simplicity of the Greek writers, particularly Thucydides:—"In questo mio viaggio hauendo vedute molte cose nuove, et degne di notizia, meritamente mi ha parso sopra di quelle farne qualche fatica: et così come io i miei memoriali di tempo in tempo le ho notate, così con la penna an darle transcriuendo: ac cio che quelli, che dappoi di me haràno a venire, possino intender, qual sia stato l'animo mio a cer carle in diuersi, et nuoui luoghi: che veramēte in comparation de' nostri, quelli per me veduti, et intesi, un' altro mōdo si potrian chiamare. et se per me non saranno così ordinalamēte scritte, come la materia richiede, almeno nō mancherò di integra verità in ogni parte, et questo senza dubbio piu presto di manco dicendo, che oltra il vero alcuna cosa narrando." (Ramusio, vol. i. p. 97. D.)

A marginal note is subjoined in Ramusio, which informs us that *Don Henrich* was the first person who settled the Island of *St. Thomas*.

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fera,* to which he had retired, in order to pursue his studies without interruption from the tumult of the world. This prince, being informed of our arrival, immediately sent his secretary Antonio Gonzales, accompanied by a *Patritio di Conti*, who declared himself to be a Venetian, and consul from the Republic; as appeared from his commission, and the seal of the State: he also received a pension from the Infante:

Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonso the fifth.

Being received on board our galley, they shewed us some samples of *Madeira sugar*, and *dragon's blood*, with other curiosities, that had been brought from the Island belonging to the said Signor: these were all exhibited in my presence. The Venetians on board were then asked many questions; and we were at length informed that this Signor had patronised a settlement in the newly discovered Island, which had never before been inhabited. Yet that all this was inconsiderable, when compared with other events of still greater consequence, which the same Signor had accomplished. "His ships had traversed seas hitherto unexplored by navigators; strange regions were discovered, in which objects the most ^b marvellous had

* See preceding page 171, note ^m.

^b To the southward of the Senegal river, as Voltaire remarks, the Portuguese found men *jet black*, while those to the northward were *ash-coloured*. The colour of the negroe has since occupied the attention of different writers, among whom the opinions of the *Abbe Raynall* (vol. v. p. 187.) and *Mr. Bryant* in his *Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion* (p. 267.) particularly deserve our notice. The latter asserts, that the whole of the variations of colour and form in the human race depends on situation and climate. It is said in conformity to the account above, that the *Portuguese*, who have been settled upon the coast of Angala for three centuries, and somewhat more, are become absolute negroes. Of this we are assured by the *Abbe de Manet* (nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique Françoise, Paris 1767), who was in that part of the world in the year 1764, and baptized several of their children. He is quoted by *Mr. de Pauw*, who gives us this farther information. "Quant aux descendants des premiers Portugais, qui vinrent fixer leur demeure dans cette partie du monde vers l'an 1450, ils sont devenus des Nègres tres achevés pour le coloris, la laine de la tête, de la barbe, et les traits de la physionomie, quoiqu' ils ayent d'ailleurs retenu les points plus essentiel d'une Christianisme dégénéré, et conservé la langue du Portugal, corrompue, à la vérité, par différentes dialectes Africains" (*Recherches sur les Americaines*, tom. i. p. 211.) The like is mentioned by *Moore* in his account of the river *Gambia*.

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I.

had been witnessed; and ample fortunes had been acquired in a rapid and easy manner."—Their report astonished me, and I became anxious to know whether the Signor gave permission to every person, that was willing, to engage in this Commerce. They answered in the affirmative, and acquainted me with the requisite conditions; adding, it was impossible to make the Voyage without great profit, and that the Signor would particularly favour any Venetian, since he had every reason to think those countries abounded in^d *spices*, and other rich commodities, which the Venetians understood beyond any nation. On hearing this, I resolved to accompany the person, who had favoured me with such information, to the Signor himself; which I did accordingly. He soon assured me I had heard the truth; and moreover promised, if I resolved to make the attempt, the Voyage should turn out to my honour and advantage. Encouraged by all this; considering at the same time my youth, and ability to sustain fatigue; my desire also to see the world, and to behold places which none of my country had ever visited; hoping also to procure distinction, and to advance my fortune, I resolved at all events to go.—Hastening to the galley, I entrusted a relation with the different commissions I had received; and there provided myself with such articles as seemed essential

* These are ascertained by Cada Mosto to have been "*facendo l'una delle due conditioni quello che vi voleva andare, cio è che armasse la carauella a sue spese, et met terui la mercantia, et poi ritorno saria obligato a pagar per dretto et costume al prefato Signore il quarto d'ogni cosa ch'egli riportasse. et l'altre parti fossero sue. o che veramente il detto Signore armaria lui la carauella à chi volesse andarui a tutte sue spese, solamente quello vi mettesse la mercàtia, et poi al ritorno partissero p' metà tutto quello che strazesse de detti luogbi, e che in caso che nō si traxesse alcuna cosa, che la spesa fusse fatta a suo danno.*" (Ramusio, p. 97. C.)

† This is a curious passage, "*Speciarie et altre buone cose,*" as it proves to what an extent the views of the Duke of Visco reached; and that the bold outline of Discovery traced by his superior genius, which he did not live to accomplish, comprehended *the Islands and Continent of India*.

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essential to my intended voyage. I then returned to the shore ; Ch. II. § 1.
and the galleys pursued their course to Flanders. *Alphonse le ffish.*

Whilst I remained at Cape St. Vincente, the *Signor Infante* expressed his satisfaction at my determination, and treated me with the utmost hospitality. After many days he ordered me to fit out a caravella, newly built, of about ninety tons burden ; the owner of which was one *Vincente Diaz*, a native of *Lagos* ; distant about sixteen miles from Cape St. Vincente. This vessel was accordingly provided with the necessary stores ; and on the twenty-second of March 1455, I sailed from the above cape, steering for the island of Madeira, with the wind ° at north-east, and by north. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, we touched at the island of *Puerto Santo*, and by the twenty-eighth anchored at Monchrico, (*Machico*,) one of the ports of *Madaira*."

The description given by *Cada Mosto* of these Islands is curious, Puerto Santo.
as he visited them at no great distance of time from their first discovery. *Bartholomew Perestello*, governor of *Puerto Santo*, was still alive. The Venetian noticed its produce of corn and barley, as being sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants ; and yet, though he remarks that it abounded *d' infiniti conigli*, he does not confirm the account, given by the Portuguese historians, relative to the havoc which these animals occasioned. He appears to have been struck with the singularity of the Tree that produces the gum called '*dragon's*'

* *Con Vento da greco, et tramontana in poppe.*—In the Maps of the Bay, and adjacent Coast of *Naples*, in thirty-two Plates, and in the *Atlanta Marittimo delle due Sicilie*, in twenty-three Charts, by *ZANNONE* in 1794, he gives the following points of the Compass: N. *Tramontana*. N. E. *Greco*. E. *Levante*. S. E. *Sirocco*. S. *Mesxoni*. S. W. *Libeccio*. W. *Ponente*. N. W. *Maestro*.

† This tree is more fully described by *Sir Edmund Scory*, who was at *Teneriffe* about the beginning of the seventeenth century (*Astley's Collection*, p. 542. c. and p. 548. vol. i.) It probably was so called from its bark being like the scales of a serpent. About the full of the moon, it exudes a vermillion gum ; that which grows on the Islands and coast of *Africa* is more astringent than what comes from *Goa*. It is found on high rocky land. Captain *Bartholomew*

BOOK I. *gon's blood*, and describes the manner in which it is extracted; observing, that the fruit had an exquisite flavour, and resembled a kind of yellow cherry. *Puerto Santo* was also famous for honey and wax.

Madeira.

In speaking of *Madeira*, Cada Mosto gives a dreadful account of the fire which raged upon it for such a length of time, through the inadvertency of the first settlers: he found this Island principally inhabited at four different places—*Monsbrico*, *Santa Croce*, *Fonzal*, and *Camera di Lupi*; there were also some other spots thinly scattered with houses. *Madeira* was at that time extremely

mew *Stilbs* met with it on the banks of the *Gambia* river, and describes it as the *Par de Sangor*, or blood-wood tree. *Mr. Nicholson* styles this gum a red-coloured, inodorous and insipid resin, soluble in spirit of wine, and in oils: when dissolved by the former, it is used for staining marble.

"*Et fu sì grande il primo fuoco, che mi fu detto, che al sopradetto Zuangonzales, che iui sitrou-ava, fu necessario lui, et tutti gli altri con le mogliere et figliuoli fuggir dalla furia, et redursi all' acqua in mere, doue stettero in essa fin alla gola per circa duoi giorni et duo nette senza mangiare ne bere, che altrimenti sariano morti.*" (Ramusio, p. 98. F.) One of the latest European navigators, Rear-Admiral BRUNI D'ENTRECASTEAUX, beheld an island in a state somewhat similar to what has been reported of *Madeira*.—*M. Labillardiere*, who drew up an account of this Voyage, made the years 1791-1793, informs, that "being in the latitude of 37° 30' south, the island of *St. Paul* (discovered by *Captain Valming* in 1696, who gave it the name of the island of *Amsterdam*, afterwards changed by *Cook*), appeared, in the distance, covered with thick clouds, above which rose the summits of the mountains. We were sufficiently near it, about four o'clock, to distinguish perfectly that these clouds were formed on the Island; whence issued a thick smoke, which almost entirely covered it, especially towards the north: flames were seen in different points, and it was soon discovered that the forests were in a blaze; the traces of the fire, and the smoke which appeared successively in different places, exhibited the progress of the conflagration. We shaped our course so as to pass as near as possible to windward of the Island. Rocks, inclined about 50° from north to south, and which I took to be composed of strata of free-stone, formed the mountains to the south-west, which exhibited great declivities as far as the sea shore: farther on to the south, were seen horizontal strata of the same species of stone; perpendicular surfaces of rock exhibited on a large scale, those strange forms known under the denomination of *Lusi*. We observed a thin smoke issue in puffs from a small subterraneous aperture at a little distance from the shore: we were ignorant whether these forests had been set in flames by the subterraneous fire, or by the hand of man. I learnt at the *Ile of France*, at the time of my return from the *South Sea*, that an American ship had carried to the islands of *Amsterdam* and *St. Paul*, some men commissioned to extract oil from the seals, which are there very numerous." (Debrett's Translation, vol. i. p. 119.)

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VOL. I

tremely fertile and rich ; it produced yearly, says the Venetian, on an average, thirty thousand [♂] staras of corn. On the banks of the eight rivers that intersect this island, the Portuguese had made saw-pits ; whence their own country, and other nations, were supplied with cedar, and the planks of the rose-coloured *nasso*¹. The whole island appeared a continuation of pleasure ground.

On quitting *Madeira*, Cada Mosto stood to the southward, until he reached the *Canary* islands. *Signor Ferrera*, a Spanish knight, governed those that were inhabited by Christians. The principal articles of commerce, noticed by Cada Mosto, consisted of the herb *Oricello*, *Orchel*, a kind of moss that grows on their rocks, and is used by the dyers ; goat skins, tallow, and cheese. The population of the grand Canary, at this time amounted to between eight and nine thousand souls ; whilst that of *Teneriffe* was nearly fifteen thousand ; this island was divided between nine *Signors*, with the title of Dukes : our Venetian only landed in the islands of *Canaria*, and *Gomera*, but expressed himself much delighted with the rich landscape of the Isle of *Palmas* as he sailed along its coast.

Leaving the *Canaries*, Cada Mosto still kept a southerly direction towards *Ethiopia*, and in a few days reached *Cabo Blanco*, when some [♂] directions are given for the mariners of that age, which tend to elucidate the mode of sailing then observed in the Atlantic. His Narrative proceeds in the following manner :

“ The

[♂] About one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five quarters English.

¹ See preceding Page 168, (note [♂].)

[♂] Et è da notare, che partendosi dalle dette Isole per venir verso il detto Capo, si vien scorrendo la costa dell' Africa, laqual andào per ostro ne viene a romagnir a man sinistra, che l'huomo scorri largo, et non habbi vista di terra, perche le dette Isole di Canaria sono molto fuora in mare verso ponete, et una piu fuori dell'altra. et così va l'huomo scorrendo largo da terra finche l'ha passa to al meno ; duoi terzi del camino, che è dalle dette Isole al detto Capo Bianco, et poi si appressa a man sinistra con la costa fino che ha vista di terra, per non scorrere il detto Capo Bianco senza riconoscerlo. perche oltra il detto Capo non se vede terra alcuna fino a gran camino piu auante. (Ramusio, p. 99. F.)

BOOK
I.

"The Coast bends in after this cape, and forms a bay, called *la forma d'Argin*, from a small island in it, which the natives of the country of Argin thus distinguish. This bay occupies a space of about fifty miles, and contains three islands; thus named by the Portuguese, *Ifola Bianca* on account of its white sands; *Ifola delle Garze*¹, from the number of hawks, or herons that were found there; and the third *Ifola*² *Cuori*. Here it may be proper to observe; that on keeping to the southward from the Straits of Gibraltar, the Coast thence trending on the left hand towards *Ethiopia*, which is that of Barbary, is not inhabited beyond *Capo Cantbin*; thence to *Capo Bianco* extends the sandy Region, called by the natives *Sarra*, which confines on the south with the negroes of Ethiopia. An immense desert is thus formed, not to be traversed under fifty or sixty days even by a man on horseback. The country is one extensive Plain, without the smallest rise, quite to *Capo Bianco*, so named by the Portuguese from its white sands, nor is there any appearance of trees, or herbage. This is a noble promontory, of a triangular shape; having its three points distant about a mile from each other³. Throughout this Coast we meet with a variety of excellent fish, similar in point of taste to what we have at Venice, though different in their appearance. There is but little depth of water in the Bay of *Argin*, with innumerable shoals both of sand and rocks. The force of the current is very great, so that you can only sail during the day-time; even then you must keep constantly sounding, and pay every attention to the course of the stream. This Bay is full

¹ *Perche li Portoghesi primi vi trouorono in essa tante oue di questi uccelli marini, che ne cargarono due barche delle carauelle.* (Ibid. p. 99. A.)

² In Grynæus, *Cori*.

³ *Bellissimo Capo per esser in triangolo, cio' è in faccia di esso fra tre punte larghe l'una da l'altra circa un miglio.* (Ibid. p. 99. B.)

full of rocks, and two ships have been already lost: the white cape lies south-west of *Capo Cantbin*. Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonsus the Fifth.

"It is right you should be informed that on the Continent which extends behind the white cape is a place called *Hoden*; distant about six days journey with a camel. It has no walls, and is much resorted to by the Arabs and caravans, that come from *Tombuto*, and other negro settlements, to this side of Barbary. They have a numerous train of camels, on which they convey ^a brass, silver, and other articles, from *Barbary* to *Tombuto*, and the country of the negroes; and in return bring back gold, and ^r cardomum seeds.

"The Signor INFANTE has farmed out the Island of *Argin* for ten years, and after this manner. No one is allowed to enter the Bay in order to traffic with the above Arabians, except such as are licensed factors, who have dwelling-houses on the island, and have been accustomed to transact commercial business with such traders as frequent the Coast: the different articles of merchandize which they provide for these Arabians, consist of ^s woollen cloth, linen, silver, shawls or turbans, tapestry, and above all wheat, of which they are particularly in want. They give in exchange slaves, collected by the traders in Negro-land, and ^t gold. A castle has been built on the island by order of the *Signor Infante* to secure this commerce, on account of which caravellas arrive every year from Portugal.

"The river *Senega*, which is very large, separates a race called *Azanogbi*, from the first kingdom of the negroes: the former are tawny, of

^a In Grynæus, *Ataubut*.

^r Rami.

^s Melbegette.

^t Panni, Tele, et argenti, et alchimeli cio è cappette, tappeti, et altre cose, et sopra tutto formento. (Ibid. p. 99. C.)

^r Oro tiber.

^s *Ramisso*, (vol. i. p. 100. D.)—In addition to what has been said relative to this river, Note c, page 218, may be added the observations of *Mr. Capper* respecting the *Niger*. "If the *Niger* runs from west to east, as seems very much believed since the publication of *Mr.*

BOOK
I.

of rather a dark brown shade, and inhabit some parts of the Coast, which lie beyond *Capo Bianco*: their district borders on the above mentioned Arabians of *Hoden*. Many of the *Asanagbi* were carried off, and sold by the Portuguese, who valued these slaves more than any other; but of late they have enjoyed peace and commerce. The *Signor Infante* has strictly prohibited all persons from molesting these Africans, through the hope of converting them to the established Faith.

"The *Asanagbi* had no knowledge of any other Christians, except the Portuguese, who carried on a desultory war against them for thirteen or fourteen years. Many of these Africans informed me, that when Ships, with their extended sails, were first discerned off the coast, they were taken for foreign birds, with prodigious wings; since neither they nor their ancestors had ever seen any before. Afterwards, when the sails were furled, they conjectured from the length of the object, that the vessels must be fish; others, on the contrary, in great agitation, declared they were Spectres, gliding on the waves of midnight; since they would often ravage a coast during the dusk of evening, and the next morning be near an hundred miles off*.

At

Park's Travels, it probably terminates in a lake, like the river Jordan in the Dead Sea, sufficiently capacious to receive its waters; and in the centre of Africa, where this lake must be situated, the evaporation from extreme heat would be sufficient to account for the disposal of the water. If this Lake does not afterwards communicate by some other river with the ocean, it will add one more to the list of salt water lakes, or Inland Seas." (*Observations on the winds and monsoons*, p. 190.)

* The Ideas and simplicity of the Natives of this coast may be more fully exemplified by what *Mr. Park* relates of the *Mandingoes*, who form the principal part of the inhabitants in the districts he visited.—"They imagine that the World is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has discovered; it being, they say, overhung with clouds and darkness. They describe the Sea as a large river of salt water, on the farther shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaudo doo*, the land of the white people. At a distance from *Tobaudo doo*, they describe another country, which they allege is inhabited by cannibals of gigantic size called *Kaami*. This country they call *Jong sang doo*, the land where the slaves are sold. But of

"At the distance of about six days journey from the Mart of *Hoden*, Ch. II. § 1. Alphonso the fifth. there is a place called *Tegazza*, or the chest of gold, where a considerable quantity of rock salt is excavated every year, and conveyed on camels, by the *Arabs* and *Azanagbi*, in separate caravans to *Tombuto*, and thence to *Melli*, a negro kingdom. The heat in this latter country is very powerful, which occasions the death of many of these Arabian and *Azanagbi* merchants. From *Tegazza* to *Tombuto* is about forty days' journey on horseback, and thence to *Melli* about thirty. I enquired in what manner the merchants of *Melli* disposed of their salt? and received for answer, "That a small portion was consumed in the country: during the excessive heats which prevail there at certain seasons of the year, *the blood of the inhabitants would putrefy, if they did not every day take a piece of the dissolved salt, in a porringer of water.*"—As for the remainder of the salt, it is conveyed on the heads of men, in large pieces, as much as one person can carry, to a *certain* Water, whether fresh or salt I could not learn.

"Having reached the shore, or bank of The Water, the salt is placed in heaps, each merchant's property by itself. They who belong to it then retire to the distance of half a day's journey; when other negroes, who avoid being spoken to, or seen, and who it is conjectured come in boats from some adjacent Islands, approach the
heaps

Curious Salt
Trade.

of all Countries in the world their own appears to them as the best, and their own people as the happiest; and they pity the fate of other nations who have been placed by Providence in less fertile and less fortunate districts." (page 407.)

A questo modo lo con ducono fino sopra certa acqua, laqual non hanno saputo dire se è dolce, ouero salza, per poter intendere s'egli è fiume ouer mare, ma io tengo che sia fiume. per che sel fusse mare, in sito così caldo non hauereian bisogno di sale. (Ibid. p. 100. B.)—This barter of gold for salt by the negroes of Africa was noticed by Mr. Park. "In *Boori*, which is situated about four days' journey to the south-west of *Kamalia*, the salt market is often supplied, at the same time, with Rock Salt from the Great Desert, and Sea Salt from the *Rio Grande*; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same; and the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north, or negroes from the west, are invited thither by the same motives, that of bartering their Salt for Gold." (Page 446.)

BOOK
I.

heaps of salt; and having examined its quality, place a certain portion of gold on each, and withdraw. The original traders then return: if the Deposit satisfies their expectation, they take it, and leave the salt; if not, they again retire, without moving the gold. The former Negroes upon this, either add more gold, or only take the salt on which their deposit was approved. This mode of trading is very antient among them: the truth of it has been attested by many of the *Arab* and *Azanagbi* merchants, and by other persons whose information deserves "credit."

Singular
Tribe of
Negroes.

Cada Mosto was informed by the *Merchants* in reply to his enquiry, why the Emperor of Melli did not endeavour to obtain an account of these strange people, who would neither suffer themselves to be seen, or be conversed with? that a few years before, the Emperor, having resolved to procure some of this strange race, summoned his council on the subject. An ambuscade was in consequence formed in pits near the water's side, adjoining the place where the Salt was usually left; and four of the negroes were taken. Three of them immediately received their liberty, to quiet the apprehensions of the rest: but the remaining Captive refusing to speak, though addressed in different languages, or to take any nourishment, expired, after preserving his resolution for four days. The subsequent Report that was made to the Emperor of Melli, of the form and appearance of these captives, favours a little of the extravagant;

"*Dr. Shaw*, who lived for twelve years at Algiers, gives a similar account of the traffic carried on between the western Moors, and the *Nigritians* living in the Desert, near the Niger. "On a certain day of a certain moon, the Moorish merchants, being furnished with coral, and coloured glass beads, and other trinkets of that kind, repair to a certain spot in the desert, not far from the above-mentioned river. On their arrival they find deposited on a certain well known spot, many small parcels of Gold Dust, ranged in due order, at a trifling distance from each other; opposite to each parcel they place their goods, and go away, persons unknown and unseen then come in the night and regulate their bargain. If the *Nigritians* approve of the arrangement, they take their goods and leave their gold dust; but on the contrary, if they disapprove of the bargain, they very honestly take away their own property, and scrupulously leave what was offered them." See also *Herodotus*, *Melpomene*, 196.

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gant; though *Cada Mosto* himself was inclined, from the various wonders he had beheld, to give credit to the relation: "their colour was of the deepest black; the under lip thicker than a man's fist, and of a lively red, hung down on their breasts; something like blood dropped from it continually; two enormous teeth appeared at each corner of their mouth, and their eyes were black and 'large.'"

Ch. II. § 1.

Alphonse de Siffre

Owing to the untoward circumstance of this negroe's death, the singular Commerce which had subsisted between his countrymen, and the subjects of the Emperor of Melli, was interrupted for the space of three years; when at length, as *Cada Mosto* conjectures, the Lips of the negroes beginning to putrefy through the heat of their climate, they were compelled to issue from their retreats, and renew their traffic for Salt. The Gold thus brought into the kingdom of Melli, after being divided into three portions, was exported by the following channels: one portion was conveyed by the Melli

caravan

* *Uomini negrissimi et ben formati di corpo, ali vn palmo piu di loro, et che hanno il labbro di sotto piu di vn sommessio largo, che vien sopra il petto, grosso, et rosso, mostrando dalla parte dentro gettar, come sangue, et il labbro di sopra era piccolo come i suoi. per laqual forma de labbri mostravano le gengive et i denti i quali denti dicevan esser maggiori delli suoi. et hanno da i lati duoi denti grandi, et gli occhi grossi et neri, et sono terribili di aspetto. et che la gengiva gettava sangue, cosi come il labbro.*— (Ramusio, vol. i. p. 101. D.)

† Strange as this Relation appears, it is corroborated by *Jobson* in his *Voyage for the discovery of the river Gambia*, already noticed (p. 222. note c.) when speaking of the information he derived from an aged *Ma bú*, who resided at the *Ferambra's* town:—"He added, that not far from *Jaye* there were a people who would not be seen; and the Salt was carried to them by the *Arabeks* of *Barlary*, who had all the Gold from them, though they never saw them. Asking the Cause, he made a sign to his *Lips*, and gave no other answer."—*Jobson* then proceeds to relate the manner of this Silent Traffic from certain authors whose names he could not recollect. According to *Windus*, in his journey to *Mequinez* (p. 212.) this story of the raw lips still prevails.— (*Asley's Collect.* vol. ii. p. 182.)

* Sir John Pringle was, I believe, the first of the English physicians who proved that *Volatile Alkaline Salts*, commonly supposed to promote *Putrefaction*, are in fact powerful *antiseptics*: this celebrated physician, in the year 1750. communicated in number 495 of the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, a most ingenious paper, *On some Experiments on Substances resisting Putrefaction*; in which the following *Table* is given of the comparative powers of salts in that respect;

8*

Sea

BOOK
I.Gold Trade
of Meli.
1445.

caravan to a place called *Cochia*, on the road to Syria and Cairo; the remaining portions were carried by another Caravan to *Tom-buto*, where the trade extended into two branches; one of which reached from *Toet* along the Coast to *Tunis*, and the second to *Hoden*; where the gold not only circulated through the Barbary towns, both within and without The Straits, whence the Italians and other Christian nations received it from the Moors, but it also was brought every year to the Sea Coast, to purchase Portuguese goods at *Arguin*; and proved the most valuable commodity which their merchants received from the *Affanbaji* country. These Africans, with those

of

Sea Sal	-	-	1.	Saline Mixture	-	3.
Sal Gemma	-	-	1 +	Nitre	-	4 +
Tartar Vitriolated	-	-	2.	Salt of Hartshorn	-	4 +
Spiritus Mindereri	-	-	2.	Salt of Wormwood	-	4 +
Tartarus Solubilis	-	-	2.	Borax	-	12 +
Sal diureticus	-	-	2 +	Salt of Amber	-	20 +
Crude Sal Ammoniac	-	-	3.	Alum	-	30 +

Sir John adds, "in this Table I have marked the Proportions by integral numbers; it being hard, and perhaps unnecessary, to bring this matter to more exactness; only to some I have added the sign (+) to show, that those Salts are stronger than the number in the Table by some fraction; unless in the three last, where the same Sign imports, that the Salt may be stronger by some units." These experiments by Sir John comprehended several essays; only the three first were printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*.—In this learned Paper he also observes, that two grains of *Camphire* mixed with water, preserved Flesh better than sixty grains of sea salt. Sir John Pringle's ideas on this subject were still further illustrated in the year 1759, by Dr. Barry's able Treatise on the three different digestions, and discharges of the human body.—*M. de Pagés*, in his *Voyages*, endeavoured to ascertain whether Sea Water contained more Salt under the Torrid, than under the other Zones; and his experiments proved contrary to what he expected, that Sea Water is impregnated with Salt in less quantity within, than without the tropics.—The *Abbe Raynal*, when speaking of the poisonous juice of the *Macheneel* tree, in the American islands (vol. v. p. 369.) gives us another, and perhaps the real motive, which induced these Africans to place such a value on Salt: "The juice of the *Macheneel* is received into shells, placed under various incisions that have been made in its trunk. As soon as this juice is grown a little thick, the *Points of the Arrows* are steeped in it, which thence acquire the property of conveying sudden death, be the wound ever so slight. This Poison, as it appears from experience, preserves its venomous quality above an hundred years. Salt applied immediately is an infallible cure." This simple remedy was probably equally known to the savages both of America and Africa; it might surely be employed in our own country, and on board our Ships, in cases of the putrid sore throat, and many other disorders.

of the adjoining States, are described as using no Coin, their traffic being solely carried on by barter, or through the currency of small white^d shells: their^e gold was sold by *mitigal* weight, amounting to about a ducat in value. *Cada Mosto* then notices the manners and dress of the *Affanbaji*, and proceeds in the following manner with his interesting Narrative.

"After we had^f passed the *White Cape* (Cabo Blanco) we continued our Voyage to the River *Senega*, the first in Negroland on that

Ch. II. § 1.

Alphonse de la Sibie

Description
of the Se-
negal, and
adjacent
Country.
1455.

^d *Porcellette blanche di queste piccole* (Cowry shells) Ramusio, vol. i. p. 101. F.

* This, as Mr. Green observes in Astley's Collection, was the first account brought from these parts respecting the particular states in Africa whence Gold came to Europe; and appears to be more minute and exact, than any since received.—*Barbot* (Churchill's Collect. vol. v. chap. xvii.) describes the different Sorts of *African Gold*, as it comes either from rivers or mines; the latter he again divides into that found near the surface of the earth, which is the finest; and that found at a greater depth which is coarser. He also treats of the mode in which the blacks adulterate and counterfeit gold. "Some pieces are so artificially imitated, that all the outside, to the thickness of an half crown, is fine gold, and the inside filled up with copper, or iron. They also make a certain powder of Coral, which they cast and tinge so artificially, that it is impossible to distinguish it any way, but by the weight.—I will farther add this Advice to all Seafaring Men trading on that Coast; that when they see many blacks come abroad together to trade with Gold, they admit but two or three at most, into the great cabin, or any other part of the ship, at one time; and always keep about them four or five of their own men to be on the watch, lest the blacks embezzle any goods; that so they and their Goldsmith, if there be one aboard, as commonly there is in French ships, may have leisure to examine the nature of the Gold; for it is common there for one Black, (most of those on the Coast being Factors or Brokers for the inland people,) to have twenty or more several small parcels of Gold, wrapt up in rags, or in little leather bags, to purchase goods for so many several persons; and those parcels must be all examined one after another. Take heed of such as come with Rush Baskets, as I have seen five or six of them together, with every one such a basket, who are generally designed to conceal what they can secure. So those who talk much, and make a noise, are to be suspected; and it may be observed they will never agree to any price of goods. . . . It was observed by the Officers of the Mint at Paris, that the *Iffeny*, *Cape St. Apollonia* and *Axim* Gold, was from 22 to 23 carats fine; which Gold is commonly brought thither from the countries of *Awine* and *Egwira*. That from *Cape Tres Puntas* to *Sacunda*, about 22 carats fine, being commonly carried to those places, *Egwira*, *Adom*, and other neighbouring countries. The gold of *Acra*, which usually comes from *Tafae*, *Quakoe*, and some other adjacent parts, was between 22 carats, and 22½. The *Acra* Gold is commonly mixed with some fine Sand, and very small gravel."

^f Ramusio, (vol. i. p. 101. B.)

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K k

BOOK
I.

that coast: it divides the *tawny Azanagbi*, and a tract of dry barren land, from the fertile region of negroes. Five years before my arrival, this River had been discovered by ^a three caravellas belonging to the *Signor Infante*: the Portuguese entered it, and having gained the confidence of the negroes, opened a commercial intercourse; since which Ships have been sent every year to preserve the trade. This River is large, being upwards of a mile in breadth at its mouth, and very deep; there is another opening at some little distance; between these entrances is an Island, which forms a Cape that projects into the sea, and at each ^b mouth are sand banks and shoals, extending

^a See page 212. *Cada Mosto's* knowledge of the *Progress of Discovery*, seems again to be incorrect: probably as a foreigner, and one who had lately visited Portugal, he only spoke at random. Yet even DE BARROS, himself, is not quite decided relative to the first discovery of the *Senegal River*. He says (see page 212) that *Denis Fernandez* passed it in 1446, but that *Langarot* discovered it in 1447; the former certainly did not enter it: but this will not make Cada Mosto correct who visited it in 1455.

^b *Mr. Lindsay*, chaplain of the *Fougueux*, in his *voyage to the coast of Africa* in 1758, containing an account of the *Expedition to Goree*, under *Commodore the Honourable Augustus Keppel*, may on this occasion be introduced to the reader's notice, to improve Cada Mosto's description of the *Senegal river*, and the account already inserted (p. 218, note c). "In the mouth of The River there are two Bars; that on the north is often dry at top; and the other, though there is water over it, has not more than six or seven feet on many places; making thereby three separate Channels (although the *Sieur Brue* says two only), the north, the middle, and southernmost. In the rainy seasons, the *fresbes* come down the River in torrents; inasmuch, that the sea has not the least mixture of Salt at the very mouth of the River. Now at such times, if the Sea Breezes, which generally prevail in the day, are high; or if they continue for a day or two, without the usual return of the breezes at night from the land, the impetuosity of the river being thereby curbed in its course, becomes furious, to a degree that is terrifying. Although the *fresbes* were far spent, and the *Salt* of the sea prevailed for near twelve miles up the river, yet we saw upon the bars, in our short stay there, running seas breaking, and the surf flying to an amazing height." (Page 63.)—"The *Sanaga* (p. 94.) runs parallel to the Sea-Shore as far as *Fort St. Louis*, being separated from it by a stripe of sand only; so loose, that walking upon it is troublesome, and so low, that the Surf of the Sea is constantly observed over it; while a stronger Sea-breeze than usual makes an appearance as if the Ocean would at once force itself over the sands, and lay the island under water. In this Course, which is almost due north, it is navigable with small Vessels as far as the island of *Serimpala*, which is about twenty-five leagues; the neck of the peninsula, or rather the bottom of the narrow slip of land, being not broader at this part than three or four miles. Here the River takes a sudden

turn

extending about a mile from the shore. The water increases and diminishes every six hours, for the tide reaches beyond sixty miles within the river; according to the information of some Portuguese, who in their caravellas have explored its course to a considerable distance up the country: it is therefore necessary, that Ships intending to enter the *Senega* should take advantage of high water to pass over these sand banks and shoals. The distance from the *White Cape* to this River is three hundred and eighty miles, with a coast of sand to within twenty miles of the *Senega*, called the *Coast of Anterote*; which belongs to the *Azanagbi*, or tawny Moors.

Ch. II. § 1.

Alphabet of the fifth.

"It appeared to me an astonishing circumstance, that on the southern side of this River, its inhabitants should be extremely tall, stout, and well made, their country verdant, and enriched with trees; whilst

turn from the north, and in a Course almost due east, you are carried several hundred leagues into the heart of the Country. Upon the left, going up from *Serimpala*, or as others call it *Serimpeta*, is that desert famous for its being the mart of the Arabian gums; and after a serpentine course of three hundred leagues, you arrive at *Fort St. Joseph* in *Galam*, which is on the right-hand or south-side of the river.

"A few leagues below this Fort, the *Sanaga* is joined by another River from the South, called the *Faleme*: about twelve leagues from the mouth of this river, to the east, is the new Gold Mine of *Naye*; a few miles above this the French have built a small fort called *St. Pierre*, on the right-side of the River a little below the fall of *Kaynura*. Just below *Fort St. Pierre*, and at no great distance from it, on the east side of the river, it is joined by a fair sister, called the *Sanon Kolen*, or Golden River, which runs in a serpentine manner, taking its rise from the mountains around the golden country of *Tambaacura*, about forty leagues to the south-east of *St. Pierre*.

"We shall now return to *Sanaga*; which about four leagues above *Fort St. Joseph*, and on the same side, is joined by a river called *Ghianon*. From *Fort St. Joseph* to the town of *Kaygnu*, on the south side of the River, is about twenty leagues. Here, too, is the first fall, called *Felu*: about ten leagues farther is the second rock, called the fall of *Govina*; the former an height of thirty fathoms, the other considerably more. Farther than this second fall, the French have made but few Discoveries. The navigation is there much interrupted."—For the perusal of this Voyage, which deserves to be more known, though it bears marks of having been composed in an hasty manner, I am indebted to RICHARD THOMAS STREATFIELD, Esq.

1 Berrettini.

BOOK
I.Kingdom
of Senega,
and its
boundaries.

whilst on the opposite bank they are tawny, meagre, and low in stature, with a dry and ^a barren soil.

"That part of the NEGRO territory which is situated on the River *Senega*, is the ¹ first Kingdom of the *Ethiopian Blacks*, and the inhabitants are styled ^m *Gilofs*. The coast, as well as the country which we have previously described, is low; and this not only continues to the *Senega*, but also as far as *Cape de Verde*, which is the highest land of any part of it, distant four hundred miles from the *White Cape*. According to what I have been able to learn, this kingdom of *Senega* confines on the east with the country of *Tuchufor*, on the south with the kingdom of *Gambra*, on the west with the ocean, and on the north with the aforesaid River. The king at this time on the ⁿ throne, was called *Zucholin*, a young man in his twenty-second

^k *Maraugliosa cosa mi pare che di la dal fiume tutti sono negrissimi, et grandi, et grossi, et ben formati di corpo, et tutto il Paese e verde et piú d'arbori et fertile, et di qua sono huomini Berrettini piccioli, magri, asciutti, et di piccola Statura; il Paese sterile et secco.* (Ramusio, p. 101. B.)—Mr. Capper remarks, in his judicious *Observations on the Winds and Monsoons* (p. 80.) that "the northern division of Africa, between the latitude of eighteen and thirty degrees, possesses but few of those advantages enjoyed by other countries, which are situated in the same hemisphere, and at an equal distance from the equator: and whilst those parts of *Asia* and *America*, in the same Latitudes, are blessed with a fertile Soil, and an wholesome air, the Interior of *Africa*, in those Latitudes, is almost one immense sandy waste, called by the Arabians, to mark its preeminence, *Sabara Ul Afki*."

^l Mr. Green observes in a note (Aftley's Collection, vol. i. p. 581.), "although the first kingdom, or kingdoms of the *Blacks*, lies upon the *Senega*, or *Sanagha*, and others along the *Gambra*; yet there were not properly any kingdoms of these names. There was indeed, to the North of the *Sanaga*, the country inhabited by the *Sanbaga* or *Azanagbi*, from whence the River seems to have taken its name: But it was divided among various Tribes of these people, and not under any one Sovereign. However, the geographers since then have propagated the first mistake."

^m *Jalofs*.

ⁿ "Il Re di *Senega* al tempo mio haveua nome *Zucholin*, era giouene di anni vètidue: et nò è questo Re simile alli nostri di Christianità, perche il suo regno è di gète seluaggia et pauerissima: et non vi è città alcuna murata, se non villaggi con case di paglia, ne fanno far case di muro, et nò hanno calcina, nè pietre da fabbricarle per non superle fare." (Ramusio, Ibid. p. 101. C.—p. 102. D.)

second year. An African monarch possesses little to remind us of our Christian kings: his subjects are Savages, and very poor; they possess no walled towns, and even the houses which compose their villages are thatched; the negroes being utter strangers either to the mode of making lime, or of hewing stone. This Kingdom contains no great portion of territory; since, according to the information I could procure, it reaches only two hundred miles along the Coast; and within land, cannot much exceed the same extent.

"There is no fixed Revenue for their King, but the Signors of the country, in order to stand well in his favour, present him yearly with horses, which on account of their scarcity are much sought after, and with horse furniture; together with other cattle, such as Cows and Goats; accompanied with vegetables, millet, and articles of the like nature. The monarch is supported by depredation; his own subjects, as well as those of the adjoining districts, are sold for slaves: some of these are afterwards reserved to cultivate the lands assigned him; whilst the remainder is disposed of to *Azanagbi*, and *Arabian* Merchants.

"They have no Vessels, nor had they ever seen any before the arrival of the Portuguese on their Coast. Those negroes who dwell by the side of the river, and some who have settled near the Sea, have ° *Zoppolies*, or *Almadias*, formed out of a single piece of wood, which will carry three or four men: in these they embark to catch fish, or to cross the river from one place to another. These Africans are the most skilful swimmers in the world: the truth of which I can vouch from some experience of their dexterity.

"I passed the ° *Senega* in my caravella, and sailing onwards came to the Country of BUDOMEL, having passed from the above river
eight

Country of
Budomel.

° *Zoppoli*, Ramusio, ibid. p. 102. B.

° The curious reader may compare this part of Cada Mosto's account of the Senegal river, with the *Voyage to the Kingdom of Sanaga, on the River Niger*, by Claude Jannequin, Sieur de Rochefort.

BOOK
I. eight hundred miles along an extent of Coast, uniformly low, unvaried by a single eminence. The term ^a BUDOMEL is the title of its *Signor*, and not the name of the country; which is called the *Territory of Budomel*, in the same manner as we are accustomed to express ourselves when speaking of the domain of any *Signor*, or Count. I immediately brought to off this district, in order to obtain some intercourse with its chief; having learnt from Portuguese, who had traded with him, that his general character was fair, respectable, and worthy of my confidence; since he never failed to pay for whatever articles were selected. Moreover, I had some Spanish Horses on board, in high request among the Negroes; not to mention many articles of commerce, such as cloth, Moorish silks, and other ^r commodities.

“ Resolving therefore to try his disposition towards me, I came to anchor at a part of the coast called *la Palma di Budomel*, which is a roadstead, and not an harbour. A negro interpreter was immediately dispatched to make known my arrival with some horses and sundry goods; and that any of them were much at *Budomel's* service, if he stood in need of such articles. The said *Signor* hearing this,

Rochefort, a native of *Chalons*, in November, 1637. It was printed at Paris, in one duodecimo volume, by *Charles Rouillard*, 1643. This was the first Voyage the French made up the *Sanaga*: it is translated by Mr. Green in *Astley's Collection* (vol. ii. p. 20.) The following are the contents of some of the chapters: 1. Account of *Jannequin's* sailing from *Dieppe*. 2. Description of the Canary islands. 3. Arrival at *Cape Blanco*, account of the *Moor's*, passage to the *Niger*, or *Sanaga*. 4. Description of the country. 5. Embassy from the *Damel* and *Brak*, two negro kings. 6. Customs or duties payable to the kings of that country. 7. Goods, with which they traded among the negroes. 8. Manner of building followed by the negroes. 9. The Kings whose dominions lie along the *Sanaga*. 10. Mode of electing their kings. 11. Manner of making war, and their skill in swimming. 12. Describes the malignity of the wet season in that country, and the great mortality strangers are subject to. 13. Their return to France.

^a The *Sieur Brue*, first Director of the fourth French Senega Company in August 1697, whose voyages to the *Senega* have been already noticed (p. 219. note c.), informs us that the African king of *Kayor*, or *Kaylor*, was styled *Damel*.

^r *Panni di lana, et lauori di feda Morefchi, et altri merci.* (Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 102. C.)

this, mounted his horse, and came towards the sea side, attended by about fifteen men on horseback, and fifty on foot. He immediately sent me an invitation, with professions of a friendly disposition to render me every attention in his power : being already acquainted with *Budomel's* fame from report, I left the Caravella, and was received with an hearty welcome.

Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonso the fifth.

" After much conversation, I delivered my horses, and every article for which he expressed an inclination : nor did I feel under any alarm respecting his future conduct. He entreated me to accompany him across the country to his house, situated at the distance of twenty-five miles, where his debt should be discharged, with many thanks ; desiring I would remain there for some days, as he should then be able to repay me in slaves. *Budomel* purchased on the whole eleven horses with their furniture, beside other articles, which altogether amounted to about three hundred ducats. I therefore resolved to attend him ; yet I really agreed to this excursion, as much to observe whatever of novelty the Interior afforded, as to receive payment."

CADA MOSTO was treated with the greatest affability by this Negro Chief, who furnished him with horses and whatever else could add to the pleasure of his journey. On their arrival at a small village, distant about four miles from *Budomel's* abode, he assigned the Venetian to *Bisboror*, his nephew, Lord of that place. It was now the month of November, 1455, and *Cada Mosto* continued to reside in this part of Africa for twenty-eight days ; during which he often visited *Budomel*, and thus enjoyed more favourable opportunities to observe the produce of the interior of this continent, and manners of its inhabitants, than any officer who had previously failed under orders of the DUKE of VISEO. When the Venetian at length had sufficiently gratified an eager curiosity in this respect, and settled all commercial transactions with this friendly

Visits the interior of Africa.

BOOK
I.

Chief, the advanced season of the year rapidly brought on such unfavourable weather, that his return to the caravella, where she then rode at anchor, was attended with the utmost risk on account of the surf. It was therefore resolved, if possible, to have the ship brought into the river *Senega*, and there to join its crew, by pursuing another and more extensive track through the country. Cada Mosto particularly dwells on the extraordinary resolution and dexterity of two Blacks in the art of swimming, which was displayed on this occasion.

"I asked" many of the Negroes, if they knew any one who possessed sufficient courage to risk the attempt of conveying a letter on board my caravella? without the smallest hesitation, many answered in the affirmative. The dreadful surf then breaking on the shore, and the violence of the wind, made it almost appear impossible that any man could dare the attempt; more especially as, within bow-shot of the shore, numerous shelves stretched out ridges of sand for a considerable distance, beside other shoals; and between these last ran a strong Current setting different ways, now up, and now down: Moreover, the sea broke on the shoals with great fury; so that altogether it seemed incredible so many obstacles could be surmounted.

Skill of the
Negroes in
swimming.

"Two of the Negroes however volunteered their services. I demanded what they would expect? they replied, '*two maulgis of tin for each*; the *maulgis* is worth one "*grosso*": for such a reward they agreed to convey a letter on board, and threw themselves into the water. I am unable to express the difficulties they had to overcome in passing the sand banks at a time when such a sea was running. Sometimes, for the space of an hour they could not be discerned;

* Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 103. E.

* *Due Maulgis di Stagno per uno che vale un grosso l'una.* (Ramusio, *ibid.* E.)

* About three farthings.

discerned; and I in consequence often thought they were drowned. Ch. II. § 1.
 At length one of them, unable to sustain any longer the tremendous Surf that broke over him, was observed to desist; but his companion kept firmly on, and after struggling on a sand-bank for a good hour, swam past it, delivered the Letter on board, and returned. This circumstance appeared to me most marvellous; and I thence concluded that these Negroes on the coast were superior to any swimmers in the world." *Alphabet the fifth.*

Our Venetian then proceeds to deliver his remarks relative to Africa. *Budomel's* habitation, like that of other African Chiefs, was thatched. Some villages were assigned for his particular service, but he never continued long in any one place. The Village where *Cada Mosto* resided, contained between forty and fifty thatched houses, built at no great distance from each other, surrounded with ditches and high trees; one or two places were left open by way of entrance. *Budomel's* retinue, though only chief of a particular district, consisted of two hundred negroes, who were frequently removed. He affected great state and gravity; was only visible for an hour in the morning, and a short time in the evening. When any of the natives were favoured with an audience, whatever might be their rank, they were obliged to appear almost naked; and bowing themselves to the earth, to cover their heads and shoulders with sand. The wives and children of these haughty chiefs, for the most trivial faults were sold as Slaves.

Towards *Cada Mosto*, *Budomel* preserved an uniform attention; and one evening accompanied him to a sort of *mosque*, where the *Assanbaji* priests, who resided in *Budomel's* house, performed the Mohammedan rites. In a subsequent conversation, this Chief delivered it as his opinion, that negroes were more certain of salvation than

* *Loro Moschea.* (Ramusio, ibid. page 103. C.)

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I.

than Christians, and for this reason: "God is a just Lord: he has in this world given a paradise to the latter; therefore in the next it will necessarily be allotted to the former."

The kingdom of *Senega*, and the other Negro Countries on that coast, are described as being unfavourable to the produce of wheat¹, rye, barley, *spelta*, and even to the cultivation of the vine; by reason of the great heats, and peculiar temperature of the climate, in other respects the soil appeared rich and productive. For nine months out of the twelve, that is from *October* to *June*, they are without rain. *Cada Mofso* observed their cultivation of large and small² millet, and of the white and red kidney bean. A certain quantity of oats was sown every year, with little attention to the preparation of their soil, or the probability of a scarcity; the produce being barely sufficient for their own consumption. The principal beverage of the negroes next to milk, was palm-wine, or, as they called it, *migwol*; procured by making incisions in the palm-tree, near its root. *Cada Mofso* describes various sorts of fruit of a fine flavour growing wild, which in some measure resembled those cultivated in Europe. He was much struck at the sight of many³ large and

¹ *Formento, Segala, Orzo, Spelta, Vitis*.—As this territory has been conjectured to be the part of Africa where the *Phœnician* circumnavigators, who were sent by *Pharaoh Necho*, waited two years for their *barques*; may I be allowed to remark, that this observation of *Cada Mofso* seems to strengthen the opinion, that the whole voyage was an *Egyptian romance*; which like the tales of the *Arabian Nights*, had some truth and more conjecture, wrought up and heightened by the imagination of an ingenious geographer.

² The millet soon sprouts out, in a frail reed, with many leaves, bringing forth, in less than two months, Ears of twelve inches in length; looking at a distance much like the heads of bull-rushes. The grain is rather longish than round, much like the coreander seed. (*Barbot, Churchill's Collect.* vol. v. p. 40.)

³ *Barbot* reads *Miguola*; and pays much attention to an account of this wine, and the palm-wine-trees (*Churchill's Collect.* p. 51.—203) He describes four forts.

⁴ *Barbot* notices the girth of the timber in these parts of Africa (p. 31.)—"I have seen some there of an immense magnitude, the trunks being so big about, that several men together could

and beautiful trees, whose species he did not know; and also at observing several lakes of fresh water, which though not extensive, were deep, and abounded with excellent fish. Oxen, cows, and goats, were the only tame animals of the country, the climate being too sultry for sheep. Our navigator's description of the elephant is given at some length; it was then considered a great curiosity by the Portuguese and other European nations. He explodes an idea then prevailing, that the elephant was unable to lie down.

Ch. II. § 1.
Although the fish.

During his residence on the continent, *Cada Mosto* repeatedly visited the *African markets*; and when we consider the date of his narrative, it is curious to reflect how little change the lapse of near three hundred and fifty years has made on the inhabitants of that extensive continent. The Market, or Fair, was held in an extensive meadow, on Mondays and Fridays: the poverty of their traders appeared in the proffered articles; which, with the exception of small quantities of gold, and some defensive arms, consisted of cotton, cotton-yarn, cotton-cloth, pulse, oil, millet, wooden-tubs, palm-mats, and other articles, essential to the household economy of a savage.

"Many ° things on board the *Caravella* struck the negroes with astonishment, particularly our *cross-bows* and ^d *basilisks*. I accordingly

could not fathom them. If I may believe some of the French factory, they have seen such as twenty men could not fathom. Most certain it is, that I saw myself the trunk of a Tree, lying on the ground at the cape near Goree, which was sixty feet about, and in it an hollow or cavity, big enough to contain twenty men standing close together."

° Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 105. B.

^d *Bombarde*, in Dutch *donderbus*, should be translated, in reference to the kind of artillery then used on board the Portuguese ships: this perhaps it is impossible exactly to ascertain. M. Blondel, in his *Art de jeter des Bombes*, says they were first used against the city of *Wachtendonck* in Guelderland in 1588. They did not become general until the year 1634, and then only with the Dutch and Spaniards. At the battle of Cressi (1346) the English had five pieces of cannon, the use of which was not then known in France. One of the earliest Manu-

L 12.

factories

BOOK I. ingly took an opportunity, whilst some of them were coming towards the ship, to fire one of our guns; its report almost overpowered them: when I declared that above an hundred men, standing near each other, might be destroyed by a single gunstone, they considered it as the effect of enchantment. I next desired one of our sailors to divert their attention with the *bag-pipe*, which equally surprised and gratified them. On beholding the different parts and ornaments of this instrument, they enquired if it was a living animal? it was given them to examine; but when they perceived it was the work of art, they believed that the construction was supernatural, and could only be devised by a superior Being.

" The

factories was carried on by *Alexander* and *Peter Hogg*, at Buxted, in Suffex. To commemorate the event, an *Hog* was rudely carved on stone, which still remains on an house in that parish. Probably the guns mentioned by *Cada Mosto*, resembled the *Basilisk*; I have ventured to use this appellation, as the most appropriate translation of the Italian *Bombards*. The reader may be enabled to form some idea of the artillery then used on board the Portuguese ships, by the following account of the names, dimensions, and weight of the cannon, shot, and powder of the ancient English ordnance, by *SIR WILLIAM MONSON* in his *Naval Tracts*, written in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the first. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. page 305.

Names.	Bore of Cannon.	Wt. of Cannon.	Wt. of Shot.	Wt. of Powd.
	Inches.	lb.	lb.	lb.
Cannon royal	8½	8000	66	30
Cannon	8	6000	60	27
Cannon serpentine	7	5500	53½	25
Bastard cannon	7	4500	41	20
Demi Cannon	6½	4000	30½	18
Cannon petro	6	3000	24½	14
Culverin	5½	4500	17½	12
Basilisk	5	400	15	10
Demi culverin	4	3400	9½	8
Bastard culverin	4	3000	5	5½
Sacar	3½	1400	5½	5½
Minion	3½	1000	4	4
Falcon	2½	660	2	3½
Falconet	2	500	1½	3
Serpentine	1½	400	3½	1½
Rabanet	1	300	½	½

The *Powder Mills* at Felbridge in Surry, and those established near Guilford, seem to claim a priority in point of date to any other.

" The form of our Ship, its masts, sails, shrouds, and anchors, were all beheld with equal wonder; they imagined that the hawse-holes in the prow were two eyes, by means of which this leviathan found its way through the ocean. But above all, the sight of a lighted Candle, was the object of their fixed attention. I shewed them the method of extracting the honey from the wax, and in their presence directed some Candles to be made and lighted: then were they all in rapture, and declared that the secret stores of knowledge were open unto Christians." Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonse the fifth.

Cada Mosto had now remained a considerable time in this part of Africa; he had examined the surrounding Country with every attention in his power, and had also received the Slaves promised in barter for his merchandize, whose situation in life was certainly improved by the change: since their captivity in the service of an enlightened European, was preferable to freedom, when exposed to the capricious tyranny of an untutored African. He therefore now resolved to attempt some new Discoveries along this dangerous coast; and, after doubling Cape de Verde, to go in search of a kingdom, which DUKE HENRY had ' described from the information of a person who possessed considerable knowledge of the geography of Africa. According to the report which the Portuguese Prince received, beyond the *Senega* was situated another district, called the kingdom of *Gambra*; whence considerable quantities of gold were brought to *Spain*. Sails in
search of
Gambra.

" Full of these ideas I took my leave of *Budomel*, and going on board the caravella, got under weigh as soon as possible; when one morning,

' Auanti il mio partir di Portogallo, io hauerua inteso dal Signor Infante, come quella persona che di tempo in tempo era auisata delle cose di questi paesi di Negri, e fra le altre informazioni che esso hauerua, era che non molto lontano da questo primo regno di Senega, piu auanti si trouaua un' altro regno chiamato Gambra, nel quale raccontauano i Negri che ueniuno condotti in Spagna trouarsi somma d'oro grande, et che li Christiani che lui andassino fariano ricchi. (Ramúño, p. 106. D.)

B O O K
I.

morning, as we were standing onward with a press of sail, two ships appeared in the offing. It was evident they could only belong to a Christian power: we soon neared them, and spoke each other; when I found that one belonged to *Antonio*, an experienced Genoese navigator, and that the other had on board some Portuguese gentlemen in the service of Prince Henry. They purposed to pass Cape Verde, and to explore the coast beyond it: our intentions being similar, I offered to join them; and we accordingly sailed together for the Cape, which we next day came in sight of, distant thirty Italian miles from our last anchorage.

Pass Cape
Verde.

* "Having doubled *Cape Verde*, we fell in with three small uninhabited ¹ Islands, not far from the Continent, covered with large trees, whose green foliage was particularly striking. Being in want of water, we brought to off that island which appeared the largest, and most fertile, in order to search for a spring; but could find none to answer our purpose. It was now the month of *June*.

Having

² *Cada Most.*, in the following description of Cape Verde, is again guilty of an error, and seems not to have known that it was discovered by *Denis Fernandez* in 1446, (p. 212.)—*"Questo Capo Verde si chiama così, perché i primi, ch'el trovarono che furono Portoghesi circa vn' año auanti ch' io fussi a quelle parti, trovarono tutto verde di arbori grandi, che continuamente stanno verdi tutto il tempo dell' anno. et per questa causa li fu messo nome Capo Verde, si come Capo Bianco, quello che noi habbiamo parlato per auanti, qual fu trovato tutto arenoso, e biaco, questo Capo Verde e molto bel capo, et alto di terreno, et ha sopra la punta due forte, cio è due molicelli, et mettesi molto fuori in mare. et sopra il detto capo, et a torno d'esso sono molte habitazioni de villani Negri, et case, di paglia, tutte appresso la marina, et a vista di quelli che passano, et sono questi Negri anche del predetto regno di Senega. et sopra il detto capo sono alcune secche che escono fuori in mar forse un mezzo miglio."* (Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 106. E.)—Major Rennell, in his illustration of the geography of Herodotus, notices this description of Cape Verde, and compares it with the following by *Le Maire* at a subsequent period. (P. 725.) "This famous Promontory is named from the perpetual verdure of the adjacent country, abounding with beautiful lofty trees. It is very distinguishable in coming from the north, which side is somewhat mountainous. The south side, though low, is pleasant, the strand being adorned with long rows of large trees, standing as regularly as if planted by art."—See the engraving prefixed to chapter the third, for a view of this cape, which may be doubled within two miles.

³ The three *Mogdalen*, or *Birds Islands*.

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Having spent the remainder of the day in fishing on the island, by which means we procured a plentiful supply, we proceeded on our course, keeping always in sight of land. I remarked, that beyond *Cape Verde* the land trends inward, so as to form a gulf, its Coast is low, covered with trees of the greatest beauty and size; their green foliage is preserved throughout the year. This tract of forest, which seems placed on the verge of the ocean, extends to the distance of a cross-bow shot along the shore. It formed the most lovely view I ever beheld! Though I have sailed to many places, both towards the east and west, I never contemplated a more romantic scene. The coast is intersected by many Rivers, too small for large ships to enter, and therefore is not regarded.

"When we¹ had passed this small Gulf, we found the Coast inhabited by two nations called *Barbacini*, and *Serreri*: Idolaters, who live in a perfect state of nature without any restraint from Laws, and are extremely cruel. Their colour is jet-black, with a comely form. Standing along the coast to the southward, with a fair wind, we discovered the mouth of a large River, about bow-shot across, with little depth of water. We called it *Il Rio di^k Barbacini*, as it is marked in the^l Chart that has been made of this coast; the distance from *Cape Verde* is *sixty* miles.

"We continued to proceed without interruption during day-light, but anchored at sun-set in ten or twelve fathom water, keeping about five or six miles from the^m shore. At day-break our course was

¹ Ramusio, *ibid.* (p. 106. F.)

^k The minute Chart which *Barbot* has given (*ibid.* p. 16.) of *Cape Verde*, with the entrances of the *Senegal* and *Gambra*, and their respective soundings, assigns to the above river the name of *Rio Borfalo*.

^l The discovery of this Chart which may moulder in obscurity at Venice, or Lisbon, deserves the attention of such persons as visit either of these cities. The truth of its having existed is here ascertained.

^m "The sea coasts from *Byburi*, near the mouth of the river *Senega*, to *Cape Verde*, are very little resorted to; being all along foul, with many shoals, and not to be approached in many

B O O K
I.

was renewed, having always a man stationed at the mast-head, and two on the prow, to observe whether the sea broke on any shoals, or rocks. As we thus advanced, the mouth of another large River opened upon us, which did not seem inferior to the *Senega*. Struck with the grandeur of its appearance, and the rich woodland of the adjacent coast that skirted the water's edge, we let go our anchors; and held a consultation whether it would not be adviseable to send one of the " negro interpreters ashore, with whom each ship was provided.

" It was accordingly determined to cast lots, respecting the caravella whence a negro should be selected for this perilous service; it fell to the vessel commanded by *Antonio*, the Genoese commander. An armed Boat was immediately hoisted out, and the crew received orders, to put off as soon as they had landed the negro; who was desired to gain every information he could respecting the district, and to enquire whether it produced gold. This unfortunate African had scarcely left the beach, before the natives rushed on him from an ambush where they had lurked: after a short conference they were seen to fall on their victim with their gomes, or Moorish short swords; and they completed their murder before any assistance could be sent. The little Squadron immediately weighed anchor, anxious to leave so barbarous a region; and

many parts. The French of Senega, and Goëré, when they sail from the former of those places to the latter, generally steer south-west by west for some hours; then south-west, and then again south-west by south. the better to weather Point *Almadilla*; which is about a league to the northward of *Cape Verde*, running out to sea north-west under water, and consequently not to be seen." (*Barbot*, *ibid.* p. 16.)

" *Cadauno delli nostri Nauilij haueua turcimanni Negri, menati con noi di Portogullo, qual furon venduti per quelli Signori di Senega a primi Portoghesi, che vennero a scoprire il detto paese de Negri: questi schiaui erano fatti Chriştiani, et sapeuano ben la lingua Spagnuola, et la haueuamo hauuti dalli suoi padroni con patto di darli per suo stipendio et soldo una testa per uno à cernirla in tutto il nostro mite, et dando cadauno di questi turcimanni quattro schiani alli padroni suoi, loro gli lascian franchi.*" (*Ramusio*, *ibid.* p. 106. A.)

and continued their Voyage towards the south, keeping within sight of land. Though this coast was low, *Cada Mosto* observes that it displayed much beauty, and a rich woodland scenery, as they advanced. A third River was soon discovered, the entrance of which, in its narrowest part, was from three to four miles wide: here the Squadron came to anchor for the night; and they resolved on the ensuing day to enquire whether they had reached the **GAMBRA**.

Though *Cada Mosto* was a foreigner, it is singular, as ° already remarked, that he should in so many instances betray great ignorance of the Portuguese Discoveries, previous to his present Voyage in the year 1455; more particularly when we consider the time he remained at *Sagres* with the Prince. In the year 1447, *Nuno Tristan* ° ascended the ample stream of the *Gambra*, and fell a memorable victim to the poisoned arrows of those Negroes, who cherished a ferocious independence on its banks. Probably the name of *Rio Grande*, which it then received, misled the Duke of Viseo in his further search for the *Gambra*; and confused our Venetian Navigator. Yet the attentive reader will feel astonished at finding no mention made by *Cada Mosto* of the unfortunate *Nuno* and his brave followers; especially as the Portuguese, who now accompanied the former, found the same implacable animosity existing among the natives.

“ Having ° reached this River, which at its entrance is from six to eight miles across, we were induced to think it could not be any other than the long sought *Gambra*: we now therefore began to flatter ourselves, that inexhaustible riches would be found on its banks,

° Page 250, note 7, and p. 262, note 1.

° See page 221, and note 1.

° Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 106. C.

BOOK
I.

banks, and that we should return laden with gold, or other valuable commodities. Accordingly the next day the wind being scant, our small caravella was sent before well-manned as this vessel drew but little water, with the following directions: 'To explore the River as far as they were able; and if they observed any shoals at its mouth, to take the soundings: but should the river be found navigable for the other ships, the caravella was to return, and make the signal for them to follow.' Finding four fathom water at the river's mouth, the caravella brought-to, according to order. It was now judged prudent, as this vessel was small, to dispatch a second armed boat, with fresh instructions, to retire immediately in case of an attack from the negroes; since the sole intention of the Voyage was to conciliate their friendship, and to open a commerce."

The subsequent treatment experienced by these Navigators, painfully destroyed those mercantile hopes, which the too sanguine mind of *Cada Mosto* had been eager to indulge. Their armed Boats proceeded alone for upwards of two miles, leaving the small caravella at anchor; when, perceiving that the Course of the river began to serpentine into endless windings, they judged it expedient to return. Three *Almadias*, called by the Italians *Zoppoli*, now appeared, as if to oppose a retreat, near the mouth of a small River that branched out from its parent stream. The fear of poisoned Arrows, lent additional force to the humane Orders they had received; and immediately giving way with their oars, they soon reached the caravella. The Negroes followed; the flight of so powerful an enemy probably increased their boldness: they however paused within bow-shot distance of the ship; surveyed in gloomy silence the strange Intruders, and returned.

Next morning, so early as three o'clock, the other caravellas, who seem to have been detained by the wind, got under weigh, and entered

tered the River; assisted by the current, and a favourable breeze. Ch. II. § 1.
 The smallest Vessel was stationed ahead of the rest; and in this Alphonso the fifth.
 manner their Squadron ascended the river for four miles: when, on a sudden, a fleet of *Almadias* appeared standing towards them, before they could observe from what part of the country these negroes had embarked. Preparations for defence were immediately made, and every precaution taken against poisoned arrows. The negroes having reached the ships, came under the bows of Cada Mosto's caravella, which had outailed the rest: the enemy's force consisted of fifteen *Almadias* of a considerable size, manned by one hundred and fifty Africans.

Having formed into two divisions, the Negroes surrounded the Venetian's Caravella; and then, raising their oars, gazed with astonishment on his vessel. Their dress consisted of a cotton shirt, and a white cap; with their military ornaments of a wing on each side, and a feather in the middle. A negro appeared at the head of each canoe, with a sort of * leathern target on his arm. The *Almadias* remained stationary, until the other two caravellas bore down to assist *Cada Mosto*; when immediately a shower of poisoned arrows was poured in upon the Squadron. In this critical juncture four *basilisks* were discharged; and, for a time, the savage fierceness of the negroes was restrained by stupefaction. The gunstones fell, as intended, at some distance from their canoes; but, with the cessation of firing, an attack from the enemy recommenced. This brought on a severe chastisement: the sailors ran to their crossbows, and many Africans soon fell victims to their own temerity. The survivors, still undismayed, changed their mode of attack, directing

* Generally made with the impenetrable hide of the *hippopotamus*.

BOOK I. resting their whole attention to the small caravella; which was imperfectly manned, and armed. They were a second time repulsed; and on their retiring to a little distance, the three vessels took that opportunity to form a more certain defence, by linking their ships together, and securing them by an anchor.

Some negro Interpreters who were on board, now hailed the natives; and after a considerable time, one of their Almadias ventured to advance within bow-shot distance. A short parley ensued; but no prospect of Trade, or promise of gifts to their chief, could appease the stern spirit of these vindictive savages. They however at length condescended to make a reply: *Our Country is called 'GAMBRA. Our chief resides at the distance of three days journey. We will not have any dealings with Christians; of them, and their transactions at Senega, we are already informed. Christians are men eaters! and only buy negro men to devour them. We despise your friendship, and anxiously wish for your destruction.* At this instant the wind began to freshen; and the caravellas immediately bore down on these refractory natives of the Gambra, who fled towards the shore. The three commanders then consulted about a second excursion up this river, in search of tribes less ferocious; but their respective crews, impatient to return, loudly reprobated such an attempt. Their ships were in consequence put about, and the squadron steered for *Cape Verde*, on its return to 'SPAIN.

With the following remarks, the interesting narrative of the first Voyage of *Cada Mosto* is concluded:

“ Whilst

* *Jobson*, in his voyage to the *Gambra*, says, that he never heard the natives employ any other term than *GEE, The River*.

“ *Per ritornar col nome di Dio in Spagna.*” (*Ramusio*, p. 107. B.) Such is *Cada Mosto's* expression; but as the ship, and crew, belonged to *Portugal*, he must in this place, as well as in many others, have included the latter country, under the general name of *Spain*.

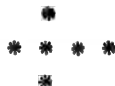
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" Whilst we remained off the mouth of this river, we saw the *Ch. II. § 1.*
north " star but once, and then at no great distance from the ho- *Alphonsi beffid*
 rizon; for on taking an observation in clear weather, it did not
 seem to be above the height of a lance from the surface of the sea. We
 also remarked at about the same elevation, fix clear, luminous, and *The Cross*
 large Stars, which by compass were found to lie to the south, and
 appeared in this form :



We conjectured that this must be the *southern* * *chariot*; but could
 not perceive the principal Star, as we had not yet lost sight of that
 which

" The *POLE STAR*, a star of the second magnitude, near the North Pole, is in the end of
 the tail of *Ursa Minor*, or the Little Bear. Its mean place in the heavens for the beginning
 of 1790, is thus given by *Dr. Hutton* in his *Philosophical Dictionary*.

Right ascension	-	-	-	-	12°	31'	47"
Annual variation in ditto	-	-	-	-	0	3	4
Declination	-	-	-	-	88	11	8
Annual variation in ditto	-	-	-	-	0	0	19 ^s

" Ptolemy formed out of 1022 Stars, forty-eight Constellations. THE NORTHERN, the Little
 Bear, the Great Bear, the Dragon, Cepheus, Bootes, the Northern Crown, Hercules, the Harp,
 the Swan, Cassiopeia, Perseus, Auriga, Ophiucus, or Serpentry, the Serpent, the Arrow, the Eagle,
 the Dolphin, the Horse, Pegasus, Andromeda, and the Triangle. ABOUT THE ECLIPTIC, Aries,
 Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and
 Pisces. SOUTHERN, the Whale, Orion, the Eridanus, the Hare, the Great Dog, the Little
 Dog, the Ship, the Hydra, the Cap, the Raven, the Centaur, the Wolf, the Altar, the Southern
 Crown, and the Southern Fish. From these Tycho Brahe formed forty-three, and omitted five
 of the old southern constellations, because, according to *Dr. Hutton*, he could not observe them
 on account of the high northern latitude of *Uranibourg*: to these forty-three Tycho added
 the Coma Berenices, and Antinous. After him Bayer gave the figures of sixty; adding to Pto-
 lemy's forty-eight, the following twelve about the South Pole. The Peacock, the Toucan, the
 Crane, the Phoenix, the Dorado, the Flying Fish, the Hydra, the Camelon, the Bee, the Bird of
 Paradise, the Triangle, and the Indian. Of the unformed Stars Royer made eleven other Con-
 stellations. NORTHERN, the Giraffe, the River Jordan, the River Tigris, the Sceptre, and the
 Fleur-de-Luce. SOUTHERN, the Dove, the Unicorn, THE CROSS, the Great Cloud, the Little
 Cloud, and the Rhomboid. To these some new ones were added by *Hevelius*; and an effort
 has

BOOK
I.

which marks the northern pole. In this station we found the night, at the beginning of the month of July, to be eleven hours and an half long; and the day twelve and an half. This climate is always warm, with some slight abatement, which the natives term Winter; for the rains begin in July, and continue every day about noon, until the month of October: this weather is ushered in by clouds, which rise in the north-east by east, or east south-east quarter, accompanied with tremendous thunder and lightning. Seed-time then begins among them, when they sow the kind of grain which is cultivated at Senega, and in the same manner. Their Twilight is very short, they have no dawn before sun-rise, as in our part of the world; and their night lasts only for half an hour, during which the atmosphere appears turbid, and as if filled with a fumid mist: the moment this is dispersed the sun appears. I could only

account

has been also made by *Dr. Hill* still to augment the number with *fourteen* additional ones. "The Fixed Stars (says *Fontenelle*, in his *Elogy on Dr. Halley*), independent of their other uses, serve as so many points, by a comparison of which with the apparent places of the Planets in the visible celestial concave, under which they revolve, is the method by which Astronomers discover their course: to determine the number and position of the fixed stars, has therefore been the object of the most diligent attention in all ages; but as the Ancients seldom sailed beyond the Equator, and as the greater part of modern Navigators who have crossed the Line, have had views very different from perfecting Astronomy, through the want of leisure, and a proper apparatus for this purpose; the Stars of the Southern Hemisphere, and especially those near the Pole, have either remained altogether unknown, or been erroneously placed on the celestial globe. To supply this defect, to fill up the blank in *Ptolemy's* and *Tycho's* Catalogue of the Fixed Stars, and to second the endeavours of *Flamsteed* and *Hevelius*, Mr. HALLEY proposed making a Voyage to St. Helena, the most Meridional Part of the world then in the possession of the English, lying in sixteen degrees south Latitude. Mr. *Williamson*, Secretary of State, and Mr. *Jonas Moore*, Master of the Ordnance, were his patrons in the Court of King Charles the second. That Prince, to whom the Island of St. Helena belonged by right of conquest, and who had then lately granted it to the *British East India Company*, generously contributed whatever was judged necessary on his part, for the success of the Enterprise; and Mr. *Halley* set sail in the month of November 1676; arrived safely at St. Helena in three months, and having fully accomplished his design, returned to London in the autumn of 1678. The year following he printed his *Catalogue of the Southern Stars*, in which, among many other novelties, appeared the constellation of *The Oak*;" thus named, in memory of his Sovereign's preservation by that Tree.

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account ' for such a phenomenon by attributing it to the flat surface of the country, and its being destitute of mountains; which opinion was approved by my companions." Ch. II. § 1.
Alpibus ibi flit.

II. The

Some curious *Remarks on the Twilight*, whose various duration in different parts of the globe is worthy of the navigator's observation, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1761. (Vol. xxxi. p. 124.) "Between the Tropics, especially near the Equinoctial Line, it becomes dark soon after the sun is down. Mr. Moore in his *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, published in 1738, containing a description of several nations, for the space of six hundred miles up the *River Gambia*, with a map of that river, and several additional tracts on African geography, particularly notices the short continuance of their twilight. The difference between the real and apparent rising and setting of the sun, in different parts of the world, is, perhaps, still more remarkable. This Difference is said to be two degrees even with us; in consequence of which, the sun is visible to us in a morning, several minutes before he is really up, and as many in the evening after he is really down. (Mr. Ferguson says, six minutes every day at a mean rate, and sometimes ten.) What the difference of this kind is in the *torrid zone*, I know not; but by the following instances, collected by the learned *Vossius*, it appears to be very considerable in the *frigid zone*. The Book, in which these instances are to be found, is entitled *Appendix ad scriptum de natura et proprietate Lucis*.

"The first of these is taken from the Letters of *Theodore Jonas*, pastor of a town in the midst of *Iceland*, called *Hüterdal*. This place, by geographers, is supposed to have, in the depth of winter, no day at all, nor indeed could have any, were it not for the Influence of the earth's atmosphere on the rays of light. But let us hear what the learned pastor says: In the depth of Winter, when the days are shortest, we have the sun shining almost three hours (tres fere horas); what therefore the *Astronomers and Geographers* write, that the sun at this time, is invisible to these parts, is a mere Fiction (pro commento sit habendum), cap. v.

"The next is taken from the Journal of those unfortunate persons who, in the year 1663, were left to winter in *Maurice Island*; and who, though they all perished by the severity of the cold, left the above mentioned Journal behind them. This Island is in 71 degrees north latitude, and the Passage, according to *Vossius*, is as follows: *Though it is the depth of Winter, we have, nevertheless, a day four hours long* (habemus nihilominus diem quatuor horarum.) So that there must have been, at this time, in the afore-named Island (*Vossius* says) a difference of seven degrees and an half, between the real and apparent elevation of the sun ('invenimus locum solis apparentem septem gradibus cum dimidio elevatum fuisse, supra locum verum.') Chap. v.

"The last, and perhaps most remarkable instance of this sort, mentioned by *Vossius*, is taken from the Journal of those, who at the same time wintered at *Spitzburgh*, in 80 degrees north latitude; their Account is as follows: 'On the 18th of *October*, the Wind, mixed with Snow, and the sharpest Frost, blew from the North. According to our Calendar, the day was to continue only four hours, and 50 minutes, but we by diligent observation, found it was eight, or rather nine hours and an half long: ('Ex diligenti observatione comperimus diem horarum octo, vel potius novem cum dimidia'). Cap. v."

To

BOOK
1.Cada Mosto's
second
voyage.
1456.

II. The SECOND VOYAGE OF CADA MOSTO during the year 1456, only occupies six pages in the original preserved by *Ramusio*, and will here employ still less of the reader's attention; since the most interesting parts, relative to the first Discovery of the *Cape de Verde* islands; of *Cape Rosso*, the rivers *Kasamanfa*, *St. Anna*, *St. Dominico*, *Rio Grande*, and the two islands beyond it, which more immediately relate to the subject of this work, are comprised in a small portion of the narrative. This, as well as the first Voyage, was published

To this I shall subjoin the following remarks by *Dr. Hutton*. "The depression of the sun below the horizon, at the beginning of the morning, and end of the evening twilight, has been variously stated, at different seasons, and by different Observers. By *Albaten* it was observed to be 19° ; by *Tycho* 17° ; by *Rothman* 24° ; by *Stevinus* 18° ; by *Cassini* 15° ; by *Riccioli*, at the time of the Equinox, in the morning $16'$, in the evening $20\frac{1}{2}'$. In the Summer Solstice, in the morning $21^{\circ} 25'$, and in the winter $17^{\circ} 15'$. Whence it appears, that the Cause of the twilight is Variable; but on a Medium, about 18° of the sun's depression will serve tolerably well for our latitude, for the beginning and end of Twilight; and according to which *Dr. Long* (*Astronomy*, vol. i. p. 258.) gives a table of the duration of twilight, in different latitudes, and for several different declinations of the sun." This Table is inserted by *Dr. Hutton* in his Dictionary. This subject is one of those which have been too much neglected by navigators, but is well worthy of their attention: since whatever tends to increase the boundaries of science, should always be a principal object with those persons who visit such a variety of climates.

* As some readers may wish to be indulged in a more general idea of the contents of this Second Voyage, I have inserted these heads of sections from *Ramusio*, where the page is only figured on one side.

I. (Page 108. D.) *Come furono li primi che scoprirono l'isole di Capo Verde, a due delle quali posero nome bona vista, et di san Jacobo.*

II. (P. 108. A.) *Di un luoco chiamato le due palme, et di una isola a cui fu posto nome santo Andrea, et perche. Del Re Foresangoli, et del Signor Battimanfa.*

III. (P. 108. C.) *Del presente fatto a Battimanfa. Delle robbe che tolsero i Portoghesi a haratto. Del modo del vogar de Negri di quel Paese, et de remi suoi.*

IV. (P. 109. F.) *Della fede et del modo del viuere et vestir loro.*

V. (P. 109. A.) *De gli Elefanti del detto Paese, et del modo che usano alla caccia di quelli; della lunghezza de denti, et forma de piedi suoi.*

VI. (P. 110. D.) *Come furono scoperti alcuni fiumi, et del fiume di Kasamanfa, et del signore similmente detto Kasamanfa, della distantia del rio di Gamba al detto fiume.*

VII. (P. 110. F.) *Del luoco detto Capo Rosso, et perche è così chiamato del rio di santa Ana, et del rio di S. Dominico, et d'un altro gran fiume, et della Marea d'acqua, crescente, et discrescente di quel paese.*

VIII. (P. 110. B.) *Di due Isole grandi, et altre piccole.*

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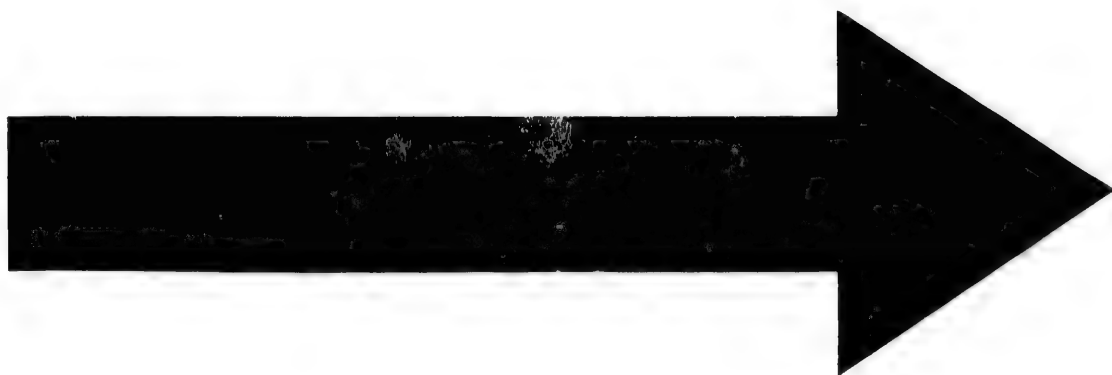
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published at Venice, after *Cada Mosto's* return from Portugal in the year * 1464: he therefore alludes to the settlers of the *Cape de Verde islands*, and particularly to the succeeding voyage of *Antonio de Noli* in 1462. *Cada Mosto's* narrative was translated into French, so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, by *Pierre Redoner*. Ch. vi. § 1.
Altho' the fifth.

" During the subsequent year, 1456, the Genoese officer already mentioned and myself, fitted out two caravellas in order to explore the said river. The *Signor Infante* on hearing that we had made this determination, though in truth without his sanction our determination would have little availed us, highly approved our plan and even sent a caravella of his own to accompany us. Having therefore, without loss of time, provided ourselves with every requisite for the Voyage, we sailed from the place called *Lagus* near *Cape St. Vincente* at the beginning of May, with a fair wind; and steering for the *Canaries*, arrived there in a few days. As the weather continued favourable we did not land, but stood on in a southerly direction; our progress was much assisted by a Current which set to the south-west, so that we advanced at a great rate: at length we made *the white Cape*, and then kept out to sea.

" In the course of the next night, an heavy gale came on from the south-west: we resolved to weather it out, rather than return; and accordingly drove for two nights, and three days, in a direction that was west by north. On the third day the sight of land was welcomed, by a general exclamation of *terra! terra!* and this was the more astonishing, from its appearance in a quarter where no one could expect it. Two men being immediately sent aloft, they cried out, *that* Discovery of
the Cape
de Verde
Islands.

* It is extraordinary that this Navigator, who possessed a Manuscript so interesting to his countrymen, should have waited from 1464 to 1507, forty-three years, before he availed himself of the discovery of printing to make this voyage more generally known.



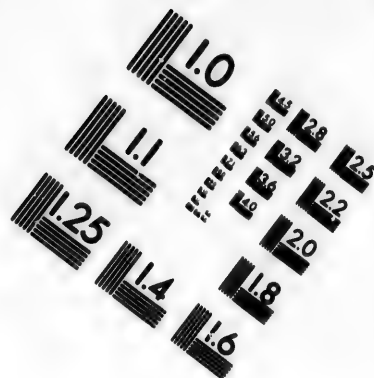
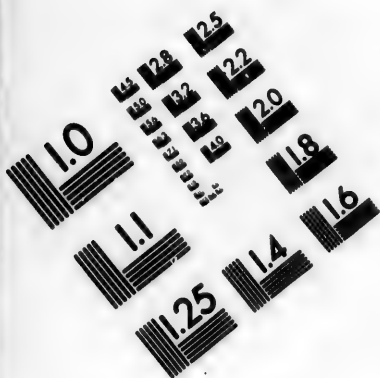
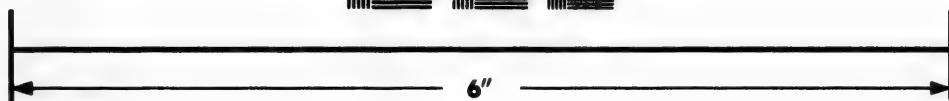
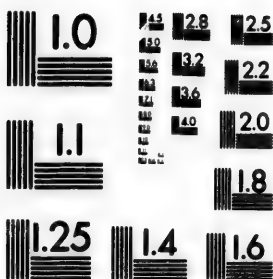


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BOOK *that two large islands were in sight!* This news circulated throughout the ships; and we returned thanks to God, for having thus providentially conducted us to Countries hitherto undiscovered: for I was confident they were perfectly unknown in *Spain*. As I judged it probable they might be inhabited; we stood towards one of them, in order to ascertain this fact, and improve our success: having neared it, we kept along the coast until a good roadstead appeared. The gale being now abated, a boat well manned was sent to ascertain if either inhabitants, or any traces of population, were visible: our seamen passed without success over a part of the island, and returned. However the next morning, to remove all possibility of doubt from my mind, I sent ten other seamen armed with guns and cross-bows; who were ordered to ascend the most elevated parts of the island, and try whether they could discern the smallest vestige of habitations, or any adjoining islands. Not a single human being appeared; but they saw flocks of pigeons who were so extremely tame, that our men had no difficulty in procuring a considerable number. They discovered besides three extensive Islands; one to leeward towards the north which those on board could not perceive, the other two were in the course of our voyage towards the south: something had also been seen by them at a great distance towards the west, that made like another island. I however did not wish to lose any more time among desert spots, which probably were all uninhabited.—The fame of my having discovered *these four islands*, in the course of time incited * other navigators

to

* Alluding to the voyage of *Antonio de Noli* in 1462. (*Appendix, page 28.*) *Mr. Locke* places this voyage in 1460. (*Ibid, page 94.*) As *Cada Mosto* was unable to give any further account of the *Cape de Verde* islands, I have selected the following principally from the *Four years' Voyages of Captain George Roberts*; being a series of uncommon events which befel him in a voyage to the islands of the *Canaries, Cape de Verde, and Barbadoes, whence he was bound to the Coast of Guinea*; (an octavo volume, printed in 1726, containing 458 pages.) His description

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to explore the rest: who at length found, that they were *ten* in number; that they abounded in pigeons, and other birds; and that their shores were admirably calculated to form a lucrative Fishery.

Ch. II. § 1.

Alphonse de S. J.

“ But

of the *Cape de Verde Islands* occupies sixty-eight pages, and is the most valuable part of the work. An excellent summary of the whole is given in *Ashley's Collection* (vol. i. p. 599.) with considerable additions from *Dampier*, *Barbot*, *Philips*, &c. forming one of the most valuable geographical treatises in our language. Captain Roberts sailed from London in September 1721. The Portuguese named their discovery LAS ILHAS DE CABO VERDE; they also gave them the general name of LAS ILHAS VERDE, from the green herb called *Sargasso*, resembling water-crelles, which floats on the water all round; and bears a berry, like the white gooseberry. The Dutch call them the *Salt Islands*. They are ten in number, *San Jacobo*, or *San Jago*; *Mayo*; *Buona Vista*; *Sal*; *Fogo*; *Brava*, *S. Nicolao*; *Santa Lucia*; *S. Vicente*; and *Santo Antao*. Some geographers reckon twelve, and others fourteen; including four little islands, or rather Rocks—*Ghuny*, and *Carneira*, to the north of *Brava*, and *Chaon*, with *Branca*, to the west of *St. Nicolao*. Three are uninhabited, namely *Sal*, *St. Lucia*, and *St. Vicente*. OVERTON, in his *Voyage to Surat*, seems to be under a mistake, when he asserts (page 38.) ‘that ten of the *Cape de Verde islands*, though considerable, were not inhabited in 1689.’ 1. The first Portuguese Settlement was in *San Jago*, the largest and most fertile of any. This island, according to *Beekman* in his voyage to Borneo, is about forty-five leagues in length, and ten in breadth; *Dampier* says (vol. iv. p. 3.) that the water is good, though troublesome to procure. By *Roberts* it is placed in fifteen degrees north latitude, and in six degrees, five minutes, west longitude from Cape de Verde. This island always remained in the king's hands; and enjoys the privilege of obliging all ships to clear there, that trade by the northward of *Sierra Leon* to *Guinea*. There are four towns; the capital which originally was called *Cidade da Ribeira Grande*, is now more generally known under the appellation of the *City of St. Jago*, or *St. James*. According to *Dampier* (vol. iii. p. 23.) it is said that there are several small sugar works on this island, from which they send home near an hundred ton every year. *San Jago* received its name from Cada Mosto in 1456.—2. *MAYO*, the great salt mart of the English, was so named by *Antonio de Noli*; who followed the track of *Cada Mosto*, and took possession of this island on the first of May 1462. It lies, according to *Roberts*, in fifteen degrees, twelve minutes, north latitude, and in five degrees, twenty-nine minutes, west longitude from *Cape Verde*. This island is dry, and generally barren. Its fruits consist of figs, and water melons; they have also a sort of vegetable, *callavances*, like French beans, and some pumpions. The inhabitants procure only a small quantity of turtle.—3. *BOA VISTA*, called by the Italians *Buona Vista*, by the Spaniards *Buena Vista*; first seen and named by *Cada Mosto*, in 1456. The centre of this island is, according to *Roberts*, in sixteen degrees, ten minutes, north latitude, and in five degrees, fourteen minutes, west longitude; originally the most fertile of the Cape de Verdes. The *Vegetable Stone*, which shoots in stems like the head of a cauliflower, or as coral, is produced in greater abundance in this island, than in any of the rest. It also yields plenty of indigo.—4. *SAL*, the windermost island, is placed by *Roberts* in seventeen degrees north latitude, and five degrees, eighteen minutes, west longitude

N n 2

from

BOOK
I.

" But to return to the more immediate subject of my Voyage. We left the above mentioned island (*Buona Vista*) and, pursuing our course, came in sight of the other two, situated in that direction: on

from *Cape Verde*: by *Dampier*, in sixteen degrees north latitude, and in nineteen degrees, thirty-three minutes, longitude west from the Lizard. It is mostly low land, covered with stones. For about a month after the Rains, there is a running brook of fresh water, in the Valley of *Palmera*; but then it dries up: however, until after Christmas, you may commonly get fresh water there, by digging a well a little above the palm or date trees. This island produces abundance of fish, turtle, and land crabs.—5. *Fogo*, or *San Felipe*, lies, according to *Roberts*, about sixteen leagues from *San Jago*; in fifteen degrees, twenty minutes, north latitude, and in six degrees, fifty-four minutes, west longitude from *Cape Verde*. The above writer remarks that this Island, as well as that of *St. John*, being little frequented by the *English*, are very incorrectly represented in our Charts; and that the *Weggons* and *Pilots* of those parts are equally defective; representing the coast as very dangerous, and the anchorage bad, which Captain *Roberts* found to be false. *Fogo*, or *Fuego*, is so named from its tremendous volcano, which has burst forth, since its first discovery. It was formerly the great mart of cotton, until the plants were destroyed by the drought. No running streams are to be met with; the inhabitants, in some places, are forced to go six or seven miles for water. This island was seen by *Noli*, on the first of May 1462.—6. *Brava* (or *San Juan*) from a Portuguese word signifying *wild*, lies, according to *Roberts*, in fifteen degrees, twenty-five minutes, north latitude, and in seven degrees, two minutes, longitude west from *Cape Verde*. The mountains rise one above another like pyramids. It produces pompion, water-melons, potatoes, bananas, maize, and feshoon; and affords cows, horses, asses, hogs, wild goats, and plenty of fish. Captain *Roberts* found considerable quantities of gold among the rocks; some of them glittered in the sun like burnished gold.—7. *San Nicolao* is the longest island next to *San Jago*; according to *Roberts*, its harbour *Paraghi* lies in sixteen degrees, forty-five minutes, north latitude, and in six degrees, fifty-two minutes, west longitude from *Cape Verde*. It consists mostly of high land. The *Monte Gourda*, on the north-west side, may be seen at nine or ten leagues distance. Navigators may always water here, unless the rainy season has failed; and even then the natives will bring water down on asses, for a trifle, from a valley about half a mile from the shore. *San Nicolao* produces, besides the fruits already mentioned in *Brava*, musk-melons, lemons, limes, with sweet and sour oranges, and also some sugar canes. This island formerly abounded with the trees that produce the gum called *Sanguis Draconis*.—8. *Santa Lucia* is described by *Roberts* as having neither water nor inhabitants.—9. *San Vicente* is also mentioned by *Roberts* as being uninhabited. On this island, the greatest quantities of turtle and fish are taken. *Dapper* says, fresh water can only be procured on the southern coast.—10. *San Antonio*, placed by *Roberts* in seventeen degrees, nineteen minutes, north latitude, and in eight degrees, two minutes, west longitude from *Cape Verde*. This island lies more to the west and north than any of the rest: it consists of high land. Report has given it a silver mine; it is also said to produce abundance of indigo and cotton. *San Antonio* is supplied with innumerable streams, and therefore does not yield

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on looking out for a safe anchorage near the one that was covered with trees, we beheld the mouth of a river which ran through the island. As I here expected to procure some good water, our caravellas brought-to, and a boat was sent up the stream: on landing they found lakes that contained remarkably white salt, of superior flavour; and a considerable quantity was procured, with a supply of excellent water. They also brought us a repast of the *Bisciescudellare* (turtle), the shell of which was larger than a target. Some of the crew who killed and cooked them, affirmed they had already eat such in the bay of *Argin*, though they were not so large. Out of curiosity I ventured to taste a morsel; it seemed to relish, and was not inferior to veal, which it resembled in point of whiteness. We salted a great number, and they proved a valuable acquisition during our voyage. An astonishing quantity of fish was taken, both at the mouth of the river, and within the stream: many of a species that was entirely new to us, were large, and of a fine flavour.

"We remained two days at this Island to refresh ourselves: and I may here observe, that the first discovered was named *Buona Vista* (*good sight*), being the land we first beheld in these parts. To the island, which appeared the largest of all the *four*, we gave the

Ch. II. § 1.

*Alphonso the fish*St. Jago
discovered.

1456.

to any in point of fertility. Spilbergen observes, in his voyage through the Straights of Magellan, 1614, "that the Cape de Verde islands were wrong placed in the maps of that day, even in such as were in the highest estimation, placing them in 17° ; whereas they ought to be in $14^{\circ} 30'$." Captain *Woodes Rogers*, 1708, places the *ten* Cape de Verde islands at the distance of about one hundred and sixty leagues to the westward of Africa.—*Atkins* is of opinion, that these islands were formerly called *Hesperides*; others fix the famous *Cerne* of antiquity among them.

"*Dampier* observes, that the sea round *Mayo* was stocked with dolphins, bonetas, mullets, snappers, silver fish, &c. "Six dozen of great fish, most of them mullets of a foot and an half, or two foot long, were taken in the seyne at one haul." *Atkins* says, that while his ship lay off the island of *Mayo* in 1721; they caught with lines, *breams*, or *porgas*, *ship-jacks*, *groupes*, a *rock fish*, and the *Jew fish*, which has a double mouth; the uppermost is not intended to swallow food, but is full of Air pipes.

BOOK the name of *San Jacobo*; for on the day of that Saint we anchored off its coast.

Arrives off
the Gambia
a second
time.

"Every thing being settled, as above-mentioned, we sailed from these four islands and steered for ^d *Cape Verde*, whence in a few days, God willing, we went by *Spedegar* within sight of land, to a place they call *le due Palme*, which lies between *Cape Verde* and the *Senega*. Having a correct knowledge of the land, we doubled the Cape at some distance; and advancing at a great rate, again reached the GAMBRA river. Our caravellas entered without hesitation; the negroes made no opposition; and, sounding continually, we proceeded to follow its stream during the day-time, whilst such of the *almadias* as appeared, kept at a respectful distance. About ten miles up the river we found a small island, *a * modo d'un polefine*: here on a Sunday morning we came to anchor, and buried one of the crew who died of a Fever; his name was *Andrea*: as he was much respected by every one on board, I called the island from him *l'Isola di Santo Andrea*."

Our Navigators having paid this mark of respect to a deserving seaman, continued to advance up the *Gambra*; when they were again followed, though at a distance, by some of the Negro *almadias*. Fresh exertions were made on the part of *Cada Mosto*, and the Portuguese, to obtain information; and at length the stubborn vindictive spirit of the savages yielded to the mild forbearance of mariners, who emulated the Christian virtues of their PRINCE. One of the negroes came on board the caravella commanded by

Cada

^d In addition to what has been already inserted relative to this Cape, may be added the following description by *Akins* (page 32.). "The land about the Cape, appears the height of that at *Deal* in Kent; woody, a white even sand along shore, and about twenty eight fathom water a league off." *Regewein*, 1721, observes that this Cape is a dangerous landing place, because of a great many Rocks about it sunk under water.

* Mr. Green, in *Afley's Collection*, translates it, *in shape of a smoothing iron*; and adds, that although the distance is not exact, *St. James's Island* seems to be here described.

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Cada Mosto, and at first expressed the same astonishment as had been shewn by the tribe inhabiting the banks of the *Senegal*. Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonse the fifth.

In answer to the questions that were made, this Negro replied, "that their country was called 'GAMBRA, governed by a chief of the name of *Forsangoli*, who lived at the distance of ten days' journey; and was himself subservient to the king of *Melli*, the great emperor of the negroes: that many inferior chiefs lived near the River, on both sides; to one of whom, *Battimanfa*, he offered to conduct the strangers, and to attempt a negotiation in their favour." The *caravellas* accordingly proceeded, under the guidance of this friendly negro, to the residence of *Battimanfa*, which, according to the computation of *Cada Mosto*, was full sixty miles if not more, from the river's mouth.

The following Remarks among others, were on this occasion made by *Cada Mosto*. In ascending the *Gambra* they steered east, and found its course assisted by many tributary streams. The *Gambra*, at the distance they had then reached from its entrance, became considerably narrower; not being above a mile across at the residence of *Battimanfa*. *Cada Mosto* offered this Chief the terms of an advantageous commerce, in the name of the king of Portugal; and during the eleven days they remained in this part of Africa, some degree of trade ensued for slaves, and a small quantity of gold: they also procured *civet*, and *civet* skins. Whilst these transactions were carried on, the *caravellas* were crowded with negroes; whose customs and mode of life offered but little variety from those that have been already mentioned. *Cada Mosto* was particularly struck at the astonishing girth of one of the trees: its height was only twenty paces, whilst the circumference of its trunk, near the root, was seventeen cubits: there was also other timber whose dimensions even exceeded this.

Gaumi-

† Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 108. C.

BOOK I. *Guuminensa*, one of the inferior chiefs, gave *Cada Mosto* some pieces of an Elephant that had been hunted, to carry to Europe; who on his return presented the hair, and some of the salted flesh, to the Duke of Viseó, a gift at that time of rare value. A foot of the same animal, three spans and an inch in the sole, was sent by this *Venetian*, with a tooth of ivory twelve spans in length, to the *Dutchess of Burgundy*. *Cada Mosto* notices the existence of the *fish-lorfe* (hippopotamus) in the *Gambra*, as being first seen by Christi-
ans

¶ *Cada Mosto's* early description of this animal in 1456, should not be omitted by naturalists; our knowledge of the *Hippopotamus* was afterwards suffered to remain dormant for three centuries. Though known to the ancients, the Venetian navigator speaks of it as a *non descript*, and calls it *Pisce cauallo*. "*Questo animale è di natura quasi del vecchio marino, che hora sta in acqua, et hora in terra: et de tutti dui qsti elemēti si nutrisce, et è di qsta forma. il corpo grande come una vacca, et corto di gābe. ha li piedi fessi, et la testa ha forma di cauallo cō duoi dēti grādi, uno p lato, a modo di porco cinghiale, quali, sono molto grandi: et ne ho vi' o da duoi palmi. et piu lunghi alle fiate. questo animale esce dell' acqua, et va su per la riva come bestia quadrupede, laqual non si troua in altre parti dove nauiga per nostri cristiani, per quanto ho potuto intendere, se non per ventura nel Nilo.*" (Ramusio, *ibid* p. 109. C.)—The generic character of this extraordinary Animal, whose history has been but lately elucidated by *Dr. Sparmann*, *Colonel Gordon*, *Mr. Masson*, *Mr. Bruce*, and *M. Vaillant*; is thus given by *Dr. Shaw* in his *General Zoology*, (Vol. ii. part ii page 442.). *Front teeth in each jaw four: the superior ones standing distant, by pairs: the inferior prominent, the two middle ones longest. Canine teeth solitary, those of the lower jaw extremely large, long, curved, and obliquely truncated. Feet armed at the margin with four boofs.* "The *hippopotamus* is chiefly found in the middle parts of Africa, inhabiting large rivers and especially such as run through countries overshadowed by large forests; walking about at the bottom, and raising itself at intervals to the surface, for the purpose of respiration. It is sometimes seen even in the sea, at some distance from the mouths of rivers: it will not drink salt water, and does not prey on fish, or indeed live on any kind of animal food. Their flesh is reckoned good by the *Africans*, and the fat is said to be a fine kind of lard. But it is chiefly on account of the teeth, and more particularly of the tusks, that this animal is killed; their hardness being superior to that of ivory, at the same time that they are not so subject to become yellow. The largest female *hippopotamus* killed by *Colonel Gordon*, was about eleven feet long; and the largest male about eleven feet, eight inches. *Mr. Bruce* speaks of *hippopotami* in the lake *Tzana* of more than twenty feet long. *Savigni* thinks that two species exist, one of which confines itself to rivers, and fresh water; and the other to the sea. Twelve oxen have been found necessary to draw one ashore which had been shot." *Hippopotami*, called at the Cape of Good Hope *Sea-Cows*, are not found in any of the African rivers which run into the Mediterranean, except the *Nile*; and even there only in Upper Egypt, and in the fens and lakes of *Ethiopia* which that river passes through.

ans in this voyage; unless, as he adds, some had previously been observed in the Nile. Before the caravellas left the *Gambra*, the crew were affected with the ' fever of that country, and must have suffered severely from its effects. Ch. II. § 1.
Ally banjo the ffish.

" The unhealthy atmosphere of this part of Africa, did not allow us to make any long stay at the *porto di Mansa*, in *Signor Battimansa's* province; we accordingly left the river, and reached the ocean in a few days. Having at this time a plentiful supply on board of every thing necessary for the prosecution of our Voyage; we considered that it was incumbent on a Squadron, consisting of three caravellas, and already advanced so far, to attempt some other discoveries towards the south: every one was impressed with the force of this opinion; and accordingly, about the third day from our leaving the river, we took the advantage of a favourable breeze, and set sail¹. The coast at first stretched for a considerable distance to the south south-west, as if it terminated in a cape; we steered westerly in order to give it a good birth, the land was low, covered with large and beautiful trees; but as soon as we were well out at sea, we perceived that this headland did not project into a ' cape: we however kept well out, as we observed the water agitated by

¹ The best account which I have met with of this dreadful disorder, appears in *Dr. Robertson's Observations on Fevers, and other diseases which occur on voyages to Africa and the West Indies* (4to. 196 pages, 1792). The original work appeared many years before, under the title of a *Physical Journal*, &c. Some extracts will be presented to the reader, in a future volume, under the head of *A Memoir of the different Methods that have been suggested for the Preservation of the Health of Seamen*. Dr. Robertson's Observations ' are the result of an unwearied and close attention to nature and disease, in a distant part of the world, and in a climate which yearly proves fatal to many English seamen.'

² *Perebe erauamo molto incolfati a questa bocca del rio di Gãmbra.* (Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 110. D.)

³ *Perebe oltra la detta punta, si vedeva, il terreno della costa tutto di lungo.* (Ramusio, *ibid.*) The eastern point of the entrance of the *Gambra*, has however since received the name of *St. Mary's Cape*, known by a tall tree which serves as a land mark.

BOOK
1.

by breakers, at the distance of more than four miles from the shore. I also immediately stationed two men on the prow, and one at the mast-head, that they might keep a good look out for shoals, and sand-banks. We only sailed during the day, and even then with great caution, setting but little canvas; our Squadron always anchored at sun set, and it was determined by lot which caravella took the lead on the ensuing morning. Thus we proceeded for two days, without ever losing sight of land.

"On the third, the mouth of a river was discovered, about half a mile across; and towards evening we opened a small gulf, which seemed to be the entrance of another river. As it was growing late in the day, our caravellas brought-to; but on the next morning we entered the gulf, and found it was the mouth of a river not much inferior to the *Gambra*. The banks on both sides were clothed with trees of a luxuriant growth, and as usual of a striking verdure. Two armed boats being sent with interpreters for information, on their return acquainted us, that it was called *la fiumara di Casamanfa*: it lies at the distance of twenty-five leagues, or an hundred miles, from the *Gambra*. With this intelligence we next day set sail; and following the direction of the coast came to a cape which, according to our reckoning, was about twenty miles from the above river. This Cape is rather more elevated than the rest of the land, and shews a red front, which induced us to name it ' *Capo Rosso*. We next reached the mouth of another large river, about

¹ "This Cape," according to *Barbot* (Churchill's Collect. vol. v. p. 81.) "was known to the ancients by the name of *RYSSADIUM PROMONTORIUM*, and is easily observed from the seaward, by a small grove near to it, and by the coast, which runs from it east south-east, being in twelve degrees, forty-two minutes of north latitude. Before the cape, there is from six to nine fathom water, muddy and sandy ground, for some leagues off to the westward; but closer up to the south part of the cape, and so sailing along it towards the east south-east, four and five fathom, in the channel, by the *Portuguese* called *Canal de Janiães*; on the south-side of which is a bank of sand, called *Baixos de Joao da Coimbra*, or John of Coimbra's Shoals; and

about bow-shot across, but having no inclination to enter it, contented ourselves with giving it the name of *il Rio di Santa Ana*. A little further on, we saw a small river nearly of the same width as *Santa Ana*, to which we assigned the name of *il Rio di San Dominico*; situated, according to our estimation, between fifty-five and sixty miles from *Capo Rosso*.

Ch. II. § 1.

Alph. de la Roche

"As we thus continued our progress along the coast of Africa, another day's sailing brought us to the entrance of a most majestic river; so majestic, that all at first imagined it must be a gulf. The beautiful verdure of trees which clothed its southern side was plainly visible; though it could not be less than twenty miles across, for the passage took us a considerable time. When we at length had gained the opposite shore, some Islands were observed to make in the distant ocean: this alone induced us to seek for some knowledge

Rio Grande
discovered.
1456.

and on the north side a long ridge of rocks under water, just before *Angra de Falulo*, a bay to the eastward of *Cabo Rono*. *Ponta Vermelha* is some leagues to the eastward of *Cabo Rono*, so named by some Portuguese; and by others of the same nation *Barreiras Vermelhas*; but by the Dutch, *Rugge boeck*, there being shoals about it off at sea. These Capes show at a distance like islands in the sea, and the Shore all hilly. --- All the Coast between *Cape St. Mary* at *Gamboa*, and *Cape Rono*, is very foul and dangerous. It is cut through by several rivers, the chief whereof is the *Rua*, by the Portuguese called *Ruaquy*, mixing its waters with the ocean at three several mouths. This river is by others called *Cafamanfa*, and has the town of *Jara* on the north bank, two leagues up it from the sea."

"It was called the *Rio Grande*," says *Barbot* (ibid. p. 84.) "because of its wideness. --- According to some ancient geographers, there was once a place called *Portus Magnus*, or the great harbour, on the north-side, near the mouth of it.---(P. 89.) *Rio Grande* is so little frequented by Europeans, except some Portuguese, that there can be no particular and exact description of it given. All we know in general is, that the mouth is very wide, and reaches far up into the country. The principal reason why this River is so little known to sea-faring people, is its being inhabited on both sides by wild, savage blacks, little acquainted with Trade; who have often insulted such as have been forced to put in there, either for want of provisions, or some other accident. Besides the tide runs out extremely rapid, and the Entrance is much encumbered with sands and shoals; and there is reason to believe that some Ships have perished there, and others been assaulted by the natives, who wear long collars of old ropes about their necks, which it is likely they have had from such vessels as have been cast away, or they have plundered."

BOOK
I.

ledge of the Country; and we accordingly came to anchor for the night. On the ensuing morning two *almadias* stood towards us; and though one of them was not so high above the water as a caravella, yet it was equal in point of length, and contained more than thirty negroes, whilst the other held about sixteen. As they seemed to approach with considerable eagerness, we prepared for an onset; but when they had sufficiently neared the ship, they raised an oar, to which a white cloth resembling an handkerchief had been attached, as if to demand security: we answered them in a similar manner, upon which they came alongside, and were immediately followed by other *almadias*: the negroes gazed in astonishment on men with white skins, and in equal amazement surveyed the construction and rigging of our Vessels. The Interpreters tried in vain to make themselves understood, so that all hope of gaining information was abandoned: we could only purchase a few gold rings by barter, the value of which was ascertained by signs. Our stay at the mouth of this river, or *Rio Grande*, did not exceed two days; during which the *north star* was seen to appear very low. We had now advanced into regions where our interpreters found themselves utter strangers to the language; concluding therefore that our proceeding further on the voyage could not be productive of any advantage, we at once determined to return *."

Cada Mosto in concluding this Voyage, makes some * remarks on the irregular Tides, and violent Currents that prevail in this part of the

* PURCHAS, in his fifth volume, which contains a GEOGRAPHICALL HISTORIE OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA, WITH THE ADJACENT ISLANDS; when describing the land of Negroes, gives an abstract of the first and second Voyages of *Cada Mosto*, with extracts from other antient navigators (page 809).

" In questo luogo trouammo una grande contrarietà, che non si troua altrove, per quanto ho potuto intendere: cio è che facendosi in questo luogo Marea di acqua montana, et mosane, come si fa a Venetia, et insinto il ponente, et doue in ogni luogo la cresce sei bore, et cala altre sei, qui la cresce bore quattro, et cala otto. et è tanto l'Impetto della correntia della detta marea, quando la comincia a crescere, che

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" Or Bissor, adjacent Coast detailed in *Affric Labat's Afrique* isle of Bissao, once called BISSAGOS Ilha das Gallinas, which is the Rio di San larger islands of the Ilha Form he discovered it Cape Roxo, and call Baines dos main by the Rio island of Boff, ride before the English mile from ships of sixty gu Islands are very streame and rivule ments. The C at some distance bour; so that the Company began t that formed at found impractic

the Atlantic, and which exposed these early navigators to considerable danger. On leaving the Coast they discovered two large Islands, and also some smaller ones lying about the distance of thirty miles from the continent; afterwards called the ' *Bissagos Islands*, which were at that time inhabited: the appearance of the country is described as being low, covered with large and beautiful trees, of the same striking verdure, as those which adorned the adjacent continent. But here again their interpreters failed them, and they in consequence left their Discovery to be explored by other Europeans.

In

gli è quasi incredibile, perche tre anchora, per proua a penna, et con fatica ne poteuano tenere, et hora fu che la corrente ha ne fece sur vela per forma, et non senza pericolo, perche l'haueua molto piu forma che la celle co'l vento. (Ramusio, *ibid.* p. 110. B.)

Or *Bisso*, and *Bimagoos*.—The reader will find the best account of these Islands, and the adjacent Coast of Africa, in the Voyages of the *Sieur Brue*, already cited: these voyages are detailed in *Afley's Collection* (vol. ii. p. 27.—144.) they also formed the principal part of *Labat's Afrique Occidentale*. The *Sieur Brue* sailed from the French Factory, *Albreda*, to the Isle of *Bisso*, on the 21st of February 1701. He confines the number of the *Islands*, properly called *Bissagos*, to fourteen; of which the most considerable, and frequented, were, *Kafnabak*; *Ilha das Gallinas*; *Kangui*; *Karabo*; *Arangbena*; *Papagayo*, or the Island of Parots; *Formosa*, which is the largest; *Babarabaka*; *Basaghe*; *Waranghe*, &c. Closer in shore, between the Rio di San Dominico, or river of *Kacba*, and the *Rio Grande*, lie *The three Isles*; with the larger islands of *Bussi*, or *Boysissi*; *Bissao*; and *Bulam*. According to *BARROT* (*ibid.* p. 86.) the *Ilha Formosa*, or beautiful island, is called by the Spaniards, *Isla de Fernan Po*, because he discovered it. Some Navigators declare, there are near eighty islands called *Bisso* between *Cape Reno*, and *Rio Grande*, enclosed on the west side by a large bank, which the Portuguese call *Bainos dos Bisagos*, and the French, *Banc de St. Pierre*. *Ilha Formosa* is parted from the main by the River *Anahy*, as are also two other islands near it. About two leagues from the island of *Bossi*, is the island by the French called *des Bisseaux*. The best road for ships to ride before the town of *Bissos*, in this island, is just opposite to the parish church, not above an English mile from the shore, oozy ground; but nearer the shore is better anchorage, where ships of sixty guns may ride safe: this place by the French is called *Port Bisseaux*. THESE ISLANDS are very fruitful, though covered with wood, being every where watered with several streams and rivulets; and producing palm-wine, palm-oil, and many other sorts of refreshments. The Country is flat and low; only here and there are hillocks and arable ridges at some distance from one another. The soil is so good, that any thing grows with little labour; so that there is plenty of rice, honey, wax, and Guinea pepper. The *French Senega Company* began to trade hither in 1685.—A Settlement on the same humane principle with that formed at *Sierra Leone*, was made by *Mr. Dalrymple* on the island of *Bulam*; but was found impracticable, and in consequence abandoned.

BOOK
I.

In the following devout reflection *Cada Mosto* records their safe arrival in Portugal, and his own ideas of the perils they had endured:—*di li partendo venimmo verso le parti nostre de Cbrissiani, alle quali per molte giornate nauigammo, tanto che Dio per misericordia, quando le piacque ne condusse a buon porto.*

Extent of
Coast dis-
covered by
the Duke
of Viseo.

With the SECOND VOYAGE of *Cada Mosto* the Discoveries of the illustrious prince, HENRY DUKE OF VISEO, appear to close; and for a season, the maritime spirit of Portugal was palsied by his death. *Ramusio* indeed, as already observed, was of opinion that he settled the island of *St. Thomas*; and ^a *Mickle* is inclined to think that some of HENRY's commanders passed the equinoctial line. 'It was the custom of his sailors to leave his motto, *Talent de bien faire*, wherever they came; and in 1525 *Loaya*, a Spanish captain, found that device carved on the bark of a tree in the *Isle of St. Matthew*, in the second degree of south latitude.' History unfortunately throws but little, if any light, on the remainder of this valuable life: the space of seven years after the return of *Cada Mosto*, leaves only room for conjecture and uncertainty, respecting the actual extent of African coast discovered under the immediate auspices of the Portuguese Prince. ^r *Dr. Vincent*, the learned ancient geographer of the present age, observes, that although some progress is supposed to have been made, as far south as the Equator, during the lifetime of the Duke of Viseo; yet that *Cape Verde* may be considered as the limit of his discoveries.—With due deference to his opinion, I have endeavoured to remove this limit at least to the *Rio Grande*; and am rather inclined to think that it may be extended still further to *Cape*

Verga,

^a History of the Discovery of *India* prefixed by *Mickle* to his Translation of the *Lusiad* (vol. i. p. 158. 8vo. ed.).

^r *PERIPLUS* of the *Erythrean*, page 193.

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Verga, or to whatever is considered as the northern boundary of the *Sierra Leone* country : the liberal mind of *Dr. Vincent*, will I am confident rather approve, than be displeased at this remark.

Ch. II. § 1.
Alphonso the fifth.

From the year 1412 to 1456, we have ample evidence that the navigators whom Duke Henry had formed, continued to pursue the track, which his original and daring genius had pointed out, for the attainment of a maritime supremacy by Portugal. The exact period of this prince's death, as well as the time of his birth, is difficult to ascertain ; but if *de Barros* is followed, I may be allowed to assign this melancholy event to 1463. The Duke of *Viseo* died at *Sagres* in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and lies buried with his father in the church of *Batalha*.

The Character of this renowned son of *John the first*, and *Philippa of Lancaster*, displayed a brilliant assemblage of those virtues for which the *Portuguese* and *British* nations have been renowned. On the military heroism of the former, a passion for maritime enterprise was engrafted ; and the same spirit which had rescued *Lusitania* from the oppression of the Moors, was confirmed in the bosom of HENRY, by the resolution, and determined perseverance of the house of *Lancaster*. The mind which he had thus received, was height-

Character of
the Duke of
Viseo.

* Some curiosity may have arisen in the reader's mind, respecting the city whence the illustrious HENRY derived his title to the Dukedom of *Viseo*. We learn from *Mr. Beawes*, in his *History of Spain and Portugal* (page 83.) that it was a capital City, situated in the heart of a province so called ; and is supposed to have been built from the ruins of the antient *Vacca*, by command of the Pretor or Proconsul, *Decius Brutus*, who ordered it to be founded on a greater eminence, than what the old city occupied. From the dominion of the Romans, *Viseo*, or *Vista*, passed successively under the power of the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Moors*, with the other cities of Spain. The Moors conquered it five separate times ; and it was as often retaken by the kings of *Leon* and *Asturias* ; its last deliverer being *Fernando the Great*, who took it from the Kings of *Cordova*, on the 28th of June, 1038, after a siege of eighteen days. Fifty-six years previous to this event, it had been conquered by the famous *Almansor* in 982. This city becoming subject to Portugal, King *Alphonso Henry* gave it a charter, which was confirmed by *Sancho the first* in 1187. It always remained united to the crown, until the reign of *John the first*.

BOOK
1.

heightened by the energy of devout principles, and strengthened by the early discipline of education. In this manner was formed, to use the expression of a learned prelate, A GENIUS OF THE HIGH ORDER'. At an early age HENRY devoted himself to solitude, and reflection; and with a singular predilection, when chivalry still preserved its influence, ventured to prefer the maritime to the military character; until he at length rescued the former from that vile neglect into which it had fallen, by promoting the monopolies of trade, and displaying the cruelties of piracy. The maritime school of SAGRES awakened the nations of Europe to a sense of their real interests; and the wooden walls of Portugal arose as impenetrable bulwarks, to prevent a second "night of darkness" from overwhelming what yet remained of ancient science, and classic learning.

But to approach nearer to this illustrious PRINCE, and to contemplate his * *portrait* as preserved in history.—His limbs were large and strong, and his complexion fair; his demeanour united in an eminent degree, the mild serenity of a good Christian, with the firmness that is derived from experience, and reflection. To persons unacquainted with his character, the dignified features of HENRY would sometimes impart an idea of that severity, which distinguished his illustrious grandfather PEDRO THE JUST: for when provoked to anger by the machinations of envy, or the spleen of malevolence, the sternness of this Portuguese Prince was dreadful to behold. His magni-

* Bishop Hurd, in his *Life of Warburton* (p. 85).

† See in the APPENDIX DR. ROBERTSON'S *Observations on the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope* (p. 215).

‡ An engraved portrait of the *Duke of Viseu*, which is extremely scarce, was in the possession of the Marquis D'Almeida; but for the sudden return of that nobleman, a copy of it would have been here inserted. *Lafiteau* has given a Portrait, but no reference is made to the original, or print, whence it was taken. *De Barros*, who was born at *Viseu*, in his description of THE DUKE, seems to have had an original picture before him.

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magnificence appeared in whatever promoted the good of his Country; in all that concerned himself HENRY was plain, simple, and averse from parade. To an uniform zeal for Christianity he united an ardent thirst for general knowledge; and though he always preferred the study of the sacred writings, he explored and increased the various sources of polite literature, and became a proficient in those Sciences which are connected with maritime pursuits. To a retentive memory, and great abilities, he united unwearied application; and shewed the world what the perseverance of a single individual may accomplish in the span of human life, who like him invariably and impartially exerts

Ch. II. § 1.

Alphonse the Affili.

LE TALENT DE BIEN FAIRE.

SECTION H.

Progress of Discovery on the Western Coast of Africa, from Cape Verga to Cape Catherine, the utmost point reached during the reign of Alphonso the fifth.—Illustrative observations of a Portuguese pilot. Pedro de Cintra's voyage. Death of Alphonso. JOHN THE SECOND. Settlement of St. George del Mina.—New grant from the Pope.—Lourenço de Medici.—Congo discovered, 1484.—Embassy to Edward the fourth of England. Ineffectual attempt of Juan da Lisboa to gain information over land respecting India. Voyage of Bartholomew Diaz.—Travels of Pedro de Covillam, and Alphonso da Payva. The Cape doubled by Diaz.—Columbus.—Death of John the second.—Hydrographical Observations.

FATHER OF STORMS! then let thy Tempests roar
O'er Seas of solitary amplitude:
Man, the poor tenant of thy rocky shore,
Man, thy terrific Empire hath subdued;
And though thy storms tofs his high-founder'd Bark
Where no dim watch-light gleams, still he defies
Thy utmost rage, and in his buoyant Bark
Goes on, regardless of the dark'ning skies;
And o'er the mountain-furges as they roll,
Subdues his destin'd way, and speeds from Pole to Pole.

BOWLER.

THE military ardour of *Alphonso the fifth*, and the zeal with which he supported his pretensions to the crown of Castile, occupied the conclusion of a reign, whose principal glory was derived from the Discoveries of the *Duke of Viseo*: their progress experienced a considerable check by the death of that illustrious prince. *Alphonso* however was not inattentive to the trade which his uncle had been the means of opening with ^a *Guinea*; about the year 1453, considerable

^a *Guinea*, or *Ghinney*, is a name unknown to the natives, and only in use among Europeans, having been first imposed by the Portuguese; probably, says the learned editor of *Astley's* collection,

considerable quantities of *Gold* had been imported from The Coast; Ch. II. § 2. *Alphonso the fifth.* and on the 15th of August, 1470, this monarch pursued his favourite scheme of establishing a maritime frontier on the western shore of *Africa*. He accordingly embarked with a fleet consisting of upwards of three hundred ships: having weathered out an heavy gale off the Coast of Barbary; he proceeded to *Arzila*, a strong fort on the *Atlantic*, and carried it by storm. The renowned exploits of *Alphonso* in *Africa*, were probably the first that called forth the ingenuity of Europeans on tapestry; but his ambition was further gratified by receiving, like another *Scipio*, the appellation of *Africanus*; with an additional title, *Lord of the Coasts on both Seas*.

During the year 1479 a Commercial Treaty was signed on the fourth of September at *Alcazover*, between Ferdinand of *Castile*, and *Alphonso* king of Portugal, by which the trade with GUINEA, and the navigation of its Coast, with the conquest of the kingdom of *Fex*, were guaranteed to the latter; and by the same treaty the *Canary Isles* were assigned to Spain. Guinea Trade, 1479.

It is extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible at this distance of time, to ascertain the exact year, in which the remaining ISLANDS that lie off the western coast of Africa, from *Rio Grande*, to its southern extremity, were progressively discovered. We however learn, that *Alphonso* had farmed out the Guinea trade in 1469 for five years, to *Fernando Gomez*, at the rate of five hundred ducats, or about one hundred and thirty-eight pounds; who also entered into an engagement, during the same period, to extend the progress of discovery Extent of Coast discovered.

collection, from the country of *Гвинея*, mentioned by *Leo* and *Marmel*, which first occurred on the south side of the *Sanaga*. The *Portuguese* divided *Guinea* into the *upper* and the *lower*; as divided by the equator, making the southern portion extend to *Cabo Negro*; and this division has been admitted by the Royal Societies both of London and Paris. (See *Barbot*, p. 4, and 5.)

BOOK I. *five hundred leagues towards the southward.* In 1471 *Juan de Santaren*, and *Pedro de Escobar*, according to *Marmol*, discovered the *Oro de la Mina* on the Gold Coast, and advancing still further with their two celebrated Pilots *Martin Fernandes* of Lisbon, and *Alvaro Esfeves* of Lagos, reached Cabo Catalina or *Cape St. Catherine*; the discovery of which is by some assigned to *Sequiera*, a knight in the royal household. This promontory, so named from the day it was first observed, forms at the distance of thirty-one leagues from *Cabo de Lope Gonzalves* the northern limit of the great kingdom of *CONGO*; whose coast thence extends in a curve to *Cabo Negro* its southern boundary.

Authorities
relative to
the Coast.

Of the different writers, who have endeavoured to give a correct account of the Discoveries of the *Portuguese* on the western Coast of *Africa*, *Emmanuel de Faria y * Soufa* deserves a particular attention. This celebrated historian, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, has recorded all the Voyages of his countrymen from their first attempts, to their developement of the remote parts of *Cbina* and *Japan*; and the curious reader will moreover be gratified by finding at the close of this maritime history, among other valuable articles, *An account of all the ships that sailed from Lisbon to discover the coasts of Africa, and Asia, with the annual trading ships, from the time of prince Henry, until the year 1640.* But this historian was himself unable to ascertain the date of many important events; nor have his labours removed the uncertainty, of which even *de Barros* had complained, respecting the first discovery of the island of *St. Thomas*.

An ample account of the line of coast, from *cape Verga* to *cape St. Catherine*, which after the death of *Duke Henry* was frequented during the remainder of *Alphonso's* reign, is given by *Dapper*, and *Barbot*; whose observations are chiefly taken from the tract by

Gotard

* Subdivided into *Loango*, *Congo* properly so called, *Angola*, and *Benguela*.

* See preceding page 135.

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Cotard * *Artus* of Dantzick, in the second volume of *De Bry's collection*, and that by *David Von Nyendael*, inserted by *Bosman* in his account of *The Gold Coast*, under the title of a description of *Rio Formosa*, or the river of *Benin*. The first explorer of *Benin* was *Joao Alphonso de Aveiro*, during the reign of John the second: this navigator gave the name of *Rio Formosa* to its river, from its beautiful appearance, and also carried home to Lisbon the first Pepper imported from that country. Even the discovery of *Benin* is assigned him; but to substantiate this that event should rather be placed in the reign of *Alphonso* during which, as already observed, the Portuguese navigators had visited the northern boundary of the kingdom of *Congo*.

Ch. II. § 2.
Alphonso the fifth.

The French, though they appeared late, and so seldom in the progress of discovery, are not without their pretensions: both the *Sieur Villault de Bellefond*, and the geographer *Robbe*, have asserted that

Priority of
discovery
claimed by
the French.

* This also is not the work of *Artus*, but of a Dutch navigator: it was translated from Low Dutch into German, and afterwards into Latin by *Artus*.

• *Cape Formosa* is low, flat, and woody, like the adjacent Coast, which in a large semicircle extends to the S. E. to *Cabo de Lopo Goncalves*, or as others write *de Lupo Gonzale*. About thirty-five leagues of this Coast, from *Cape Formosa* to *Rio Real*, or new *Calbury River*, is intersected by seven rivers; *Rio Non*, *Rio Oddy*, called also *Malsonfa*, *Fonfoady*, or *S. Bento*; *Rio Filana*, or *Juan Dias*, *Rio S. Nicholas*, or *Lempta*, *Rio de S. Barbara*, or *Meas*, *Rio de S. Bartolomeo*, or *dos tres Irmaos*, and *Rio Sombreiro*. In all these rivers small ships may anchor. (*Barbot*, p. 379.)

† *Villault*, who says that *Guinea* was discovered by the French in 1346, before he enters on his Voyage to the coast of *Africa* and *Guinea* in 1666, exhorts his countrymen to renew the *Guinea* trade. What Frenchman can be so insensible to see, without remorse, several bays along this coast (by the natives called *Bayes de France*) and several towns (as *Petit Dieppe* and others) whose names declare their founders, so entirely abandoned by their countrymen.—About the year 1346 some adventurers of *Dieppe*, a port in *Normandy*, who had gained considerable experience in long voyages, being descended from the *Normans*; having sailed along the Coast of the *Negroes*, and *Guinea*, settled several colonies in those parts, particularly about *Cape Verde* in the Bay of *Rio Fresco*, and along the *Malaghetta-coast*. To the Bay, extending from *Cape Verde* to *Cabo Masso*, they gave the name of the *Bay of France*; that of *Petit Dieppe* to the village of *Rio Corso*, (between *Rio Junco*, and *Rio Sestro*) and that of *Sestro Paris* to *Grand-Sestro*, not far from *Cape Palmas*, carrying to *France* great quantities of *Guinea* pepper and elephant's teeth; whence

BOOK
I.

that their countrymen discovered the coasts of *Nigritia*, and *Guinea*, almost an hundred years before the Portuguese; but as *M. Barbot* the agent-general of the French African Company justly remarks, *If this account be true, it is strange that no mention is made of it by other French historians, several of whom I have examined, and particularly de Serres and Meneray. The silence of the French historians in this point, gives us just cause to suspect the validity of this author's assertions; nor do I find in the history of Portugal, which is so full of the Portuguese discoveries of Nigritia and Guinea, the least mention of their having heard of any Frenchmen that had founded the castle of Mina, in 1383; or that Anumbuja when he came to Mina in 1484, and began there*

whence the inhabitants of *Dieppe* set up the trade of turning Ivory, and making several useful articles, especially combs, for which they grew famous, and still continue so.—The French founded the *Castle of Mina* on the Gold Coast in 1383, and possessed it until 1484; but during the Civil Wars in France, which lasted eighty-one years, from 1380 to 1461, the French were so distracted and impoverished, that the Normans were obliged to give over trading to *Guinea*, and abandon all their settlements; which were afterwards possessed by the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes, and Courlanders.

The account given by *Robbe*, who fixes this discovery by the French in 1364, is as follows.

“Some Merchants of *Dieppe* having made several Trading Voyages to *Cape Verde*, and farther on to *Seyro Paris*, on the *Pepper Coast* of *Guinea* in the year 1364, during the reign of *Charles the fifth*, king of France; in the year 1382, undertook, in conjunction with other merchants of *Rouen*, to send three Ships to make further Discoveries along that coast. One of them, called the *Virgin*, ran as far as *Commendo*, and thence to the place where the town of *Mina* stands, so called, either from the quantity of gold they procured by trading with the blacks, or their concluding that the country was very rich in *Gold Mines*. Next year, 1383, they built there a strong house, or factory, in which they left ten or twelve men to secure it; and were so fortunate in improving their settlement, that in 1387, the Colony being considerably enlarged, they built a chapel to it, and had a very good trade with the natives until the year 1413; when by occasion of the Civil Wars in France, the stock of these Adventurers being exhausted, they were obliged to quit not only *Mina*, but all their other settlements at *Seyro Paris*, *Cape Monte*, *Sierra Leona*, and *Cape Verde*.”

As a farther proof that the French founded the castle at *Mina*, they also alledge (*Barbot*, p. 161.) that notwithstanding the many revolutions, which have happened there in past years, one of the bastions is called the bastion of France; and that on it there are still to be seen Anno 13 ----; whence they infer, that their countrymen, who built that Fort, cut those numbers on the stone, in memory of the year 1383 during which it was constructed.

¶ *Barbot's description of Guinea, (Churchill's Collect. v. 5. p. 10.)*

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there his first entrenchment, ever saw or heard of any such castle, built by the French an hundred years before.

Ch. II. § 2.
Alphonso de Albuquerque

Respecting the discovery of the four principal ISLANDS which lie in the Gulf of Guinea, the following opinion appears the most probable¹. The famous *Fernando Lopez*² discovered the most northern, in 1471, and gave it at first the appellation of *Ilha Formosa*, which was afterwards changed for that of *Fernando Poo*³: it lies between the high country of *Ambojes*, and the *Rio des Camerones*, from which it bears west south-west about ten leagues. The length of the Island of *Fernando Poo*, is about twelve leagues from north to south; according to *Barbot*, it is the largest of the four, or at least as large as *St. Thomas*, and being all very high land, is easily seen at a great distance: the Portuguese had formerly sugar plantations upon it. The *ILHA DO PRINCIPE* was either discovered by the same navigator, or by *Santarem*, and *Escobar*, about the same time: it probably received its name in memory of the illustrious *Prince Henry*. The⁴ land is high, and consists of pyramidal and *table* mountains, which may be seen at twenty leagues distance: its extent is about nine leagues in length, and five in breadth. This island abounds in oranges, lemons,

Islands of
Fernando
Poo, *Prin-*
cipe, *San*
Tome, and
Anno bueno.

² Barbot, p. 399.

¹ Some writers assign the discovery of these islands, as well as that of *San Matheo*, to *Fernando Gomez*, who farmed the Guinea trade. Probably he appointed the navigators whose names are mentioned.

² In a report of The Kingdom of Congo, and of the Countries that border round about the same, drawn out of the writings and discourses of *Odoardo Lopez*, a Portuguese, by *Philippo Pigafetta* (*Churchill's Collection*, vol. 8. page 527. translated by *A. Hartwell*) we have the following information. "The first (of these Rivers) is named the River *Fernando di Poo*, that is to say, of *Fernando Poudre*, who first discovered the same. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an Island of the same name. The second River is called *Bora*, that is to say *Filth*. The third, *La Riviera del Campo*; the fourth di *San enedetto*; and the fifth, that of *Angra*, which in the mouth of it hath an Island called di *Corisco*, that is to say *Thunder*."

³ Some views of this Island are given in *Barbot*, which were engraven from his own drawings.

BOOK lemons, bananas, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, rice, * mandioc root used
 I. for bread, all sorts of herbs for salleting, and European grain: the
 inhabitants have also sheep, hogs, goats, and a prodigious quantity
 of poultry. The proper place to water, is on the north-side of the
 bay, about two English miles from the fort, where several torrents
 descend continually from the hills almost to the beach. ' This
 water, adds * *Barbot*, is extremely sweet, but so very cold, that
 until it is kept six or eight days, it is liable to bring on the cholic:
 there is also good watering on the south-side of the bay; and
 working on both sides at once, we have filled sixty hogheads in a
 day.'—*ILHA DE SAN TOME*, called by the natives *Pencas*, re-
 ceived its name, according to * *Brandaon*, from *St. Thomas*, to whom
 the great chapel of the convent of *Tbomar* was dedicated; on whose
 jurisdiction, all the Discoveries, as well of the Islands as the conti-
 nent, were dependent. The land is very high, and its shape oval,
 extending about fifteen leagues in length from north to south, and
 twelve in breadth from east to west: the time of its discovery
 fluctuates from 1452, to the most probable date, 1471. An
 attempt to form a settlement was made in 1486; the unwholesome-
 ness of the air rendered it particularly difficult. Indian wheat
 grows on this island in great perfection; but the sugar canes, which
 originally came from *Brazil*, and the *American islands*, though they
 increased in size, yet did not yield juice in proportion. Formerly
 seven ships used to be freighted for this trade, two for *Madeira*, and
 the Canaries, and one for *England*. This Island, which is well
 watered, though the coldness of its streams resembles those in the
Ilba do Principe, produces vines, melons, cucumbers, figs, ginger, all
 sorts

* It is remarkable that the sap or juice of the *Mandioc* stumps, is a quick poison, and there-
 fore all who use the Meal of it, should be careful to press out this malignant juice.

* *Ibid.* P. 402.

* *Monarch Lusit.* tom. 6. liv. 19. cap. 14.

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sorts of ^a roots, pulse, and pot-herbs : it abounds in a variety of animals, tame and wild, and also with partridges, ducks, fowls, and other birds : both the surrounding sea, and the rivers, furnish quantities of fish. Nothing therefore but the scorching damp air of *St. Thomas* prevents it from vying with the valuable island of *St. Helena*.—The most southerly of this group received the name of *Ilha d'Anno bueno*, or Island of the *happy year*, from being discovered on the first day of 1472 by *Pedro d'Escovar*. It extends about five leagues in length from north to south, and from five to four in breadth ; about it are several rocks and Shoals : the land is full as high as *St. Thomas*, and makes at a distance as if it were only one large mountain, almost always covered like the latter Island with a thick mist. Its fertile vallies produce Turkey corn, rice, millet, potatoes, yams, bananas, pine-apples, citrons, oranges, lemons, figs, and tamarinds ; and a sort of small nuts, called by the French *nois de medicine* ; it also furnishes oxen, hogs, and sheep, with plenty of fish and poultry. The air is not so unwholesome as at *St. Thomas* ; the road for large ships is on the north-eastern side, and on the south-eastern extremity of the island a watering place presents itself, which, though exposed like the road on the north-western side to the violent breakers of the sea, is recommended as an excellent place to pitch a tent for the sick ; being formed by a rivulet which issuing from the mountains, flows through a pleasant valley shaded by a grove of orange and citron trees. Every part of *Annobon* is well watered ; but at the new and full moon, and in all high tides, the streams acquire a brackishness and saltness, which appears to contradict the principle of our modern system, that fountains and springs derive their

Ch. II. § 2.

always the fish.

^a *Barbot*, (p. 409.) mentions four sorts of *Potatoes* to be procured in this Island, transplanted from *Benin*, *Anawerre*, *Mani-Congo*, and *Safrance*. He recommends the two first as being the best, the one on account of its sweetness, and the other because it keeps well.

¹ The India ships stop at *Annobon* to water.

BOOK
I.

their origin from the sea, and become fresh by percolation. The cotton of *Annobon* is reckoned equal to any produced in *India*. According to some writers other *Atlantic Islands* were discovered even at an earlier period; and this circumstance, if the following account given by *de Barros* may be depended on, seems to prove, that the Portuguese had crossed the line before the death of Prince Henry. Some *Castilians* under the command of *Garcia de Loaysa* a knight of *Malta*, having landed in 1525 on the island of *St. Matthew*, in two degrees of south latitude, perceived it had been inhabited by the Portuguese, and found an inscription on the bark of a tree that they had been there eighty-seven years before (1438). It also bore the motto used by the Prince, *Talent de bien faire*.—As we possess no certain account of the first discovery of *St. Thomas*, an abstract of the following journal is subjoined from *Ramusio*; who inserted it to elucidate the periplus of *Hanno*, and places it before the voyage of *De Gama*.

A VOYAGE FROM LISBON TO THE ISLAND OF SAN THOME,
SITUATED UNDER THE EQUINOCTIAL LINE, WRITTEN BY
A PORTUGUESE PILOT, AND SENT, AL MAGNIFICO CONTE
RAIMONDO DELLA TORRE, GENTILHUOMO VERONESE.

(Translated from the Portuguese by *Ramusio*.)

“BEFORE I quitted *Venice*, as you Sir are already informed, *Signor Hieronimo Fracastore* requested me by his letters from *Verona*, that on my arrival in the town of *Conde*, I would send him an account of my Voyage from the notes we Pilots are accustomed to make during our course to *San Thomè*; to which Island our ships are often bound in order to take in cargoes of sugar. The crossing of

Vol. I. folio 115. See also INTRODUCTION, sect. 4. p. 165. This Voyage seems to have been made between the years 1520, and 1540. (*Ramusio*, F. 112. A. and F. 119. E.).

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of the equinoctial line, on which that island is situated, was considered by this gentleman as an extraordinary fact, well worthy of the attention of scientific men. You, Sir, also made me a similar request; therefore at the first moment after my arrival, I began to draw up an account of my Voyage, comparing it as I proceeded with the journals of some friends who had made the voyage before. Yet still, when I afterwards examined my manuscript with attention, I could not bring myself to think it worthy of the perusal of so scientific a man as *Signor Hieronimo*, whose talents I had duly appreciated from his publications which you gave me on my departure from Venice. I therefore resolved to put the manuscript by, and not to suffer any person to peruse it: but as you, Sir, have reminded me of my promise, I am anxious to obey a request, which coming from you, must be ever considered as a command. I was also apprehensive I might appear forgetful of your attention; and therefore prefer an exposure of my ignorance, to the possibility of being charged with ingratitude, and negligence.

" Yet, Sir, as a Sailor, and one not accustomed to composition, I do little more than copy the remarks of those who have sailed from our continent to *Ethiopia*, without any attempt at order, or embellishment in my narrative. When therefore you have perused this account, have the goodness to destroy it; lest the errors I have committed through obedience to your commands, should draw on me the appearance of presumption.

" The *Portuguese* ships which sail from the port of *Lisbon*, to the island of *San Thomè* for sugar, generally, Sir, put to sea in the month of February, though some vessels are bound thither during every month in the year: until they reach the *Canary Islands* their Course is south south-west. They then stand for the island of *Palmas* which is opposite to a promontory on the African coast called *Capo di Boiador*, and is situated at the distance of about ninety leagues

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from

Ch. II. 4.
Alphonso the African.

BOOK
I.

from the kingdom of *Castile*: this Island abounds in wines, meat: cheefe, and sugars; a great sea rages continually on its coast, particularly during the month of December: the north-west is the most prevailing wind."

The PILOT then proceeds to describe some of the *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the supply of salt which the Portuguese Navigators were accustomed to take on board from the *Isola del Sale*, in order to procure a store of salted fish. "If the ships that are bound for *San Thomè*, find it requisite to obtain a large quantity of this provision, they then direct their course towards the African coast, as far as the *Rio del Oro*; and if the wind is calm and the sea smooth, they catch as many fish in the course of four hours with hooks and lines, as will satisfy their wants. The principal sorts thus taken, are the *pagros* fish, called by the Venetians *albari*; the *corvi*, and *oneros*, which latter are only a larger kind of dark coloured *pagros*: as soon as taken, they are opened and salted, when they become an excellent supply for navigators. But should the weather prove unfavourable on the arrival of the ships off the mouth of the *Rio del Oro*, they then proceed along the Coast to *Cape Bianco*, and thence stand on as far as *Argin*.—There is however one thing to be noticed, that all the African coast from cape *Baiador*, or rather *Capo della volta*, to cape *Bianco*, is low land and sandy, and this extends as far as *Argin*; where there is a capacious harbour, and a castle belonging to our monarch, in which some of the Portuguese reside with the king's agent. This *Argin*, inhabited by Moors and Negroes, is situated on the confines that separate *Barbary* from the latter nation.

"But

* So called, from the Portuguese being accustomed to make it, in their course to the *Canaries*, in order to catch the tropical land wind. *Perche qlli che navigano alle isole Canarie, di ritorno si accostano al detto Capo dell'Africa, et perdendo visto si tornano adietro, et à in gradi variis et due terni.* (P. 115. B.)

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" But to return to our Voyage from the *Isola del Sale*: Our ships Ch. II. § 2.
 next steer for *San Jacobo* (San Jago) another of the Cape de Verdes, Alphonso the fifth.
 situated in fifteen degrees on the equinoctial, and thirty leagues to-
 wards the south. This Island is seventeen leagues in length, and
 has a city " on the sea coast, with a good harbour called *Ribera*
Grande, from the two high mountains which arise on each side; a
 large river of fresh water flows into this harbour, and from its source
 at the distance of a couple of leagues, to the above city, its banks
 are lined on each side with gardens of oranges, cedars, pome-
 granates, and every sort of fig trees: the palm, which produces
 cocoa nuts, has long been planted in this island; all vegetables
 flourish in great perfection, but their seed is not good, and it is ne-
 cessary to have fresh every year from *Spain*. The city, which is in
 the southern part of the island, is well built with stone, and in-
 habited by Portuguese and Castilian families of distinction to the
 number of five hundred. A corregidor resides there on the part of
 the king of Portugal, and two judges are chosen annually; one for
 naval and maritime transactions, the other to regulate the police.

" This Island is very mountainous, and in many parts so barren
 as to be entirely without wood; but the vallies are fertile and
 much cultivated. When the sun enters into Cancer during the
 month of June, the rains are incessant, and the Portuguese have
 named it *la luna de las aguas*, or the water moon. Their seed time
 begins with August, when they sow the millet called *miglio Zaburo*,
 or *maize*: it consists of a white bean, which is fit to gather in forty
 days, and not only forms the food of the above islanders, but of all
 the inhabitants of the African coast. They also sow quantities of
 rice and cotton; which comes to great perfection, and is used in
 different

* This part of the narrative, though erroneous (see p. 274. n. b.) is inserted in order to
 shew what degree of geographical accuracy the Portuguese pilots had attained.

* Called *Cidade da Ribeira Grande*, and since *The City of San Jago*.

BOOK
I.Guinea,
Melegete
Coast,
Benin.Produce of
the Coast.

different manufactures of striped cloth, exported into the country of the negroes, and exchanged for black slaves.

"But in order, Sir, to give a clearer view of the commercial transactions of the negroes, it is proper to inform you, that the Western Coast of Africa is divided into several provinces, and countries; such for instance as *Guinea*, the * *Melegete* or grain coast, the kingdom of *Benin*, and the kingdom of *Manicongo*. Throughout this Coast are many negro chiefs, and kings, whose numerous subjects consisting of Mahomedans and idolaters are continually at war: these kings are adored by their subjects and believed to have descended from heaven. When the king of *Benin* dies his subjects assemble amidst an extensive plain, in the centre of which a deep sepulchre has been excavated; into this tomb the body is lowered down, attended by all the friends and servants of the deceased, who thus make a voluntary sacrifice of their lives.

"On this † Coast is produced a species of *melegete*, resembling the Italian *sorgo*, but extremely pungent like pepper: there is also a pepper of great strength, not inferior to any brought from *Calicut*, called by the Portuguese *pimenta dal rabo*, or *pepe dalla coda*, and in form resembling the aromatic *cubebe*; but so powerful that an ounce of it will go farther than a pound of the common sort: though its exportation is severely prohibited lest it should injure the sale of that brought from *Calicut*, some of it is smuggled, and sold in *England*. There is also a manufactory established under the patronage of the king, for the making of a superior kind of Soap from *palm oil*, and ashes.

"All the trade of this Coast to the kingdom of *Manicongo*, is farmed out every four or five years to the highest bidder. The great

* Or *Malequette*; called by the English the *Pepper Coast*, and by the Hollanders the *Greyn-Aust*.—BARBOT, p. 135. makes it extend from *Rio Sefire*, rather than *Cape Monte*, to *Grouwa*, two leagues east of *Cape Palmas*.

† Ramusio, (116. F.)

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great negro caravans bring Gold and slaves that are either prisoners of war, or children whom their parents part with through the hope of sending them into a more abundant and fertile country. For upwards of ninety years after the first Discovery of this Coast, the Portuguese merchants were accustomed to enter the large rivers by which it is intersected, and to trade with the numerous natives who inhabited the adjacent country: but at present the whole of this commerce is consigned to the licensed Factors, who farm it.

Ch. II. § 2.
Alphonso the fifth.

"But let us return from this digression to our voyage to the island of *San Thomé*. On quitting *San Iacobo*, (San Jago) we steer southerly towards Rio Grande which is above Ethiopia; and then stretching beyond this river the high mountain of *Serra Lione* is seen to open from behind the coast. A continual fog conceals its summit; and the thunder and lightning that issues from it is heard at sea for the distance of forty or fifty miles: this thick fog is never dissipated though the sun is extremely hot, and vertical, when it passes over it.

"It is our custom not to lose sight of land, though our ships are always at a considerable distance watching the declination of the sun, and keeping a southerly course for the distance of eighty leagues, or four degrees on the equinoctial; when we suddenly tack to the eastward, *alla quarta di sirocco*, keeping the Ethiopian coast on our left, and standing for the island.

"On this Coast, between the Tropic and the Equinoctial, we never meet with any heavy gales of winds, for tempests are rarely known within the tropics. On approaching land in many parts of the Ethiopian coast, the soundings do not exceed fifty *braccia*; the depth of water however soon increases, and a deal of sea is met with as you advance further out. The Portuguese pilots generally carry

a book

* *Ibid.* 116. C.

* South east.

BOOK a book with them, in which they daily mark the progress of their voyage, the wind, and the degrees of the sun's declination.

"On our arrival at *Rio del Oro*, as above mentioned, we first observed the four stars of an extraordinary size and splendour, which appear in shape of a cross, at the distance of thirty degrees from the Antarctic Pole, and form the Constellation ^a *il Crucifero*; under the Tropic of Cancer we saw them very low: on directing an astronomical instrument called the ^b *Balestra* (Balestriglia) to the northernmost star, and finding it bear south, we were assured it must be in the centre of the antarctic pole. We observed the same constellation very high from the island of *San Thomè*; and remarked, that the moon after rain forms during the night a ^c Rainbow similar to what

^a Already mentioned by *Cada Mosto* (page 269.). This Constellation is alluded to by *Camens* (Mickle's *Lusiad*, 8vo. vol. 2. p. 51.).

"While nightly thus the lonely Seas we brave
Another Pole Star rises o'er the Wave;
Full to the South a shining Cross appears;
Our heaving breasts the blissful Omen cheers:
Seven radiant Stars compose the hallow'd Sign
That rose still higher o'er the wavy brine."

DANTE also in his *Purgatorio*, when speaking of the four Cardinal Virtues, has the following lines; which *Voltaire*, in one of his flights, considered as prophetic of the future progress of Maritime Discovery:

*I mi volsi a man destra, e posì mente
All' altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle
Non visse mai, fuor ch' alla prima gente.*

^b The Venetian term for the Cross-Staff, or Fore-Staff.

^c The LUNAR RAINBOW thus noticed by the *Portuguese Pilot*, is a rare phenomenon. Aristotle declares that he was the first person who observed it, and adds, 'it is never seen but at the time of the full moon.' In the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1783 we have an account of three observed in one year, and all in the same place; communicated in two letters by *Maraduke Tunstall, Esq.* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1788 there is also a description of one. Another and beautiful phenomenon, though seldom noticed by navigators, is the MARINE RAINBOW, which may be sometimes observed in an agitated sea. It is occasioned by the wind sweeping part of the waves, and carrying them into the air; as the water descends the Sun's rays falling upon them are refracted, and the colours of the Bow appear as in a common

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what the sun produces in the day, except that the colours are
 nebulous. Ch. II. § 2.
Alphonso the fifth.

" Respecting the increase and decrease of the Sea, I have to add, that on leaving the Straits of Gibraltar I did not perceive any sensible change; but having passed the tropic, as we approached *Rio Grande*, which lies eleven degrees on this side the equinoctial, I observed a material ^d increase at the mouth of that river, and that the Tide in some places was the same as on the Coast of Portugal. The rise of the tide at the island of *San Thomè* is nearly the same as that at Venice.

" The Island of *San Thomè*, discovered upwards of ^e eighty years ago by some Captains in the royal navy, was entirely unknown to the ancients: it is situated under the equinoctial; its horizon passes between the arctic and antarctic poles; and its day and night are always equal. The Star of the arctic pole is there invisible, but the *Guardiani* are in some degree perceived to revolve, and the constellation *il Cruifero* appears very high in the heavens. To the eastward

St. Thomas,
 Principe, and
 Annobon.

mon shower. These Marine Bows are also seen when a vessel is standing on with a press of sail, and dashing the waves around her; they also are occasioned by the breaking of the sea upon rocks. They sometimes appear to the number of twenty or thirty together: the concave side is always turned upwards, and the colours are not so bright as in the common bow.

^d *M. Daffis* of Paris, in a work long since published, has been at great pains to prove that THE SEA has a general motion independent of Winds and Tides; of more consequence in Navigation than is usually supposed. He affirms that this motion is from East to West, inclining toward the North, when the Sun is on the north side of the equinoctial, but toward the South when he is on the south side of it. *Philos. Trans.* No. 135. (*Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary.*)

^e (*Ramusio*, F. 117. E.) The Pilot seems to support the opinion which leads the Portuguese to the equinoctial line before the death of Henry Duke of Viseo. He afterwards informs us that his first Voyage to *St. Thomas* was in the year 1520, and that he made in all five Voyages. If therefore the date of his present Voyage is even fixed to 1530, and eighty years are deducted, it carries us back to 1460, nearly three years before the death of the Prince.

^f A glance at the Chart (3.) will shew, in this and other instances, how far the accuracy of the most experienced navigators of that age could be depended on: the distance of *il Principe* is also too great, not being more than seventy miles.

BOOK
I.

ward of *San Thomè*, at the distance of one hundred and twenty miles, lies a small island called *il Principe* which is inhabited and cultivated. Its produce of sugar forms the revenue of the king's eldest son, and from this circumstance the name was given. To the west south-west is another uninhabited island, called *Anobon*: its rocky coast abounds in fish, and is often resorted to on that account by the inhabitants of *San Thomè*, whence it is distant about forty leagues, two degrees from the line towards the antarctic pole. Quantities of Crocodiles and venomous serpents are found at *Anobon*.

"The island of *San Thomè* when first discovered, was an entire forest consisting of a variety of trees, grown quite straight to a prodigious height; though barren, they were remarkable for their verdure: none of their branches spread out, as with us, at a distance from the trunk, but were all drawn up by its side. When the settlers had cut down a great part of this forest, they built the principal town called *Poucoasan* which enjoyed the benefit of an excellent harbour.

Sugar Trade.

"The chief support of the inhabitants arises from their sugars; which they yearly barter to the merchants who frequent their mart for casks of ^o flour, Spanish wines, oil, cheese, shoe-leather, swords, beads, a variety of drinking Cups, and other articles, besides shells or *Buzios*, used by the *Ethiopians* for money. If it were not for the arrival of these Ships which thus bring provisions, the white merchants who reside on the island would not be able to live; since they cannot exist on the same food which supports the negroes. The inhabitants procure these slaves, whom they employ in the sugar plantations, from the coast of *Guinea*, *Benin*, and *Mani-congo*; some rich individuals possess from one hundred and fifty, to three hundred:

^o Farine in botte, et Vini di Spagna, Olio, Formaggi, Corami per scarpe, Spade, Coppe di Vetro, Pater Nostri, et alcune sorte de Conchiglie, che in Italia chiamano porcellette piccoline bianche, et noi chiamiamo Buzios, che si adoperano in l'Ethiopia per moneta. (Ramusio, vol. 1. F. 117. A.)

hundred: they work every day in the week, excepting Saturdays, Ch. II. § 2. when they are allowed to cultivate different ^{Alphonso the fifth.} vegetables for their own consumption; that come to perfection in a few days, but their seed is of no value. The soil of *San Thomè* consists of a red and yellow earth, forming a rich clay-marl: owing to the great dews which fall every night it is not dried into dust, but continues soft and waxy, and favourable to vegetation: such is the luxuriance of the soil, that if the negroes at any time leave a spot uncultivated, trees immediately spring up, and in a few days increase to a degree that with us would require as many months. These the slaves cut down and burn, and with the ashes manure the land for the sugar canes, which if planted in January are cut in June, or if in the next month, are ripe in July; and in like manner through every month of the year: for the season is not bad even in the months of March and September, although the sun is vertical; because the great rains then set in with cloudy and thick weather, which proves of infinite service to the sugar plantations. *San Thomè* produces yearly more than an hundred and fifty thousand *arrobes* of ¹ sugar, and each *arrobe* contains thirty-one of our pounds.

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² Il miglio Zaburo, et le radici di Iyname; et molte Herbe Domestiche, cio è latughe, cauoli, ravanani, biste, petroselinoli. (Ramusio, ibid.)

³ The remainder of this early and curious account of the Sugar Trade before it was transferred to the West India islands, is best given in *Ramusio's* own words. (F. 117. B.). *Questo conto si truove dalla decima, che si paga al re nostro, della quale per l'ordinario si causa da duodici in quattordici mila arrobe: et infiniti sono gli che non la pagano integra: vi sono da 60. ingegni fabbricati, oue corre l'acqua, con la quale macinano la canna, et la struccano, et il succo buttato in caldiere gradissime, dopoi bollito buttano in le forme pani di zucchero di quindici et venti libre: et con la cenere lo purgano, che appresso di voi vi adoperano la creta tamisata: in molti luochi dell' isola che non vi è acqua, fanno far questo officio alli negri con le braccia: et anco con caualli. La canna struccata buttano a porci, che infiniti ne tengono quali non mangiando altro che le dette canne, se ingrassano oltra misura: et è la loro carne così delicata et sana, che la si pedisce meglio di quella di gallina: et per questo sempre ne sogliono dare alli ammalati.*

Hanno ciodotti molti mastri dell' Isola di Madera per far li Zuccheri piu bianchi et piu duri: et cō ogni diligenza che vi si usi, nō li possono fare: la causa dicono essere prima la terra grassissima, et tãto

BOOK
I.

They are obliged to ship their sugars soon as the merchant vessels arrive; if they attempted to keep them for two or three years, the sugars would become liquid. At present not above two thirds of the island is cultivated with Canes; but when any merchant arrives from *Spain, Portugal*, or any other nation, for the purpose of becoming a planter, the king's factor assigns him as much land as he can cultivate, at a moderate price.

"The Root which among the *Indians* of the Spanish islands is called *Batata*, is known to the negroes of *San Thomè* by the term *Igname*: when roasted under ashes, or boiled, it forms their principal food. Of the different sorts produced in the island, the *Igname Cicorero* is preferred by the merchant vessels, who on their return never fail to purchase a large quantity, as it is a root that keeps well at sea. The negroes plant great quantities purposely for the use of the ships.

"The Island of *San Thomè* is distinguished by an high mountain rising in the centre, whose sides are thickly covered with trees remarkable for their height, straightness, and verdure; a perpetual cloud
rests

morbida, che 'l Zuccherò sente di qlla morbidezza, come appresso noi il vino nato in terra grassa sente di quel sapore. La seconda è l'aire ch' è sopra di detta Isola, qual non asciuga li Zuccheri cauati dalle forme, perciocchè il sole sia dove si vuole, n' è caldo et secco come qui da noi in villa di Codi, ma sopra detta isola è caldo et humido, et così è sempre: eccetto il mese di Giugno, Luglio, et Agosto, che li venti che vengono dalla parte dell' Ethiopia sono asciutti et freschi: ma ne anche questi sono bastanti per asciugarlo, et però li lavoratori di Zuccherò hanno pensato un modo per asciugarlo, qual è qsto. Fanno un coperto alto de tavole come qui da noi una traza di villa, tutto serrato diligentemente di sopra et dalla banda, senza finestre cò la porta sola; et in quello vi fanno poi un palco alto da terra sei piedi con travi lontani un dall' altro 4 piedi, et sopra quelli vanno distendendo tavole, nellequali vi collocano li pani di Zuccherò; sotto veramente detto palco vi mettono alcuni pezzi di arbori grossi secchi, quali affocati non fanno fiamma, ne fulmo, ma si vanno consumando a modo di carboni, et in questo modo asciugano li Zuccheri come in una stufa laquali stongo in luochi tutti serati e tavole, che non vi entra punto l'aire, et come vengono le navi subito gli vendono, perche se li volessero tenir due anni ò tre, si liquefariano.

A variety of Esculent Roots are in the present day strangely neglected by navigators; among which the *Parship*, and the *Jerusalem Artichoke*, as being very nutritive, and proof against all weathers, deserve to be noticed.

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rests on the summit of this mountain, and the moisture that issues from this cloud, falling on the leaves and stems of the above grove, is carried in streams to different parts of the island. A large but shallow rivulet of clear water flows through the city of *Pouoafan*, which the inhabitants value for its medicinal quality, and are of opinion, that but for the rivulet, and the numerous springs in *San Thomè*, the island could not be inhabited. The Trees are chiefly wild and barren; some olive, peach, and almond, were planted by settlers from Spain, but though they flourished and rose to a great height, they never bore fruit: this happens with all the sorts that produce kernels. The Cocoa Palm Tree was brought hither from *Ethiopia*.

Ch. II. § 2.
Alphonso de Albuquerque

"In March, and September, the sky is constantly overcast with incessant rain; and the inhabitants consider these months as their winter. May, June, July, and August, are called *Mesi di Vento*; during them the south, south-east, and south-west, which are the usual winds, prevail: the island is sheltered by the continent from the north-east, north, and north-west winds. The summer months are December, January, and February, when the heat is insufferable, and a constant vapour arising, renders the atmosphere so damp, that the air feels like the steam of boiling water."

The Pilot informs us that his first voyage to *San Thomè* was in the year 1520, since which he had made four voyages. Notwithstanding repeated attempts to cultivate Wheat in the Island, he could never succeed, though he made the experiment in different seasons of the year: the ear would never fill, but always ran to straw; which was attributed to the richness of the soil. The shores of *San Thomè* are described as abounding with every kind of fish; during the months of June and July the sort called *le chieppe*, are particularly delicate: between the island, and the continent of Africa, both large

¹ Ramusio, F. 118. B.

² Ibid. F. 119. F.

BOOK
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large and small Whales appeared in prodigious numbers. The Journal of this modest and ingenious navigator is thus concluded: "*Se la Signoria vostra non restara satisfatta di questa mia mal composta, et confusa informatione, ne dia colpa a l'esser io buono di mare, et non pratico di scriuere; et a lei mi raccomando, et bacio le mani.*"

The uncertainty that exists respecting the actual date when the island of *St. Thomas* was first discovered, induced me to give the above abstract of the Journal of a Portuguese pilot, who made his first voyage thither at the close of Emanuel's reign. Though his report does not afford any new information relative to the progress of discovery, it still renders us acquainted with the professional skill of the Portuguese pilots at no great distance from the periods we have considered; and it moreover describes the Course they kept in their Voyages to that part of the coast of Africa, which was explored before the accession of Alphonso's successor. We also perceive that their ships, even when the pilot wrote, continued to keep within sight of land; and that a more daring navigation, though known, was not generally followed: *Queste nostre navi si tengono sempre a vista della costa, ma lontane da terra offeruando la declination del ^o sole.* The crossing of the Line was still considered as a curious event; and we observe with pleasure, that the Pilot, and those navigators whose notes he professed to copy, were not only anxious to point out the vegetables so essential to the health of seamen that the Coast produced, but also examined the nature of its soil with attention, and even made some agricultural experiments in the Island. The reader I trust will therefore pardon me for this digression in order to introduce a tract from *Ramusio*, which had not appeared in our language.

The

* The Veronese Gentleman, *Hieronimo Fracastoro*, mentioned by the Pilot at the beginning of the Journal, was one of the greatest men in the age of Leo the tenth, and was esteemed the Virgil of Modern Italy.

• See preceding page 303, and *Ramusio* F. 116. C.

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The *Voyage of Pedro de Cintra*, a Portuguese Captain, who was sent with two armed caravellas to the Coast of Africa, in the next place claims our attention and carries us back to the period of history we had left: the narrative, though short, contains some valuable information respecting the progress of discovery immediately after the death of the Duke of Viseo; and was drawn up by *Cada Mosto* at *Lagos* from the report of a young Portuguese, who had been his secretary, and accompanied *de Cintra*. *Faria y Sousa* places this voyage in the year previous to the demise of Duke Henry, (1462.) But as this prince's death is mentioned in the narrative, probably the Squadron under *de Cintra* left *Lagos* in that year, and did not come back until the above melancholy event had taken place. *Cada Mosto* does not appear to have continued long in Portugal after the loss of his noble patron, but to have returned to *Venice* in the same year; having first written an account of the following voyage, as a sort of close to the Discoveries that had been made under the auspices of this prince, and as a tribute to his memory.

The report by the secretary to *Cada Mosto* was in brief as follows. Beginning from the *Rio Grande* which the Venetian had previously discovered, he continues to describe their progress on the Coast

Pedro de
Cintra.

* Ramusio, vol. 1. F. 110. *La Navigation del Capitan Pietro di Sintra*. The heads of sections are:

1. *Del Rio di Bessegur, et d'un luoco a cui posero nome Capo di Verga, et della qualità di quella costa.*
2. *D'un luoco detto Capo di Sagres, della fede, costumi, vivere, et vestire, et del modo del volgare di quel paese.*
3. *Del rio di San Vicenzo, et rio Verde, et Capo Lido: d'una gran montagna, et di tre isole dette le Saluense.*
4. *Del fiume rosso, Capo Rosso, et isola rossa del rio di Santa Maria della Neve, dell' isola di scanni, del capo di sant' Ana, et qualità di quella costa.*
5. *Del fiume dell Palme, et rio de fiumi, et perche è così detto. Del Capo di Monte, et Capo cortese, ouer misurato. Del bosco ouer arboreto di santa Maria; et de costumi di quei Negri.*

See also *Ashley's Collection* (vol. 1. p. 597.) where an excellent translation of this Voyage is given by the Editor Mr. John Green.

† See page 284.

BOOK I. Coast to a beautiful grove beyond *Cape Misurado*, or *Mensurado*, called *il Arboredo di Santa Maria*.

"Having in the first place reached the large Islands already mentioned near the mouth of the *Rio Grande*, we landed on one of them, and endeavoured without success to procure information from its negro inhabitants: we then proceeded up the country, without meeting any object worthy of attention; and returning to our caravellas, sailed along the Coast until we came to the mouth of a large river, which we reckoned to be about three or four miles wide, and forty miles distant from the *Rio Grande*."—My secretary added that the river was called *il rio di Befegue*, from the name of a signor who lived near its entrance. "Proceeding onward we opened a Promontory, to which we gave the name of *Capo di Verga*. All the coast

* By others *Rio de Nunbo Triflao*.

* The Coast between *Rio Grande* and *Sierra Leone*, is thus described by Barbot, (Churchill's Collection, vol. 5. p. 93.) "This Tract of Land is frequented by none but the Portuguese of *Cachoe*, and other adjacent Colonies of that nation in *Nigritia*, who drive a Coasting trade thither in sloops and barks, commencing at *Osnalus*, south of *Rio Grande*.—Thence they proceed to *Cerro de Guispar Lopes*; *Rio de Nunbo Triflao*; *Terra de Benar*, which is a large bay; *Cabo Verga*; *Os tres Morros*; *Rio das Pedras*, and *Rio de Carpoite*, separated only by a cape, with some Islands at their entrance; *Rio de Caduche*, *Pougama*, and *Rio Caluma*; these three last lose themselves in a large bay, W. S. W. from which, off at sea, lie the four Islands called *Idolos*; *Ponta de Coaco*, *Mota de Tanao*, *Arafa*, and *Rio Primeiro*, fall into one Bay: to the north point of this bay of *Barra de Baere*, is a long narrow Island, lying with the Coast from *Mata de Tanao*, which on coming from the N. W. serves for a good land mark. Next follow *Barra de Coin*, opposite to which also is a long narrow Island off at sea; then *Rio de Cafes*, or *Cafes*, with another River to the south-east without a name, both of them running out into a deep bay; on the south point of which, lies the Island *dos Papagayos* or parrots; and farther again to the southward, *Cape Paulon*, which is the northern head of the bay of *Sierra Leone*, and the farthest extent southward of the Coast of *Nigritia*.

"The Sea Coast from *Cape Verga* lies S. E. by E. somewhat inclining to the E. as far as *Cape Tagrin*, cut by several Rivers which fall into the Ocean, the banks whereof are shaded with orange and lemon trees. Most of the Rivers are deep and navigable, but their Streams very rapid. The inland country is very mountainous.

"*RIO DAS PEDRAS* to the southward of *Cape Verga*, glides down from a great way up the country, divided into several branches, forming divers Islands, which the natives call *Kagakais*, where the Portuguese have a colony, secured by a little fort, called St. Philip. *Rio das Cafes*

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coast which we had passed from the above river was very hilly Ch. II. § 2.
 covered with large and beautiful trees, whose foliage added greatly to Although the Affr.
 the prospect in the offing.

"About eighty miles from *Capo Verga*, our attention was directed towards another Cape which appeared to be the highest we had yet seen, and presented in the midst of its summit a sharp point like a diamond; it was entirely covered with trees of the most luxuriant growth, and lively verdure. From a principle of grateful respect to the memory of the *Signor Infante Don Henry*, the name of his favourite retirement, near Cape St. Vincent, was given to this Cape; owing to this it has ever since been called by the Portuguese *il Capo di Sagres di Guinea*; two small uninhabited islands, entirely covered with the same beautiful foliage, are situated by this promontory.

"After a passage of forty miles along the Coast from *Cape Sagres*, Rio Vicente.
 the caravellas next reached the mouth of a river about four miles wide, which we called *Rio de San Vicente*; and then stretching five miles beyond came to a second, whose more extensive entrance
 received

or *Caspar*, and *Rio Tombafine* the least of the two, flow from the mountains of *Machamala*; which may be easily seen in clear weather at some leagues distance from the Coast, in sailing by, standing to the southward from cape *Lado*, or *Tagrin*. The four Islands, by the Portuguese called *ILHAS DOS IDOLAS*, by the natives *Veu uf vitay*, and by others *Tamara*, are at a small distance from the continent, near *Cape Camnekon*, or *SAGRES*. They are scarce to be discerned from the opposite Continent at N. E. by E.; but at N. N. E. they seem to be at a good distance, and all covered with wood. The largest of these islands lies exactly in nine degrees, forty minutes of north latitude, and is higher than any of the others. We sailed by them at about five English miles distance, for *Cape Tagrin*, founding all the way, and found fourteen, fifteen, and twenty fathom; uneven ground and ouzy, mixed with small shells. From the *Ilhas dos Idolos*, to aforesaid cape *Tagrin*, the course is mostly south, a small matter inclining to east.

"There is a tradition, that this Tract of land, from *Cape Verga*, to the north side of *Sierra Leona* river, was formerly subject to a king called *Fatima*. The Tide at sea, from *Cape Verde* to that of *Tagrin*, sets N. W. and S. E.

BOOK
I.

received the name of *Rio Verde*: both the Coast and inland country appeared to be very mountainous, though it afforded a good roadsted, and safe bottom. At the distance of twenty-four miles, we doubled another cape, and on account of the delightful view which the adjacent country presented, we gave it the name of '*Liedo*, or *Cape Cheerful*.

" From this *Cape Liedo*, or *allegro*, a large mountain extends its lofty ridge for about fifty miles along the Coast, covered with stately trees of a remarkable verdure; at the extremity of this nearly eight miles out to sea, were observed three small islands; the largest of which could not be more than twelve miles in circumference: to these we gave the general name of *Saluzzze*; and to the mountain that of '*Serra Liona*, from the noise like thunder

• Called afterwards *Cape Tagrin*. The northern promontory is called by Labat *Cape de la Vega*. Barbot describes it (p. 98.) as an hilly Point which runs out into the sea westward, much lower than the mountains of *Sierra Leona*; forming almost a peninsula, over which the blacks carry their canoes when they design to put to sea, as it saves them the trouble of rowing round from the Bay. ' This point (Cape Tagrin) lies exactly in eight degrees thirty minutes of north latitude according to our exact observation; contrary to all the *Dutch Maps*, which are faulty in this particular of latitudes all along the Coast of this part of *Guinea*; laying down all the coasts thirty degrees more northerly than they really are.' He then proceeds to give some Observations for the Navigation of the *Sierra Leona* River.

• According to Barbot (p. 96.) this Country derived its name from the roaring noise of the waves beating in stormy weather upon the rocks. *Sierra* in Spanish signifying a mountain, and *Leona*, a lioness. --- The long ridge called *Sierra Leona* is reckoned the highest of either *North* or *South Guinea*, except those of *Ambozes* in the Gulf, or Bight. There are so many Caves and Dens about these Mountains, that when a single gun is fired aboard a ship in the Bay, the echo is so often repeated, as to make it sound at a distance like the report of several guns. It was dreadful in thundery weather, thunder being here very frequent and severe. Hence the Portuguese call them *Montes Claros*, that is, mountains that have a clear echo.

" I cannot safely pretend to assign the limits of this Country of *Sierra Leona*. It will be sufficient to observe, that some Modern Geographers extend it to *Cape Verga* northward, making it border on the kingdom of *Melli* that way, and to depend on it; eastward to that of *Bitou*, which joins on the N. E. with that of *Mandinga*; southward to that of *Quejas*, *Carrodobou*, *Dogo* and *Conde*; and westward to the Atlantic."—It is called by the Moors *Bulombel*, or the large country, and *Bolmberre*, or good low land.—The reader will find a curious,

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thunder which incessantly proceeded from the clouds that covered its "summit.

Ch. II. § 2.

Alphonso the fifth.

"Sailing onwards beyond the coast *della montagna Liona*, a low country succeeds, with a shore lined with sand banks extending far out to sea. When we had passed about thirty miles from the Mountain, there appeared another large river whose entrance was about three miles across; from the red colour of its water we named it *il fiume Rosso*, and the red cape beyond it * *Capo Rosso*: the same appellation was also given to a small uninhabited island about eight miles distant. The Star of the North Pole appeared from this place the height of a man above the sea.

"On leaving *Cape Rosso* a gulf is formed by the sea; the centre of it is intersected by a river, which on account of the day it was first seen, received the name of *Rio di santa Maria della neve*, or the *Snow*; off the point on the other side of this river was a small island. The Gulf itself was full of sand banks that extended

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curious, and perhaps the best account of Sierra Leona in PURCHAS (vol. 1. p. 414.) *Remembrances touching Sierra Leona in August 1607, taken out of the large journal of William Fitch merchant.* See also in *Afley's Collection*, vol. 2. a description of Sierra Leona by Villault in 1666 (P. 308.) and an abstract of Labat's account in 1728. (Ibid. P. 321.)

* It is singular that *Cada Messo's* secretary does not mention the river of Sierra Leona, or *Mitomba* as it is called for about thirty leagues, though its entrance is very broad; extending according to *Finch*, in *Purchas*, to three leagues: it is by him denominated *The Bay of Sierra Leona*.

† This seems to be, what has since been called *Cape Chilling*, or *Shilling*, the point where the hills of *Sierra Leona* terminate. The cape is low and full of trees, and four or five leagues off makes like an island.

‡ The depth of water in the Bay, or *Angra de St. Anna*, given by *Barbot* (P. 106.) is five, six, seven, and eight fathoms mud. The Portuguese word *Forno* signifies a gulph. Here are four rivers running out into the sea, one of which, the *Rio Banque*, is navigable for large ships; the three others are not much frequented, the country about being a thick forest, with elephants, buffaloes, &c., and crocodiles near the water's edge. The banks of these Rivers are hemmed in with Mangrove-trees, on which stick abundance of oysters.

§ Take heed not to entangle yourself among the *Baixos de St. Anna*, (p. 105.) for they are dangerous shoals, and you may be drove on the small Islands by dead calms, which are frequent

here.

BOOK
1.

ten or twelve miles along the coast, where the sea breaks violently upon them and has a strong current both in ebbing, and flowing: from these Sand Banks we gave the name of *Scanni* to the above Islet. A large Cape, situated at the distance of twenty-four miles from this islet, we called from the day on which it was seen, *Capo di Sant' Anna*; the intermediate Coast is shelving, and affords no depth of water.

"Seventy miles beyond the *Capo di Sant' Anna*, we passed the mouth of another river, and on account of the number of palm trees that appeared, we assigned it the name of *il fiume delle Palme*; its entrance, though wide, is rendered dangerous by an infinity of sand banks, and shoals. Proceeding along the coast, we found it covered with smoke made by the inhabitants: however, when we had nearly advanced to the distance of seventy miles, we discerned a small river, and agreed to call it *il Rio de fiume*, or Smoke River. We next reached a Cape stretching out far to sea, and were induced from the mountain that backed it, to christen it *il Capo del monte*."—The caravellas still continued to advance: after a run of sixty miles they doubled another cape small and low; this also being backed by high ground, though not so elevated as the other, they gave it the name of *il Capo cortese, ò misurado*. During the night, after their arrival, they observed fires made among the trees by the negro inhabitants;

here. Small Ships, coming out from *Sierra Leona*, and bound to the south, easily pass over the shoals, where there is generally five or six fathom water, and good anchoring every where. At my last trip, I spoke with a master of an English vessel, in sight of *Rio das Galinhas*, who had passed over the *Baixas* in ten days time; and another English master I met afterwards at *Rio Sefro*, told me, he had spent five weeks in passing over them. Wherefore I think it not very prudent to carry a large ship over, nor to sail at too great a distance from them; whether you come directly from *Europe*, or only from *Cape Verde*, or from the River of *Sierra Leona*; but range the said Shoals, as near as you can guess practicable: for though it should happen you were carried on them, you might easily get from them again with a little labour and loss of time, either by anchoring on them, when the wind fails, or by towing the ship with boats, if the Tide be not too strong; observing when you sail over, to have the Pinnace rowing a-head of the ship, and sounding continually."

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habitants; who now for the first time beheld the floating objects that glided upon their coast. Ch. II. § 2.
Alphonso the fifth.

The Voyage of *Pedro di Cintra* terminated at the distance of about sixteen miles from this *Cape Cortese*; at that part of the Coast where a large and extensive wood, which skirted the water's edge with a striking verdure, attracted the attention of the navigators and received from them the name of *Arboredo di Santa Maria*; behind this the caravellas anchored, and were soon visited by some *almadiaz* from the shore: they were addressed by the Portuguese interpreters, but could not understand them. Three of the negroes came on board, one of whom was carried to *Lagos*, the OMAI of that age. The king received him with humane attention, and eagerly sought for an African who might serve as an interpreter. At length a negro was able to understand the stranger, though in a language that was foreign to both.

What intelligence, adds *Cada Mosto*, the king received was kept a state secret, except, *che l'haueua detto fra l'altre cose trouarsi nel suo paese Alicorni * vini*. This African was entertained in Portugal some months by the king, who honoured him with innumerable marks of favour, and on his return a caravella was fitted out to convey him to his country; to which no other ship had ever failed, before Cada Mosto left Portugal.

The Voyages of *Cada Mosto*, and *Pedro de Cintra*, or *Sintra*, as written by *Ramusio*, are the only ones during *Alphonso's* reign of which any regular narrative has survived: beside these we possess only some detached facts in the Portuguese historians, that faintly mark the uncertain progress of this monarch's navigators to *Cabo Catilina*, or *St. Catherine*. A considerable advance had therefore been made since the death of DUKE HENRY, comprehending the whole of the Coast and Gulf of Guinea, with the adjacent islands,

to

* Ramusio Folio 111. C.

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to the northern boundary of the great kingdom of *Congo*. The Portuguese had thus advanced to within $32^{\circ} 30'$ or about six hundred and fifty marine leagues of the *Cape of Good Hope*; when on the twenty-eighth of August, 1481, ALPHONSO was seized with the plague at Cintra, and died in the forty-ninth year of his age and forty-third of his reign, universally regretted.

Character.

His character is worthy of our notice: for it displayed remarkable temperance, unaccompanied with any severity of demeanour; and an affability of manners proceeding from the benignity of his disposition. Fond of literature he promoted its independence as became the munificent patron of ^a learned men, and the great encourager of the polite arts: his Confessor was the celebrated Rabbi *Abrabanel*, or *Auravenel*, born at Lisbon, the learned author of several dissertations. ALPHONSO also invited an eminent Italian named *Jusse* to his court, whom he created a bishop and employed to write an history of Portugal. The sudden death of this accomplished foreigner prevented the appearance of an invaluable work, which would probably have contained a minute account of the Journals of the earliest Portuguese navigators; would have preserved many interesting particulars relative to the first patron of discovery Henry Duke of Viseo; and would also have rescued the history of the

^a During this Reign flourished the celebrated Astronomer JOHN MULLER, commonly called *Regiomontanus*. He was born at *Koningberg*, or *Mons Regius*, whence came his name, in *Franconia* during the year 1436, and died at *Rome* when only forty years of age, 1476. He studied under the famous professor *Purbach* at Vienna. His Patron was the cardinal *Bessarion*. REGIOMONTANUS opened a printing house at Noremberg, where, as Dr. *Hutton* informs us, he put to press the *New Theories* of *Purbach*, and the *Astronomicon* of *Menlius*; as also two works of his own, the *New Calendar*, and his *Ephemerides*—of which he thus speaks: *The Ephemerides, which they vulgarly call an almanac for thirty years; where you may every day see the true motion of all the Planets, of the Moon's nodes, with the aspects of the Moon to the Sun and Planets, the Eclipses of the Luminaries; and in the fronts of the pages are marked the Latitudes.* REGIOMONTANUS acquired great reputation by publishing an abridgement of *Ptolemy's Almagest* in Latin, which he had begun with *Purbach*. He was also one of the first who made astronomical observations relative to Comets: his life is written by *Gassendi*.

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CONCLUSION OF ALPHONSO's REIGN.

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the latter years of his invaluable life, from the obscurity in which they are at present enveloped.

Ch. II. § 2.

John the second.

The large form of *Alphonso* bespoke the Chief of an enterprising nation; his expressive countenance was shaded with a luxuriance of dark brown hair; and the military aspect of the monarch is described as being heightened by a long and thick beard. Among the portraits inserted in *Faria y Sousa's* epitome of the Portuguese history, a coarse, though spirited engraving of this monarch, seems to have personified the glowing ideas of Camoens:

" His ^b might resistless prostrate Afric own'd,
Beneath his yoke the Mauritians groan'd;
And still they groan beneath the Lusian sway.
'Twas his in victor pomp to bare away
The golden apples from Hesperia's shore,
Which but the son of Jove had snatch'd before.
The palm and laurel round his temples bound,
Display'd his triumphs on the Moorish ground;
When proud Arzilla's strength, Alcazer's towers,
And Tingia, boastful of her numerous powers,
Beheld their adamantine walls o'erturned,
Their ramparts levell'd, and their temples burn'd.
Great was the day: the meanest sword that fought
Beneath the Lusian flag such wonders wrought
As from the muse might challenge endless fame,
Though low their station, and untold their name."

JOHN THE SECOND during his Father's absence in France, had displayed such a capacity and vigour of mind, that the prelates and principal nobility of the kingdom, on receiving letters from their dejected Sovereign expressive of a wish to abdicate, had caused the

John the
second.

1477, 1495.

^b Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. 2. p. 26.

* ALPHONSO in a fit of melancholy, on finding himself the dupe of the French king, had actually left *Rouen* with his chaplain *Stephen Martinez*, two pages, and two servants; resolving

BOOK
1.

the son to be proclaimed on the tenth of November 1477. But in the interim, the pilgrimage of *Alphonso* had been prevented by the immediate search which Louis ordered to be made: the royal fugitive was soon discovered by *Robinet de Beuf*, a Norman gentleman; and yielding to the anxious entreaties of the noblemen who had attended him from Portugal, the abdicated monarch accepted of a convoy from Louis, and returned unexpectedly to *Lisbon*. The squadron entered the *Tagus* on the fifteenth of November, only a few days after the accession of the son; who happened, at the very instant of its arrival, to be walking near that river attended by the *Duke of Bragança*, and the Archbishop of Lisbon. What a moment of trial for youth and ambition. *In what manner*, exclaimed the Prince, *shall I receive Alphonso?* The *Duke of Bragança* perceived the conflict that had arisen between a love of power, and a sense of duty; and by the firmness of his answer preserved the honour of his sovereign—*Receive him, Sire, as your Father, and your King!* The Prince made no reply; for some minutes a profound silence was observed; he then took up a stone, and threw it with all his force on the surface of the ^d river: at length the ebullition of his passions subsided, and all the tenderness of the son returned. The subsequent meeting was highly creditable unto both. *Alphonso* wished only to retain the title of King of *Algarve*; but was obliged to yield to the importunity of his illustrious offspring and to reassume the crown of his ancestors.

The Portuguese historians have preserved other anecdotes that illustrate the character of the successor of *Alphonso*, and justify the surnames of *Great*, and *Perfect*, which *JOHN* received. A sycophant, who

to retire into the Holy Land, and entirely seclude himself from the world. In consequence of this intention he dispatched letters to his son, commanding him to ascend the vacant throne; and also to the nobility, requiring their allegiance.

^d Le Quien, vol. 1. p. 477. Faria y Sousa.

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who had rendered himself useful to the young prince and been the ready minister of intemperate pleasure; after his accession to the throne presented a paper which contained the written promise of his sovereign to make him a *Count*. The young monarch was conscious of the indignity thus offered to his character; in agitation he perused the testimony of his rashness; and fixing a stern look on the deluder of his inexperience, tore in pieces the record of his folly: *I will forget*, said he, *that such a paper ever existed*. Adding, after a momentary pause, *They who corrupt the minds of young princes, and by becoming instruments of their folly extract promises that ought not to be observed, should consider it as a favour that they are not brought to punishment*. To a mercenary and indolent judge the king observed, *Be on your guard Friend, for I hear that your hands are kept open and your doors closed*. Nor was this monarch alone attentive to the character and conduct of those persons by whom the executive government of the laws was administered; the power of the nobility, which had too long baffled the even administration of justice, was now resolutely abated, and their exorbitant privileges and jurisdictions examined.—Thus the first measures that were adopted by *John the Second*, when in his twenty-seventh year (1481) he again ascended the throne, bespoke that zeal for liberty which calls forth all the enterprise of the naval profession; and the whole energy of his mind was at the same time directed to promote the maritime glory of his kingdom, and to extend the progress of discovery by an uniform and liberal support.

The success which *Fernando Gomez* experienced in the improvement of the *Guinea Trade*, and the importation of gold from the Port of *Mina*, induced JOHN whose revenue as Infante of Portu-

Ch. II. § 2.

*John the second.*Settlement
of St. George
del Mina.

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T t

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I.

1481.

gal had been derived from this source, to pay his first attention to so valuable a branch of commerce. He accordingly made the necessary preparation to construct a Fort, and place of worship on the newly discovered Coast: it was in vain that a spirit of opposition strove to heighten the dangers of the navigation, and the insalubrity of the soil; the devout monarch replied, *that if one African was thus converted to the Faith, the threatening obstacles would easily be surmounted.* The requisite materials from the stones of the foundation to the very tiles of the roof, were accordingly shipped on board a squadron consisting of ten caravellas, and two transports; which carried five hundred soldiers and one hundred workmen. *Don Diego d'Azambuja* an officer of great experience was appointed to the command, and sailed on the eleventh of ¹ December 1481, with the following captains under him. *Gonçalez da Fonseca, Ruy d'Oliveira, Juan Rodrigues Gante, Juan Afonso, Diego Rodrigues Inglez, Bartholomew Diaz, Pedro d'Evora, and Gomez Aires*, an attendant on *PEDRO* King of Arragon: the other officers were all noble, and of the king's household. *Pedro de Cintra*, and *Fernam d'Afonso*, commanded the transports; and a small vessel attended to act as cutter to the squadron. On the 19th of January, 1482, they reached their destination at an African village called *Aldea*, where they found *Juan Bernardo* who had sailed to the Coast for gold.

Bernardo was immediately deputed to acquaint the negro chief *Camarançã* with their arrival, and to impress on his mind a due sense of the rank and character of the officers. Early on the ensuing morning the Portuguese commodore landed with his followers, who had weapons concealed in case of resistance. The cavalcade proceeded without molestation to a large tree, at no great distance from the village

Aldea,

¹ De Barros. (Faria y Sousa.) *Hackluyt* gives a short account of the events in this reign (vol. 1. book ii. chap. 1. sect. 3.).

² *Lafitau Découvertes des Portugais.*

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Aldea, as the most desirable situation for their intended fortrefs; the royal arms were immediately displayed upon the tree, and an altar being raised beneath, the whole company proceeded to join in the first mass that was celebrated in Guinea. The scene possessed a solemn grandeur: their prayers were offered for the conversion of the idolatrous natives; and that the Church about to be founded might continue for ever. The memorable day on which this ceremony was performed, being sacred to *St. Sebastien*, gave a name to the valley in which they had assembled.

Ch. II. § 2.
John the second.

Camaraça the African chief approached with a numerous train of attendants. *Don Diego*, who was sumptuously dressed with a collar of gold richly ornamented, prepared to receive him on an elevated seat with his retinue drawn up so as to form an avenue in front. The procession of *Camaraça* resembled those of the various South Sea Islanders, as described by Captain Cook; the negroes like them were armed with spears, shields, bows, and arrows, and the heads of their warriors were covered with a sort of helmet made of skins, thickly studded with the teeth of fish, in order to strike beholders with terror. The subordinate Chiefs not only wore chains of Gold, but displayed ornaments of the same precious metal on their heads and beards.

When the various pledges of reciprocal confidence and respect had been interchanged, *D'Azambuja*, by means of his interpreter, delivered the purport of his embassy; employing every argument he could devise, to procure the friendship of *Camaraça*, and to render him sensible of the power of the king of Portugal.

The African Chief listened with respectful silence: his eyes, which had been fixed on the countenance of *Azambuja* during the whole of his speech, were at length withdrawn; and looking on the ground, he seemed to weigh with attention the arguments he had heard advanced. His guarded and able reply sufficiently

T t 2

proves,

BOOK
1.Speech of
Camaranga.

proves, that nothing but their abject state of slavery makes the African inferior to Europeans. *I am not insensible to the high honour, which your great master the Chief of Portugal has this day conferred upon me. His friendship I have always endeavoured to merit by the strictness of my dealing with the Portuguese, and by my constant exertions to procure an immediate lading for their Vessels. But never until this day did I observe such a difference in the appearance of his subjects: they have hitherto been only meanly attired, were easily contented with the commodities they received; and so far from wishing to continue in this Country, were never happy until they could complete their lading, and return. Now I remark a strange difference. A great number richly dressed are anxious to be allowed to build houses, and to continue among us. Men of such eminence, conducted by a commander who from his own account seems to have descended from the God who made day, and night, can never bring themselves to endure the hardships of this climate; nor would they here be able to procure any of the luxuries that abound in their own country. The passions that are common to us all will therefore inevitably bring on disputes; and it is far preferable that both our nations should continue on the same footing they have hitherto done, allowing your ships to come and go as usual; the desire of seeing each other occasionally will preserve peace between us. The Sea and Land being always neighbours are continually at variance, and contending who shall give way; the Sea with great violence attempting to subdue the land, and the Land with equal obstinacy resolving to oppose the " Sea.*

The prudent distrust of Camaranga perplexed the astonished Portuguese: it required all the address of Azambuja to effect his purpose, and to prevent any unnecessary acts of violence. On the next morning, his workmen making preparations for the foundation of a fortress on the shore, observed a large rock, which lay very commodious

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* Principally from *de Barros, and Faria.*

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VOYAGE OF AZAMBUJA.

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for a quarry, and they accordingly began upon it; but this unfortunately happened to be a Negro God: the alarm was immediately given, and many of the workmen were wounded before the subjects of *Camarançã* could be pacified by a profusion of presents. At length, after the continued labour of twenty days, the Fort which received the name of *St. George*, assumed a respectable appearance. In the year 1486 *King John* endowed it with all the privileges of a city, in the church of which a solemn annual mass was performed to consecrate the memory of the illustrious HENRY DUKE OF VISEO. *Azambuja* continued ^b governor of *St. George del Mina* for two years and seven months, and was honoured on his return with particular marks of royal favour.

Ch. II. c. 2

J. in the second.

The king of Portugal, who now added to his other titles that of Lord of Guinea, in the next place proceeded to urge the progress of discovery; and with the hope of opening a passage by sea to the rich Spice Countries of *India*, entreated the different states of Christendom to support him in this great design. But an undertaking which threatened to change the route of eastern commerce, was invariably opposed by the established mercantile interest, and treated as chimerical.—*Portugal* was singularly fortunate, not only on account of its favourable situation in the Atlantic near to Africa, but in being detached from a league of mercenary traders, who had no desire that the hydrographical knowledge of Europeans should be enlarged. JOHN however was not to be subdued; he earnestly applied to the Pope for an increase of power, and obtained a grant of all the countries which his navigators should discover from west to east, with a strict prohibition against the future interference of any European power. His holiness also de-

New grant
from the
Pope.

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^b This station was afterwards occupied by the celebrated historian *De Barros*, who gives an account of its first settlement. Another MINE was afterwards discovered according to *Faria* on the coast of *Angola*, where the Portuguese built the city called *Cidade de São Paulo da Loanda*.

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I.

creed that if any Discoveries were made contrary to this prohibition they should equally belong to Portugal.

In viewing the political aspect of the European states at this period, with their respective connections, we observe, that an interchange of kind offices subsisted between that eminent citizen *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and *John the second*, who as Mr. Roscoe adds 'was deservedly dignified with the appellation of *Great*, and was desirous that the transactions of his life should be recorded by the pen of *Politiano*."

A design so extensive as that in which the king of Portugal was engaged, must have gratified the mind of *Lorenzo the magnificent*. Amidst their interchange of kind offices, the former must have derived considerable assistance from the information of the illustrious Florentine, whose name reflects additional lustre on the early patrons of maritime discovery. The astronomical acquirements of that age, as connected with navigation, were but few; and since *John the second* was desirous to advance the skill of his naval officers by introducing to their attention whatever improvements were made in other countries, it is probable that he might receive from Lorenzo an account of the celebrated *GNOMON*; an astronomical instrument

¹ This grant from the pope is noticed by *M. Robert Thorne merchant of London* in the communication made by him in 1527 at Seville, to *Doctor Ley*, ambassador from *Henry the eighth*, respecting the parts of the world discovered by the *Emperor Charles*, and the *King of Portugal*; as also respecting the passage to the *Moluccas* by the north. (*Hakluyt*, v. 1. p. 29.)

² Pol. Epist. Lib. X. Ep. 1, 2. Roscoe's *Lorenzo*, vol. 2. p. 59. ed. 8vo.

³ Mr. Roscoe thus describes it (vol. 2. page 153.): "This *GNOMON*, which has justly been denominated the noblest Astronomical Instrument in the world, was erected by *Toscanelli*, about the year 1460, for the purpose of determining the Solstices, and thereby ascertaining the feasts of the Romish church. It is fixed in the cupola of the Church of *S. Maria del fiore*, at the height of 277 Parisian feet. A small orifice transmits from that distance the rays of the sun to a marble flag, placed in the floor of the church. This instrument was, in the present century, corrected and improved at the instance of *M. de la Condamine*, who acknowledges it to be a striking proof of the capacity and extended view of its authors."—Some of an extraordinary height on the plains of *Delhi*, and of a very remote date, have been copied by Mr. *Daniel*.

ment preferred by many to the smaller Quadrants, and which had been constructed by *Paollo Toscanelli*. Perhaps, through the same channel, the *Geografia* of *Berlingheri* published with maps at Florence during the year 1480, was conveyed to Portugal. Ch. II. § 2.
John the second.

It had hitherto been customary for the Portuguese navigators to put up wooden Crosses in order to mark their respective discoveries; but by the king's order they now employed stone pillars about six feet in height, on which the arms of Portugal, the name of the reigning monarch, and of the navigator, with the date of the discovery, were inscribed both in the Latin and Portuguese languages. The first of these pillars was erected by *Diego Cam*, or *Cano*,^a who in 1484 passed *Cape Catherine* the last of king *Alphonso's* discoveries, and came to the mouth of a River called by the negroes ^{Congo discovered.} *Zayre*;

to

^a The discovery of *Congo* is detailed by the classic *OSORIUS*, (ed. 1571.) P. 101. and in the translation by *Gibbs* (vol. 1. p. 154.).

^b Mr. *Green* in *Astley*, (vol. 3. p. 235.) derives the origin of this name from the river and town of *Zayri*, eighteen or twenty leagues within its mouth. *Merolla* informs us that the Portuguese planted a Cross of fine marble, on one of the points at its mouth, which being afterwards found by the *Hollanders* was out of envy broken in pieces. So much remained of it when the author was there, as to enable him to trace the Portuguese arms on the ruins of the Base, with an inscription under them in Gothic characters not easy to be read. The same writer adds (p. 609.) 'The waters of this River being somewhat yellowish, are distinguished above thirty leagues at sea, and gave occasion to the Discovery of *Congo*: for *DON DIEGO CANO*, who was sent with a fleet for that purpose by *DON JOHN the second*, of Portugal, guessed at the nearness of the land, by the colour of the waters of the *Zaire*.'—The river *Zair*, says *Barbot*, (p. 483.) who gives a chart of it, falls into the sea through a mouth three leagues in breadth, (*Merolla* says ten) and with such force and abundance of water, that the Stream running out west north-west prevails upon the sea-water for above twelve leagues; and when you are out of sight of land the water appears black, and full of heaps of reeds, and other things, like little floating Islands; which the force of the stream, falling from the high cliffs, carries away into the ocean: so that ships, without a stiff gale, cannot sail up into the road within *Cape Padron*, on the south side of the river. From this great body branch out many small ones, to the great conveniency of the natives and foreign traders, who pass along them in boats. The Islands *Bomma* and *Quintalla* lie in the mouth of this River, and others higher up exceeding full of inhabitants. See an Abstract of a voyage to *Congo* river in 1700 by *James Barbot junior*. Ibid. (R. 497.); also,

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to which, on account of the veneration which JOHN entertained for St. George, he at first gave the name of that saint; it was also known by the title of ° *Rio Padron*, or the river with the *Stone Mark*, and has since been called the *Congo River* on account of its direction through that kingdom. *Diego* entered the River, and having proceeded to a little distance met with some inhabitants, yet could not procure any information although he had negroes on board as interpreters. At length understanding from their signs that they were governed by a king ° who resided at a distance from the Coast, *Diego* dispatched some of his own crew thither with an handsome present, conducted by a party of the natives, intending to wait their return; this however being protracted from unavoidable circumstances far beyond the stipulated time, he prepared to leave the river. The friendly behaviour of the natives won his confidence;

1. The Voyage of *Odoardo Lopez* a Portuguese to *Congo*, already noticed, drawn up by *Phillip Pigafetta* an Italian, and translated from the Italian at the request of Mr. Hakluyt, by *Abraham Hartwell*, first published at London in 1597. (Astley, vol. 3. p. 132.—Churchill's Collection, vol. 8. p. 519.) This was translated into Latin by *Augustin Cassiadore Reinius*, and placed by the *De Brys* at the head of their Collection of Voyages to the East.

2. An account of a curious Voyage to *Congo* in the years 1666, and 1667, by *Michael Angelo of Gattina* and *Denis de Carli* of *Piacenza*, *Capuchins*, translated from the Italian; and 3. A Voyage to *Congo*, and several other countries in southern *Africa*, by *Jerom Merolla da Sorrento*, *Capuchin*, 1682, translated from the Italian. (Astley, vol. 3. page 143. and 166. and Churchill's Collection, vol. 1. p. 555. and 595.)

° *Ogilby* in his *Africa* mentions that the southern promontory of this river was called *Cabo de Padron* by the Portuguese, who two hundred years before erected a small chapel, and set up a Cross there.

¶ At the city of *Banza*, or *San Salvador*, on the river *Vese*, a branch of the *Lalunda*. It stands about at hundred and fifty miles from the sea, upon a great and high mountain, consisting almost entirely of rock, with an iron mine on its summit. The Portuguese called it *Oiteiro* or the *Look out*. Notwithstanding its elevated situation *St. Salvador* abounds in springs. The city is built on an angle of the hill towards the east. From the western foot of the mountain to its top are five miles, by the common roads to the city. The air is cool and wholesome. A view of *St. Salvador* is given by *Dapper*, and copied by *Astley*. (Vol. 3. p. 245.)

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dence, and having received four on board, to be instructed in the Portuguese language, he made their countrymen comprehend that after fifteen moons they should return in ¹ safety. JOHN was highly gratified with the sight of these Africans who were men of consequence in their country, and of such quick apprehension, that during the voyage they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to answer the various enquiries made respecting their own country, and the kingdoms which extended beyond it to the southward. Having experienced every attention from the politeness and munificence of *John the Second*, they returned with *Diego Cam*; bearing many presents to their sovereign, and an anxious request from the king of Portugal that he would become a convert to Christianity.

Ch. II. § 2.

John the second.

Diego only stayed in the river to land the negroes and receive his own men; he then informed the king of *Congo*, that the ship being under orders to proceed further on the coast, he must postpone the honour of an audience until his return. After a run of what is termed by the Portuguese historians ² twenty leagues to the south-

¹ *Lasitan* has strangely confused this event. (Ed. 4to. F. 1. P. 54.) *Diego* qui vit qu'il alloit perdre beaucoup de tems en cet endroit par le défaut de s'entendre, prit sur le champ parti d'en enlever quelques-uns pour les conduire en Portugal, et de laisser de son côté quelques étages, qui des deux parts pourroient apprendre la langue du pays; ce qui fut exécuté habilement: car s'étant assuré de quatre des principaux, il fit entendre aux autres, le tout par gestes et par signes, ou le mieux qu'il put, qu'il n'avoit que des intentions utiles au pays; qu'il traiteroit bien ceux qu'il emmenoit et qu'il les rameneroit en quinze Lunes: Que pour gage de sa parole, il leur laissoit quelques-uns de ses gens, qui apprendroient cependant leur langue, et se mettroient en état de leur rendre service. Cette action violente, faite si brusquement, et qui étoit une vrai hostilité, réussit par une espèce de prodige, et par un miracle de la Providence.

² Probably rather sixty Leagues, the navigator being as usual incorrect in his reckoning: it is then likely he reached *Point Palmerinho*. The account of the Portuguese historian (*de Faria*) is very vague, one Cross being placed in thirteen degrees of south latitude, and the other is mentioned as having been raised on *Cape Padron*, in twenty-two degrees: now if we allow this to be correct, it would extend the course of *Diego* to 330 leagues, instead of

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I.

southward, he erected two memorials of his progress; one of which, in thirteen degrees of south latitude, was called *St. Augustine*: the name of the other is not mentioned. Not thinking it advisable to proceed beyond this, and probably deterred from a want of provisions, *Diego* then returned to the Congo river, and found that the liberality of John the second had made a deep impression on the African chief: he asked many questions respecting the Christian faith; and, being highly gratified with its sublime and consolatory doctrines, appointed one of his principal noblemen called *Caçuta* or *Zaçut*, as ambassador to the court of Portugal; anxiously hoping that king John would allow this nobleman, and his attendants to be baptized, and would mercifully depute some ministers of this holy religion, that the inhabitants of Congo, and their sovereign, might be converted from the errors of idolatry. The baptism of *Caçuta*, and his retinue, was celebrated with considerable pomp on their arrival in Europe; the king himself accompanied the devout African to the altar, attended

by

sixty; far beyond *Cabo Negro*. Probably these Crosses were thus placed; the first, called *St. Augustine*, on point *Palmerinbo*, and the second on *Cabo Negro* in south latitude 16°, instead of 22°: this conjecture will extend the course made by *Diego* to 220 leagues. The omission of the first figure (2) has probably occasioned the confusion in point of distance.

It appears that he afterwards, on his baptism received the name of *John*; and his uncle, who was first baptized, that of *Emmanuel*. The prince was named *Alphonso*. From *Pigafetta's Report of the Kingdom of Congo* gathered out of the discourses of *Master Edward Lopes a Portugall*, in *Purchas* (vol. 2. p. 986.) we collect, that on the conversion of the king of Congo to Christianity, "the lord of *Angola* was always in amitie, and (as it were) a vassal of the forenamed king of Congo; and the people of both countries did traffique together one with another, and the lord of *Angola* did every yeere send some presents to the king of Congo. And by licence from the king of Congo, there was a great trade betwene the *Portugals*, and the people of *Angola*, at the haven of *Loanda*, where they bought slaves, and changed them for other merchandises, and so transported all into the Ile of *S. Thomas*. Whereby it came to passe, that the Traffique was here united with the Traffique of *S. Thomas*: so that the ships did use first to arrive at that Iland, and then afterward passed over to *Loanda*." Every particular relative to the Conversion of the king of Congo, is detailed in an interesting manner by *Pigafetta*, *ibid.* (page 1009.)

by another sponsor, and the queen as god-mother, when he received the name of *John Silva*; the ceremony was closed by the baptism of his attendants. Ch. II. § 2.
John the second.

Not were the blessings of Christianity, which thus were carried by means of naval enterprise to the most distant regions, confined to the territory of *Congo*. The king of *Benin*, whose dominions situated to the northward of the above river extended to *St. George del Mina*, had already dispatched an Ambassador by *Alphonso de Aviero*, requesting that some Missionaries might be sent him from Portugal; and although the artful conduct of this African chief abated the influence of their zeal, many negroes were converted. By means of this ambassador John was informed of a most powerful monarch "ORGANE, who at the distance of 250 leagues beyond the territory

Why should the Jesuit *Lafiteau*, thus endeavour to prejudice his countrymen against the introduction of Christianity into newly discovered countries? *Les premiers mouvements d'une trop grande ferveur sont suivis pour l'ordinaire d'un prompt repentir. . . . A la vérité les Myſteres de notre religion avoient fait peu de peine à l'eſprit de ces Néophytes.* (Tonn. 1. p. 60.) That the introduction of Christianity awakened the opposition, and revenge of some interested, or depraved Pagans in *Congo*, can be as no argument against the piety of the Portuguese monarch. In a few years the hurricane ceased; and what a portrait does the elegant *Oſorius* then draw of the negro monarch ALPHONSO. (P. 106.) *Tantoque studio religionem Chriſti. anam coluit, ut non plus temporis in reip. negotiis gerendis, quam in ſubtilis ad cultum pietatis incitandis conſumpſerit. Habebat præterea frequentes ad populum conciones de Juſtitia et Pietate, de judicii divini ſeveritate, de ſempiterna vite præmiis, de Chriſti diſciplina, et ſanctorum hominum, qui veſtigia illius ſequabantur, exemplis. Quandiu denique manſit in vita, regnum perpetuè in Chriſtiana pietatis officio, cum ſingulari probitatis et juſtiæ laude continuavit.*—See this ſubject ably conſidered by the great Warburton, (vol. 1. p. 451. 4to. ed.) who points out the great defect in all our modern miſſionaries.

"It ſhould ſeem, according to *Bruce*, (vol. 2. p. 105.) that this *Organe*, or *Ogané*, is but a corruption of *Jan*, or *Janboi*, which title the eaſtern Chriſtians had given to the king of *Abyſſinia*. But it is very difficult to account for this knowledge of *Abyſſinia* in the kingdom of *Benin*, not only on account of the diſtance, but likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral of the moſt ſavage nations of the world, the *Galla*, and *Shangalla*, occupy the intervening ſpace. The Court of *ABYSSINIA* did indeed then reſide in *Shoa*, the ſouth-eaſt extremity of the kingdom, and, by its power and influence, probably might have puſhed its dominion through theſe barbarians, down to the neighbourhood of *Benin* on the *Western Ocean*. But all this I muſt

territory of the king of Benin, preserved a supremacy over the adjoining "states.

This Report induced the king of Portugal to redouble his maritime exertions, and he flattered himself that he had at length received tidings of the renowned *Presbyter John*. But in proportion as his navigators advanced towards the southward, the anxiety of JOHN increased; lest after all the perils which had been surmounted by himself, and his predecessors, some unexpected rival should appear in the *Atlantic* to seize the palm he was in constant expectation of obtaining. Inflamed by this idea, which at length obtained a complete ascendancy over his mind, an "Embassy was sent to *Edward the fourth* of England; exhorting him to prevent *John Tintam*, and *William Fabian*, from proceeding on a Voyage they were preparing to make to *Guinea* during the year 1481. The original *Embaixada* as given by *Resende*, is thus translated by "Hakluyt. "And afterwards the King sent as ambassadours from the towne of *Monte mor* to king *Edward* the fourth of England, *Ruy de Soufa*, a principall person, and a man of great wisdom and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust; with doctor *Joam d'Eluas*, and *Fernam de Pina*, as secretarie. And they made their Voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient Leagues with *England*, wherein it was conditioned that the new King of the one, and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held

confess to be a simple conjecture of mine, of which, in the country itself, I never found the smallest confirmation."

"If we make *Cape Lopez* the southern boundary of the kingdom of *Benin*, then 250 leagues will bring us to *Benguela*.

"*Libro das obras de Garcia de resende, que tracta da vida e feitos del rey dom Joham secundo.* (Cap. 35.)

"Volume the second, (Part 2. p. 2.)

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held in the Segneury of *Ginne*; to the intent that after the King of *England* had seene the same, he should giue charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme, or set forth Ships to *Ginne*: and also to request him, that it would please him to giue commandement, to dissolve a certaine Fleet (*buna armada*) which one *John Tintam*, and one *William Fabian*, Englishmen, were making, by commandement of the *Duke of Medina Sidonia*, to goe to the aforesayd parts of *Ginne*. With which Ambassage the king of *England* seemed to be very well pleased, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condescended unto all that the ambassadors required of him; at whose hands they received authentic writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds; and also Prouisoes of those confirmations which were necessary. And hauing dispatched all things well, and with the king's good will, they returned home into their countrey."

Ch. II. § 2.
John the second.

The same apprehensions which had induced JOHN to send this embassy to England, made him carefully conceal the progress of his navigators on the western coast of Africa: he therefore on all occasions magnified the dangers of a *Guinea Voyage*; declared that every quarter of the moon produced a tempest; that the inhospitable shores were covered with the most tremendous rocks; that the inhabitants were cannibals; and that no Vessel, but those of a particular construction which the Portuguese builders had invented, could live in those raging seas. At length, the mind of this Monarch

* A Pilot, who had often made The Voyage, and was a better Seaman than a Politician, publicly maintained in opposition to the king's opinion, that any other kind of Ship would serve equally as well for the purpose, as the *Caravellas* of his Sovereign. JOHN immediately sent for this unwary Pilot, and publicly reprimanded him for his ignorance. Some months afterwards, the same Pilot reappeared at court, and approaching the king, thus addressed him: *Being of an obstinate disposition, may it please your majesty, I resolved, notwithstanding what your majesty asserted, to attempt the Voyage to Guinea in a vessel different from those that are usually employed,*

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narch became so irritated by the suspense of prolonged hope, that, on hearing of three sailors who had left *Portugal* for *Castile*, in order to reveal this secret of state, John immediately ordered them to be pursued without mercy; two were killed, and the third, after being conveyed a prisoner to *Evora*, was broke upon the wheel: his shipmates lamenting the hard fate of their comrade, their murmurs reached the ears of the King: *Let every man*, exclaimed the monarch, *abide in his element, I am not partial to travelling seamen.*

Bartholomew
Diaz, and
Pedro de
Covillham.
1486.

That nothing might be wanting to secure the accomplishment of his designs, by the discovery of a passage round the continent of *Africa* to *India*, JOHN at length determined to gain some information respecting the latter country, by means of a journey over land. *Antonio de Lisboa* a Franciscan friar was accordingly dispatched, in company with a layman; but the design was frustrated by their ignorance of Arabic, and having reached Jerusalem they were obliged to return. Disappointment served only to render JOHN more resolute in the attempt, and he next determined by a double project to call forth the utmost degree of enterprize that could be exerted. Accordingly in 1486 a squadron was fitted out under BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ one of the cavaliers of the royal household; and soon afterwards, PEDRO DE COVILLAM, and ALPHONSO DE PAYVA, both of them well versed in *Arabic*, received the following orders respecting a second journey over land: *To discover the country of Presbyter John; to trace the Venetian commerce for Drugs and Spices to its source; to ascertain whether it were possible for ships to sail round the southern extremity of Africa, to India, and to take minute notes of every particular they could glean relative to that important navigation.* To these travellers our first attention shall be paid; since by this method

employed, and I now acknowledge that it is impossible. The king could not refrain from smiling; he favoured *The Pilot* with a private audience, and giving him money desired him to encourage the deception.

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method of considering the subject the reader may more easily perceive, that the discovery of The Cape by *Diaz*, and the information that was derived from *Covilham*, were entirely distinct from each other; and that *DIAZ* did not fail, as some writers have imagined, in consequence of *Covilham*'s report.

Ch. II. § 2.
John the second.

We learn from the Missionary Voyage by *Alvarez* in * *Ramusio*, and *Purchas*, that *COVILLAM* the principal character in these travels was a soldier by profession. "Whereas I have spoken often in this booke," says *Alvarez* as inserted in *Purchas*, "of *Peter de Couillan, Portuguese*, being an honourable person, and of great credite with *Prete Janni*, and all the court; it is convenient that I should declare how he came into this countrey, and the cause thereof, as he hath oftentimes told me himselfe. But first I will say, that he is my spirituall sonne, and that I have oftentimes confessed him, because in three and thirtie yeeres while he liued in this countrey, he told me that he neuer was confessed; because the custome here is not to keepe that secret which is uttered in confession; and that therefore he went into the church, when he confessed his sinnes vnto God.—His beginning was thus: He was borne in the towne of *Couillan* in the kingdom of *Portugall*, and being a boy, he went into Castile, and gat into the seruice of *Don Alfonso*, Duke of *Siuile*; and when the warre began betweene *Portugall* and *Castile*, hee returned.

* Vol. 1. (folio 189—261.) *Viaggio nella Ethiopia al Prete Janni, fatto per Don Francesco Alvarez, Portoghese*, accompanied with a map of Africa. *Alvarez* was sent on this embassy by *Emmanuel*. The above translation though inserted in *Purchas* (vol. 2. p. 1026. & 1091.) was not made by him; he gives an account of it in the following note. "I know not who translated this booke, I found it in Master *Hakluyt*'s papers, and have abbreuiated it where I could; although it still continueth very long, if not tedious. I also examined it with *Ramusio* his Italian edition, and in many places amended the translation; in many supplied it; and added other things, illustrating it with marginall notes, &c. . . I esteem his translations true in those things which he saith he saw: in some others which he had by relation of enlarging travellers, or boasting *Abassines*, hee may perhaps sometimes rather mendacia dicere, than mentiri."

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turned home with *Don John Gufman*, brother to the said Duke, which placed him in the house of *Alfonso King of Portugall*; who for his valour presently made him a man at armes, and he was continually in that warre, and served also abroad in *France*. After the death of King *Alfonso*, he was one of the guard of the King *Don John* his sonne, vntill the time of the treasons; when he sent him into *Castile*, because he spake the *Castilian* tongue very well, to spie out who were those gentlemen of his subjects, which practised there against him. And returning out of *Castile*, he was sent into *Barbarie*, where he stayed a time, and learned the Arabian tongue, and was afterward sent to conclude a peace with the king of *Tremizen*; and being returned he was sent againe to the king *Amoli bela gegi* which restored the bones of the infant *Don Fernando*. At his returne he found that the King *Don John*, desiring by all meanes that his ships should find out the *Spiceries*, had determined to send by land certaine men to discouer as much as they might. And *Alfonso de Paiua* was chosen for this enterprize a citizen of *Casle Blanco*, a very skilfull man, and very expert in the Arabian tongue.

“ When *Peter de Coullan* was returned, King John called him and told him secretly, That hauing alwayes knowne him loyall and his faithfull servant, and readie to doe his majestie good seruice; seeing he vnderstood the *Arabian* tongue; he purposed to send

^b In the *Collections* made by *Purchas* out of *Leo*, (vol. 2, p. 749.) we are informed, that the *Arabians* in *Barbary* on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, were much addicted to the study of the Arts and Sciences. In the city of *Fes* were two stately Colleges, adorned with curious paintings, besides many others for the accommodation of students, built by different kings of the *Marin* family; and the students were formerly, says *Leo*, allowed clothes and board for seven years: he also adds, that in his journey from *Fes*, to *Tunis*, he was entertained by one that was sent ambassador from the people of *Algiers* into *Spain*, whence he brought three thousand books in *Arabic*; and that they had extant among them a valuable work, divided into three volumes, called *The Treasurie or Store-House of Husbandry*, translated out of *Latin* into their tongue, when *Manzor* was Lord of *Granada*.

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send him with another companion to discover and learne where *Prete Janni* dwelt, and whether his territories reached vnto the Sea; and where the Pepper and Cinnamon grew, and other sorts of Spicerie which were brought vnto the Citie of *Venice* from the Countries of the *Moors*: seeing hee had sent for this purpose one of the house of *Monterio*, and one Frier *Anthony of Lisbon* Prior of *Porta de Ferro* which could not passe the citie of *Jerusalem*; saying, That it was impossible to trauell this way without understanding the *Arabian* tongue: and therefore seeing he vnderstood the same well, hee prayed him to vndertake this enterprize to doe him this so principall seruice; promising to reward him in such sort that he should be great in his kingdome, and all his posteritie should alwayes liue contented.—*Peter* answered him, That he kissed his majestie's hands for the great fauour which he had done him, but that he was sorry that his Wisedome and Sufficiencie was not answerable to the great desire he had to serue his Highnesse; and yet neverthelesse as his faithful seruant he accepted this message with all his heart."

Ch. II. § 2.
John the sacred.

The most curious circumstance in *Covilham's* history, and as *Dr. Vincent* observes " of great geographical importance, is the Map or Chart committed to his charge by *Emmanuel*, at that time Prince and afterwards King of Portugal; which was copied and composed by the licentiate *Calzadilla* afterwards bishop of *Viseo*, a Doctor *Rodrigo*, and a Jewish Doctor *Moses*, (the *Joseph* of Mickle) with great secrecy in the house of *Peter of Alcazova*. This Map was put into *Covilham's* hands with orders to make his way, if possible, into *Abyssinia*; and discover whether there was a passage round the extremity of *Africa*, which the framers of the map asserted to be practicable

Covilham's
Chart.

on

* Et di passare ancho on di loro nell' *Ethiopia* à vedere il paese del *Prete Janni* et se ne i suoi mari fusse notizia alcuna che si possa passare ne mare de ponente, perche li detti Dottori dicevano

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on the authority of some obscure information which they had collected." No part of this could well be derived either from *Marco Polo*, or his Map; though it must be allowed that Dr. Vincent seems inclined to favour the contrary idea, when he says from Ramusio, *that M. Polo himself speaks of the coast of Zanzibar, not as the continent, but as an Island two thousand miles in ^a circumference; whatever error there may be in this, it is self-evident, that if he made it an Island, he must give it a Termination on the South, as well as on the other three quarters; and if he delineated this, that Southern Boundary must be the very limit of Africa, which Ramusio says the copy (of the map) contained*^a. Would not this rather perplex than assist a geographer, whose attention was solely directed towards the extremity of a Continent; and what dependence could a Portuguese navigator place on it, as an authority that a passage round the extremity of Africa was practicable, when the same traveller positively declared, *Beyond the Islands of Magastar (Madagascar) and Zanzibar, there is no farther Navigation southward, because the sea runs there with great velocity to the south, so that it would be impossible for any Vessel to return.*

But to accompany our travellers on their important expedition: With the above Map, from whatever ^a manuscripts it might be compiled,

haurimus tronata non so che memoria (cited by Dr. Vincent, Periplus, part 1. p. 197. Ramusio, folio 237. D. vol. 1.)

^a Purchas, (vol. 3. p. 106.) gives but little credit to this part of M. Polo's TRAVELS, *These relations which follow by relation of others, are of less weight: you therefore I have omitted the greatest part. I had trouble enough to find, and translate the truth; and for such as low hearers say fables, let them seek elsewhere.* Instead of speaking of the circumference of Zanzibar, Purchas translates it—*Zanzibar is of great length, &c.* The expression of Ramusio is *Dopo questa di Magastar, si truova quella di Zanzibar, laqual per quel che s'intese, uolge a torno due mila miglia.* (Vol. 2. folio 58. C.) See also Ramusio's account of this map, vol. 2. *Dichiaratione*, p. 17.

^a Periplus, P. 203.

^a Alvarez, in Purchas says, *They gave them a sea-card, taken out of a General Map of the world.*

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piled, *Pedro de Covilham* and *Alphonso de Payva*, with five hundred crowns in money and a letter of credit, left Lisbon for Naples according to *Castaneda*, in the month of May 1487; where says *Alvarez*, their bills of exchange were paid by the son of *Cosmo de Medici*; and from Naples they sailed to the island of *Rhodes*. Then crossing over to *Alexandria* they travelled to *Cairo* as merchants, and proceeding with the Caravan to *Tor*, or *al Tur*, on the Red Sea at the foot of Mount Sinai, gained some information relative to the trade with *Calicut*. Thence they sailed to *Aden* without the gulf, and parted; *Covilham* directing his course towards *India*, and *Payva* towards *Suakem* in *Abyssinia*, appointing *Cairo* as the future place of their rendezvous.

Ch. II. § 2.
John the first.

At *Aden* *Covilham* embarked in a Moorish ship from *Cananor* on the *Malabar* coast, and after some stay in that city went to *Calicut* and *Goa*, being the first of his countrymen who had sailed on the *Indian Ocean*. He then passed over to *Sofala* on the eastern Coast of *Africa* and examined its gold mines, where he procured some intelligence of the Island of *St. Lawrence* called by the Moors the *Island of the Moon*.

Covilham had now, according to *Alvarez*, beard of Cloves and Cinnamon, and seen Pepper and Ginger; he therefore resolved to venture no farther until the valuable information he possessed was conveyed to Portugal. With this idea he returned to Egypt; but found on his arrival at *Cairo*, where he met with messengers from king John, that *Payva* had been murdered. The names of these messengers were *Rabbi Abraham* of *Beja*, and *Joseph* of *Lamego*; the latter immediately returned with letters from *Covilham*, containing among other curious facts, the following report: *That the ships which sailed down the Coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching*

¹ Dr. Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 195. and *Ramisso*, vol. 1. folio 237, A. *Concludendo, che le sue carauelle, che praticauano in Guinea navigando terra terra, &c.*

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the termination of the Continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the EASTERN OCEAN, their best direction must be to inquire for SOFALA, and the ISLAND OF THE MOON.

Rabbi Abraham who was born at *Beggia* in *Tunis*, and his companion, having visited the city of *Bagdad* with the *Isle of Ormuz* previous to this event, had thus made themselves acquainted with many particulars respecting the Spice Trade. This alone was sufficient to recommend them to the patronage of *John the second*; and they accordingly were employed by him to seek *Covilham* with *Payva* at *Cairo*; with additional directions to go to *Ormuz* and the *Coast of Persia*, in order to improve their commercial information. *Covilham* eagerly embraced this opportunity to visit *Ormuz*, and having attended *Abraham* to the *Gulf of Persia*, they returned together to *Aden*; when the latter hastened to give *JOHN* an account of their tour, and *Covilham* embarked for *Abyssinia* to complete that part of his Voyage which the death of *Payva* had hitherto frustrated.

The relation given by *Bruce*, who with *Cassanneda* notices *Covilham's* voyage to the *Gulf of Persia*, is somewhat more particular, and ^a differs in the name of the Jew sent back with letters to Portugal.

"However, he was there (*at Cairo*) met by two Jews with letters from the king of *Abyssinia*, the one called *Abraham*, the other *Joseph*. *Abraham* he sent back with letters, but took *Joseph* along with him again to *Aden*, and thence they both proceeded to *Ormuz* in the Persian Gulf.

^a *Bruce's Travels* (vol. 2. p. 107.) Of whom Sir W. Jones said, "To the ardent and intrepid *Mr. Bruce*, whose Travels are to my taste uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate information concerning the nations established near the Nile, from its fountains to its mouth, than all Europe united could before have supplied." *Dissertation on the borderers, mountainers, and islanders of Asia.* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 4. See also vol. 1. p. 385.)

^b I have followed the authority of *Alvares* in *Ramuse*.

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Gulf. Here they separated, and the Jew returned home by the caravans that pass along the desert to Aleppo. *Covillan*, now solely intent upon the Discovery of *Abyssinia*, returned to Aden, and, crossing the straits of Babelmandeb, landed in the dominions of that Prince, whose name was *Alexander*, and whom he found at the head of his army, levying contributions upon his rebellious subjects. *Alexander* received him kindly, but rather from motives of curiosity than from any expectation of advantage which could result from his Embassy. He took *Covillan* along with him to *Sboa*, where the Court then resided.

"*COVILLAN* returned no more to Europe. A cruel policy of *Abyssinia* makes this a favour constantly denied to strangers. He married, and obtained large possessions; continued greatly in the favour of several succeeding princes, and was preferred to the principal offices; in which there is no doubt he appeared with all the advantage, a polished and instructed mind has over an ignorant and barbarous one. Frequent dispatches from him came to the King of Portugal, who, on his part, spared no expence to keep open the correspondence. In his Journal *Covillan* described the several Ports in *India* which he had seen; the temper and disposition of the princes; the situation and riches of the Mines of *Sofala*: He reported that the Country was very populous, full of cities both powerful and rich; and he exhorted the King to pursue, with unremitting vigour, the Passage round Africa, which he declared to be attended with very little danger; and that the Cape itself was well known in *India*. He accompanied this description with a¹ Chart,

or

¹ "Whence *Brue* draws this account, says *Dr. Vincens* (*Periplus*, p. 197.) I cannot discover; and if there was such a Map among the *Moors* it must be a fiction, for none of them had ever passed *Corrientes* by sea; and cities there are none for almost twenty degrees from *Corrientes* to the Cape, or from the Cape for twenty degrees to the northward on the Western Coast.

BOOK I. or Map, which he had, received from the hands of a Moor in India, where the Cape, and cities all around the coast, were exactly represented."

Voyage of
Bartholomew
Diaz.

The attention of the reader may now be directed to the great event that adorns the close of the reign of *John the second*. **BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ** officer of the king's storehouse at Lisbon, during the year 1486 and, as already mentioned, previous to *Covilham's* leaving Portugal, received the command of a Squadron consisting of two ships, each of fifty tons, with a tender to carry provisions. The second vessel was commanded by *Juan Infante* another cavalier, and *Pedro Diaz* brother ¹ to Bartholomew was appointed to the tender. The ¹ family of *Diaz* had long been employed in voyages of discovery.—By the end of August the whole was ready and immediately sailed for the southward.

The

Coast. That fictitious Maps of this sort might exist both in the *Indies* and *Europe*, among Mahometans and Christians, is highly probable, for it was a prevailing notion in all ages, that Africa was circumnavigable. . . . We may allow even more than this, and say, that the natives had gone by Land much farther to the south than the navigators by Sea; and that their accounts were almost unanimous in maintaining the same assertion. The strongest evidence I have found of this is that which the *Portuguese* afterwards report of *Benomotapa*; a great nation when they arrived in Africa, and the remnant of a much greater, which had possessed cities of great extent and regular buildings; and from which it was said there were public roads running far to the west and quite down to the Cape. **BARBOSA** (*Ramuso*, v. 1. p. 288. et seq.) mentions such a road: that it went far south may be true, but hardly to the cape, We are not to believe these reports, perhaps, in their full extent."—(Periplus, p. 206.) "Whenever I can discover the authority of *Bruce* it will deserve consideration; till then I shall think that if *Covilham* filled up the Map he had received, or corrected it, or added to it such information as he could collect; it is a more probable account than the report of this *Moorish Map*, which contained cities that never existed. Such a corrected Map of *Covilham's* we read of in *Caslaneda*, who seems to have seen it, as he says it was ill written and disfigured; this I take to be the Map to which *Bruce* alludes."

¹ *M. Charles Amoretti* the publisher and translator of a new edition of *Pigafetta's Voyage*, from the *Ambrosienne MS.* at Milan, Paris, 1801, in his preface (p. 15.) has the following singular passage, *Le Cap de Bonne Espérance, que DIAS accompagna de CADA MOSTRO, navigateur Venetien, avoit decouvert en 1455.* *M. Amoretti* cites no authority though at variance with all the writers who have preceded him.

¹ See pages 205. 214.

The first Stone Pillar which DIAZ placed on the Coast of Africa was at "Sierra Parda, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues beyond any preceding" navigator, and in about twenty-four degrees and an half of south latitude: he then, with a resolution worthy of the object he had in view, *stretching boldly out to sea, never touched upon the Coast again till he was forty leagues to the eastward of the Cape, which he had passed without seeing it in his passage.* The Squadron sailed in sight of a bay which they called *de los Vaqueros*, or *Herdsmen*, from the numbers of cows that were seen grazing; and proceeding onwards touched at a small Island or Rock, which they named *El Pennol de la Cruz*, or *Santa Cruz*, from the second stone pillar and cross that was erected to mark their progress. Diaz had taken the precaution from time

Ch. II. § 2.

To be the second.

to

"We learn from Major Rennell (Geo. of Herodotus p. 698. note) that Sir Home Popham, and Captain Thompson, whilst exploring the Western Coast of Africa in 1786, saw a marble cross, beyond what has generally been considered as the last that remains from the Portuguese, on a rock near *Angra Pequena* in latitude 26° 37' south. The Cross had on it the arms of Portugal, but the inscription was not legible. The marble had been taken from the adjacent rocks.

"Castaneda, Faria y Sousa, Osorius. Here probably is a fresh inaccuracy which it is impossible exactly to ascertain. If we allow *Diego* (see p. 329.) to have reached *Cabo Negro*, then this Cross must have been placed in twenty-one degrees and an half of south latitude.

"Dr. Vincent (Periplus, p. 207.) No fact seems to have been more confused by late historians, than this first doubling of the Cape by Diaz. Dr. Vincent is one of the few writers who have stated it with accuracy. Robertson seems to have been misled by Lafiteau: "Neither the danger to which he was exposed, by a succession of violent Tempests in unknown seas, and by the frequent mutinies of his crew, nor the calamities of famine which he suffered from losing his Store Ship, could deter him from prosecuting his Enterprize. In recompence of his labours and perseverance, he at last descried that lofty promontory which bounds Africa to the south. *But to descrie it, was all that he had in his power to accomplish.*" (Hist. of America, vol. 1. p. 79. 8vo. ed. 1792.) Even Herrera himself seems to have possessed but a confused idea of the Portuguese discoveries, for when speaking of the mode in which the kings of Portugal and Spain adjusted their respective demands in 1494. after the first voyage of Columbus, the Spanish historiographer adds: "The Portuguese, who at this time had discovered very little beyond the Island of *San Tome*, under the equinoctial; that they might not be behind hand with their neighbours, exerted themselves so vigorously, that they soon after passed that Cape so dreadful among the Antients, now called *de buena Esperança*, or Cape of Good Hope." (Stevens's Translation, vol. 1. p. 117.)

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I.

to time, to set some negroes ashore, who had been in Portugal and were well accounted in order to command the notice and respect of the natives; they were also provided with a small quantity of goods for the purpose of barter, but above all things were charged to make inquiries after the kingdom of Prester John.

At this Island, which still bears the name of *Dela Cruz*, in the Bay of *Algoa*, the crew became urgent to return, since their provisions were nearly exhausted, and *Pedro* who commanded the victualler was missing. *Diaz* however at length persuaded them to stand on about twenty-five leagues farther, still unconscious of having passed the Cape, and feeling mortified lest after all they had endured they should return unsuccessful to his sovereign. The coast continued to trend to the eastward; and at length having reached a river whose entrance was discovered by the commander of the second vessel, they from him called it *Rio del Infante* and returned. But was their astonishment, and joy, when on their passage back, the tremendous and long sought promontory, which either from the distance they were at, or the haze that concealed it, they had not before observed, now opened to their view. Here a third pillar was placed, and dedicated to *St. Philip*. To complete their satisfaction they soon afterwards fell in with the victualler; three only of the nine who had been left in her nine months before were alive, their companions had been murdered by the blacks; and of these survivors, one of them *Fernand Colasso* expired from joy, on again beholding his countrymen.

Discovery of
the Cape.

Thus the first great object which the illustrious HENRY DUNE OF VISEO had incited his countrymen to pursue from the year

1412,

* What has since been called *Great Fish River*. A separate dissertation might be written on this voyage by *Diaz*, in order to correct the distances given by the Portuguese historians with the accuracy of modern navigators; and also to consider by what means *Diaz* could stem the strong westerly current so as not to see *The Cape of Good Hope* until his return.

1412, was at length accomplished; and as *Diaz* had proceeded about seven degrees beyond Cape l'Aguillas or *Needle Point*, the most southern land of Africa, a passage from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean though still tremendous was in some measure ascertained. From the heavy gales (*tormentos*) which this navigator had experienced, he called the high table land of the great promontory IL CABO DOS TORMENTOS^p; but the satisfaction which his return in December 1487 gave to his grateful sovereign, and the hope it imparted that Portugal would now enjoy the abundant harvest he had prepared, suggested a more appropriate appellation in IL CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA. The muse of *Camoens* felt all the importance of this event:

Ch. II. § 2.

Join the second.

' Dread roar'd the blast—the wave
Boils to the sky, the meeting whirlwinds rave
O'er the torn heavens; loud on their awe-struck ear
Great Nature seem'd to call, *Approach not here!*
At Lisboa's Court they told their dread escape,
And from her raging tempests, named the Cape.
Thou southmost Point, the joyful king exclaim'd,
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, be thou for ever^q named!"

Yet successful as was the Voyage of *Diaz* it eventually tended to injure the interests of *Portugal*, inasmuch as it rendered the king inattentive to those discoveries which a rival might make in another quarter of the globe. Amidst the intoxication of the moment JOHN neglected to patronise the genius, and to secure the enterprize

Columbus.

1492.

^p *In eo vero succedendo, nostri ejusmodi tempestatibus jactati et afflictati sunt, ut sepe numero omnem spem salutis abjicerent. Quo factum est, ut Tormentosum illud Promontorium appellarent. Tormenta enim apud nos, est idem quod tempestas aduersa.* (Olorius, p. 23.)

^q Mickle's *Lusiad*, (vol. 2. p. 289.)

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I.

prize of a foreigner who had gained his experience in the maritime school of Lisbon, had obtained the valuable Journals and Drawings of *Bartholomew Perestrello* by a marriage with his daughter *Donna Felipa Moniz*, and in return, after giving Genoa his native country the first refusal, had offered to conduct the caravellas of *Portugal* to the *Indies* by a route hitherto unexplored. The Voyages of *Columbus* will hereafter receive a more distinct and separate attention; originating from the maritime school which the Portuguese had established, they will in their turn lead us to the development of the south-western limits of the Atlantic, and thus form a principal, though secondary division in the progress of maritime discovery. It is perhaps impossible to ascertain the exact year when *Columbus* first submitted his idea of a Western World to JOHN, but it must have been previous to the Voyage of DIAZ; since *Columbus* despairing of success appears to have sent his brother *Bartholomew* to England in 1485; who then published the first map of the world that had appeared in our country, and in order to recommend himself to the reigning monarch dedicated it to *Henry the seventh*.—On the third of August 1492, COLUMBUS sailed from the port of *Palos* in the province of *Andalusia*, and discovered the first land of the West Indies, *San Salvador*, on the morning of Friday the twelfth of October following. At his return in 1493, being forced by repeated gales of wind to take shelter in the *Tagus*, he on the twenty-fourth of February received the king's permission to come up to Lisbon; and though the admiration of JOHN was mingled with regret, his behaviour on that trying occasion, proved and confirmed the virtues of his character. *Columbus* therefore was treated with respect and departed in safety: but left these discoveries of the Spaniards might injure that sovereignty of the ocean

* Life of Columbus, by his son. (Churchill's Collect. vol. 2. p. 501.)

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ocean which the Portuguese had eminently enjoyed, the king endeavoured to counteract this effect by negotiation. *Pope Alexander the sixth* having already meted out an eastern hemisphere to Portugal in the plenitude of his power, had issued another *Bulla*, 1493, in order to bestow the western on Spain. A copy of the original of this curious State Paper appears in *Purchas*, with a subjoined

Ch. II. § 2.

John the second.

Purchas, vol. 1. (Second book, p. 17.) Mr. Dalrymple, in his account of the Spanish Discoveries before 1595, has the following Observations on the *Line of Demarcacion*, as settled by this *Bulla*. (*Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, vol. 1. p. 51.) "It will be proper to explain the Term, and free the subject from some very erroneous misconstructions, which even authors of reputation have been led into. When the Spirit of Discovery was warm in SPAIN and PORTUGAL, it was foreseen that disputes would arise about limits. It was therefore referred to the Pope to settle a line of *Demarcacion*, which should determine the limits of each. This Line may be called the *first Meridian*: it was placed 370 leagues to the westward of ST. ANTONIO, one of the CAPE VERDE Islands. All in the eastern hemisphere appertaining to Portugal, and in the western to Spain: it was not all Discoveries made to the westward by the one, and to the eastward by the other, but within the hemisphere; and the Spanish pretensions to the MALUCOS, was grounded on a presumed fallacy of the Portuguese, in representing the longitudes of the eastern parts of INDIA much less than they really were. Experience of modern times has confirmed the Portuguese reports, and confuted the Spanish, who nevertheless, continue to hold the Philipinas against the Pope's Bull. (*Vide Cespedes's Hydrographia*, where the judgment of the pilots is preserved, P. 129 to 153, folio, Madrid, 1606.)" Mr. Dalrymple afterwards adds (*Ibid*. p. 205.) In the above account of the *Demarcacion*, I have not confined myself merely to the Pope's Bull, but have included the subsequent explanations and stipulations; the Bull was granted upon Columbus's first Voyage, it is dated May 4, 1493.—The first voyage of the Portuguese to India by the Cape of Good Hope, was made by Vasco de Gama, in 1497. The Malucos were not discovered till 1511; and the Spaniards did not visit them till 1521; so that all the reports grounded on a supposed regulation of Limits between the Spaniards and Portuguese in the East Indies, arise from inattention to chronology.

Three commissioners on the part of Spain, and a like number in behalf of Portugal, met at Tordesillas: these for Spain were, Don Enrique Enriquez Mayor-domo mayor del Rey Catolico; Don Gutierre de Cardenas commendador mayor de Leon y su contador mayor; El Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado. The Portuguese Commissioners were, Ruy de Sosa Señor de Sagre y Birenguel. Don Juan de Sosa, his son, almotacen mayor. Licentiate Arias de Almada, Juez del desembargo.

On June 7, 1493, they agreed, "that the line of *Demarcacion* (which the Pope had placed one hundred leagues to the West of one of the Islands of Azores, or Cape Verde), should be removed two hundred and seventy leagues farther West, from the Islands of Cape Verde, and that from this meridian, all to the West should belong to Spain, and from thence to the East,

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should

BOOK
1.

joined translation. With a long, and rather blasphemous preamble, Wee, says Alexander, *of our owne motion, and not cyther at your request or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fulnesse of apostolicall power; doe giue, grant, and assigne to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South; drawing a line from the Pole Artike, to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: contayning in this Donation, whatsoeuer firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoeuer it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the ilands which are commonly called DE LOS AZORES and CAPO VERDE.* The first embassy from Castile to secure the maritime independence of Portugal was conducted by *Garcia de Herrera*, who was followed by *Don Pedro de Ayala*, and *Garci Lopez de Carvajal*. After much deliberation it was at length settled by their respective Courts on the twenty-third of June in the same year, 1493, that the line of partition drawn by the Pope should be advanced two hundred and seventy leagues towards the westward.

Character of
John the
second.

JOHN THE SECOND in many respects bore a striking resemblance to *Charlemagne* as described by *Montesquieu* in his *Esprit des Loix*. Like him he determined to render power and wealth however independent subservient to Justice; like him he not only promulged

should belong to the navigation, conquest, and discovery of the kings of Portugal; and that the navigation by the sea of the king of Portugal should be free to the kings of Castile, *going a direct Course*, but that neither should send to trade within the limits of the other." This was put in writing, and confirmed on the 2d of July by the king of Spain; and on the 27th of February by the king of Portugal.

"In the council of Pilots in 1524, upon the circumnavigation of the Victory, it was agreed, that the three hundred and seventy leagues should be reckoned from St. Antonio, the most western of the Cape de Verde Islands, in which latitude they reckoned 370 leagues to be 22° 9' and therefore they place the line of Demarcacion 22° 9' W. a St. Antonio, or about 48° from Greenwich."

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mulgated wise laws, but caused them to be impartially administered; Ch. II. § 2.
 like him, *vaste dans ses desseins, simple dans l'exécution, personne* John the second.
n'eut à un plus haut degré l'art de faire les plus grandes choses avec
facilité, et les difficiles avec promptitude. It was in speaking of this
 monarch to Henry the seventh that an English traveller remarked;
The greatest curiosity I beheld in Portugal was a Prince, who though
sovereign of the will of others suffered no one to have any influence on
his own. When *Alphonso Silva* the Castilian ambassador urged
 John to engage in continental politics, he replied—*My ambition has*
other objects in view. Like the neighbouring potentates, I also aspire
to enjoy the fame of being accounted GREAT; but in pursuit of this ob-
ject I have taken a different and a shorter road, and have resolved to
lay the foundation of my greatness at home: for this reason, I never
engaged in any of these alliances. This tell your Master; and be assur-
ed it is the only answer you will ever bare him from me, for I am not
given to change my ' resolutions.

JOHN possessed sufficient wisdom to pursue this policy with perse-
 verance; and as his whole mind was thus given without interruption
 to the promotion of Discovery and " Commerce, his feelings were
 irritated by the smallest disrespect shewn to the Portuguese Flag.
 A rich Caravella from *Guinea* having been taken by some *French*
Corfairs, the king laid an embargo on all the vessels of that country
 in his ports; and directed *Vasco de Gama* who even then was high
 in the profession to make reprisals. Orders were immediately
 issued by *Charles* the French monarch that instant restitution should
 be made; but when the caravella was restored a *parquet* belonging
 to some of the crew could not be found. JOHN refused to give up
 the French ships until the bird was conveyed to Lisbon; all remon-
 strance

* Christoval Ferreira y Sampayo, Em. Tellez. La Clede, p. 546, 547. Garcias de Resende.

† During this reign *Lisbon* was first declared a free port.

BOOK
I.

Improvement
of nautical
instruments.

France was in vain: *I would have it known*, exclaimed the king, *that the Flag of Portugal can protect even a Paroquet.*

To the latest period of his life this celebrated monarch endeavoured to improve the mathematical instruments then in use, and for this purpose caused several experiments to be made in his presence. "Navigation," says * *Purchas*, "doth owe as much to this Prince as to any; who had employed *Roderigo* and *Joseph* his Jewish physicians, cunning mathematicians of that time, with *Martin Bohemus*, the scholler of *John Monte Regius*, to devise what helps they could for the Mariners in their saylings thorow vnknowne seas, where neyther Starres (as vnknowne) nor Land (being out of kenne) could guide them. These first after long study applied *The Astrolabe*, before vsed onely by astronomers, to marine vse, and deuised the *Tables of Declinations* to find out the latitude of places, and how to direct their course (which was afterwards by the knowledge of the variation, exceedingly furthered) whereby the Mariner's Art first began to free itselfe from the rudenesse of former times."—During the king's convalescence after the severe illness he experienced in 1493, a part of his occupation at *Evora* consisted in planning different sorts of vessels with some experienced ship-builders, or in giving orders for the construction of forts at *Cascaes* and at *Caparica*, in order to defend the entrance of the *Tagus*. Among the eminent men in this reign was the celebrated † *Galvano*, who according to the *Voyage of Alvarez* had been secretary to king ALPHONSO THE FIFTH, and occupied the same post during the reign of his successor JOHN THE SECOND. The abilities and experience of this secretary must have proved of essential service to his master;

and

* Vol. 1. Book 2. p. 8. See also *Castera*, and *de Barros* (decade 1. l. 4. c. 2.)

† The father of *Antonio Galvano*, whose essay on the *Discoveries of the World*, is inserted in the *Appendix*. Edward Galvano is also mentioned by *Bruce* (vol. 2. p. 142.)

and we can only wonder that with such an adviser the proposals of *Columbus* were neglected.

Ch. II. § 2.

John the second.

Such was the monarch who expired on the twenty-fifth of October 1495, in the fortieth year of his age and fourteenth of his reign. To the last he preserved a decided preference for a favourite natural son of the name of George, and but for the firmness of *Antonio de Faria* would have inserted that beloved name in his will; through a vain hope of making this son succeed to the crown, in preference to the duke of *Beja*, who was only cousin to the king, and nephew of his predecessor *Alphonso the fifth*. The state of Portugal at the death of *John the second* is thus described by * *Lafiteau*. *Le Nom Portugais remplissoit toute l'Europe, il avoit effacé la gloire que les Phéniciens, les Carthaginois, les Grecs, et les Romains, s'étoient acquise dans l'art de naviger. Mais comme les Indes furent toujours son grand objet, qu'il y pensoit sans cesse, jusques à perdre le sommeil et le repos, il n'eut pas sur ce point la satisfaction qu'il s'étoit promise; et la mort qui l'enleva à la veille des grands événements qu'il attendoit, fit connoître qu'il n'avoit semé, qu'afin qu'un autre plus heureux que lui recueillit la moisson.*

As we have now nearly terminated the progress of maritime discovery on the *western coast* of Africa, and shall return thither in the subsequent volume only to notice the early Voyages of our countrymen to that Coast; it may improve the readers hydrographical knowledge if some remarks be offered relative to the ATLANTIC, the narrowest part of which between Africa and America, is about five hundred leagues.

HYDRO-

* *Decouvertes des Portugais*, (vol. 1. p. 70.)

* The first was in 1553, by *M. Thomas Windam*, and *Antonio Anes Pinteado*, who sailed from Portsmouth to Guinea and Benin. (*Hackluyt* vol. 2. part 2. p. 11.) Some observations on the Portuguese Discoveries, and the Colonies formed by them in Africa, occur in *Mr. Wadstrom's Essay on Civilization*, particularly applied to the *Western Coast of Africa*. (P. 121.) 4to. 1794.

BOOK
I.Hydrogra-
phical re-
marks,

HYDROGRAPHY has hitherto been so little considered, that nautical writers are often perplexed from want of some accurate yet simple divisions of THE OCEAN, which is found to occupy about two thirds of the whole surface of the globe. The editors of the French *Encyclopedie*, or rather Monsr. D'Alembert, did but little in this respect. He divided this prodigious collection of circumambient water, into (1) *The Atlantic Ocean* which bounds the western extremity of the Ancient World, and the eastern coast of the New. It was also called the Western Ocean, as being to the west of Europe. (2) *The Pacific Ocean, South Sea, or la Grande Mer*, flowing between the eastern Coast of *Asia*, and the western boundary of *America*. (3) *The Hyperborean or Northern Ocean* washing the shores of the *Arctic* continent. (4) *The Southern Ocean*, flowing round the South Pole and forming a part of the *Indian Ocean*. Some writers confine the *Atlantic* to the equator, where they make the *Ethiopic Ocean* commence, whilst others have only three Divisions, *The Atlantic, The Pacific, and The Indian*.

The latest modern writer who has considered this subject is M. Fleurieu, editor of *Marchand's Voyage*, in his *Observations sur la division hydrographique du globe, et changemens proposés dans la nomenclature générale et particulière de l'hydrographie*. But with due submission to this hydrographer he seems rather to confuse and increase the terms employed, than to simplify or reduce their number. The inferior subdivisions of THE OCEAN can never be confined to any nomenclator, but will change with the revolutions of commerce and of nations, will vary with the fluctuating tide of human

^b Tome 4. quarto ed. of the original, and tome 6. of the octavo. M. Fleurieu has also inserted *Recherches sur les terres australes de Drake, et un examen critique du voyage de Roggeween*, as a sort of sequel to a dissertation published in 1790 *Découvertes des Français dans le Sud-Est de la Nouvelle Guinée, précédées de l'abrégé historique des Navigations et des Découvertes des Espagnols dans les mêmes parages*.

human events, and consequently be marked by vicious denominations or local partialities. We must therefore only hope to distinguish the great hydrographical divisions of the OCEAN by terms of general acceptation; and if these can once be fixed in a plain and impartial manner, there is little doubt of their being gradually adopted. Some of the * principal Divisions suggested by M. Fleurieu are (1) The *Atlantic Ocean*, which he subdivides into the *septentrional*, *equinoctial*, and *meridional Atlantic*. (2) The *Pacific* he by way of distinction styles *Le Grand Ocean*, comprehending all the sea west of *America* as far north as Behring's Straights, and as far west as the Coast of *Asia*: this also is subdivided into the *great Boreal Ocean*, the *great Equinoctial Ocean*, and the *great Austral Ocean*; and then steals in a fourth subdivision the *Indian Sea*: which obliges him to make the Coast of *China*, with the eastern coast of *New Holland*, the western limits of his *Grand Ocean*.

Ch. II. § 2.
*Hydrographical
Remarks.*

After much conversation on this subject with one of the first hydrographers of the present age Mr. *Arrowsmith*, whose liberality is only equalled by his information, I have ventured to offer the following

Divisions

* Besides these we have among others from M. Fleurieu, (1.) The *Frozen Arctic Ocean*. (2.) The *Frozen Antarctic Ocean*. (3.) *Mediterranean of America*, comprehending Baffin's Bay, Hudson's Bay, &c. (4.) *Gulf of Nova Zembla*. (5.) *Great Gulf of India*, comprehending the gulf of the Ganges, bay of Bengal, and the gulf of Sindh. (6.) *Great Archipelago of Asia*. (7.) *Sea of Tartary*. (8.) *Behring's Basin*. He also separates the following ARCHIPELAGOS in the *Grand Ocean*. 1. *Dangerous Archipelago*, from Whitfund to Cain Island. 2. *Archipelago of the Stormy Sea*, from Sonder Grond, or Disappointment of Byron, to Prince of Wales, and the Labyrinth. 3. *Archipelago of the Society Islands*. 4. *Archipelago of Roggevin*, or *Bauman's Isles*. 5. *Archipelago of Navigators*. 6. *Archipelago of the Friendly Islands*. 7. *Archipelago of Mendana*. 8. *Archipelago of the Sandwich Isles*, or *La Mesa*. 9. *Mulgrave's Range*. 10. *St. Cruz of Mendana*.—M. Fleurieu is of opinion that some of the original names, as given by discoverers, may be retained: *Terra de la Roche*, or *Island of St. Pierre of Duclor*, should not be called *New Georgia*. The *Elimabethides of Drake* should remain. The *pernicious Islands of Roggevin*, should not be lost in *Cook's and Palliser's Islands*.

BOOK
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Divisions of the Ocean to the attention of nautical men. (1) *The North Atlantic*, extending from the equator to *Cape Farewell* on the coast of *Greenland* in 60° north latitude. (2) *South Atlantic*, from the equator to an imaginary line drawn from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Cape Horn*. (3) *Indian Ocean*, bounded to the south by a line carried from the *Cape of Good Hope* to the south-west point of *New Holland*. (4) *The North^d Pacific*, flowing from the equator to *Cape Prince of Wales* in the latitude of 66° north. (5) *South Pacific*, from the equator to an imaginary line stretched from the south-eastern point of *Van Diemen's Land*, to the southern cape of *New Zealand*, and continued thence to *Cape Horn*. The remaining portions of the Ocean flowing round the northern, and southern Poles, to be called the *North*, and *South Polar^e Seas*.

The *Depth of the Ocean* is divided by scientific men into two parts; the upper region, from the surface as far as the rays of the sun can pierce, and the lower region which extends thence to the bottom. Respecting the depth of the sea answering to the elevation of the earth above it, *Mr. Ray* in his three physico-theological discourses offers the following¹ remarks. "It hath been observed by some, that where there are high Cliffs or Downs along the shore, there the sea adjoining is deep; and where there are low and level grounds, it is shallow.—As the earth from the shores is gradually

^d The term *Pacific* appears preferable to that of *Grand Ocean*; for when such an appellation is given to a subdivision of water, however great, what can we assign to that abyss, of which the *Grand Ocean* only forms a part. Besides *El Mar Pacifico* the original name given by the Spaniards when they first navigated this sea from *Mexico* to *Peru*, is by no means inconsistent with a great collection of water; which though not always exempt from storms, yet owing to its ample swell and extensive sweep, possesses a calmness peculiar to itself which the narrow limits of other Seas effectually prevent.

^e The above boundary of the *Indian* and *Pacific* Oceans to the south, corresponds with the limit which Government wishes to assign to the commercial jurisdiction of our East India Company.

¹ Page 26.

gradually higher and higher, to the middle and parts most remote from the sea, which is evident by the descents of rivers, they requiring a constant declivity to carry them down; thus the sea likewise is proportionably deeper and deeper from the shores to the middle. So that the rising of the earth from the shores to the mid-land, is answerable to the descent or declivity of the bottom of the sea from the same shores to the mid-sea. This rising of the earth from the shores gradually to the mid-land is so considerable, that it is very likely the altitude of the earth in those mid-land parts above the *superficies* of the sea, is greater than that of the mountains above the level of the adjacent lands." The Count *Marfigli* in his natural history of the Sea, and *Dr. Donati* in his Essay towards a natural history of the Adriatic, printed at Venice in 1750, present many curious observations to the notice of scientific men. The first conjectures will reason, that the taste of sea water is materially affected by fossil coal, and other bituminous substances which compose its bed. The second recites many facts to prove, that the bottom; and consequently the level of the sea is continually rising^a.

Varenius in his excellent geographical work, already cited, has given six chapters to hydrography, in which some queries are offered to the attention of mariners. 'I wish,' says this writer, 'there were more diligent and accurate observations made by those who have the opportunities of making them, to remove, if possible, the following doubts: Whether the *Indian*, *Atlantic*, and *Pacific Ocean* are of the same altitude, or the *Atlantic* be lower than the other two; whether the northern ocean, near the *Pole*, and within the *frigid zone*, be higher than the *Atlantic*; whether the *Red Sea* be higher than the *Mediterranean*; whether the *Pacific Sea* be higher than

^a *Philos. Transactions*, vol. 49. p. 585.

^b Vol. 1. p. 161. and p. 194.

BOOK
I.

than the *Mexican Bay*; and whether the *Baltic* be as high as the *Atlantic*. The continual flux and reflux of the Sea, and Currents, make the face of the Ocean mutable, and its parts of a different altitude at different times; but these arise from external causes, and we here only consider the natural constitution of the water: besides, they do not seem to alter the altitude so much in the middle of the ocean, as near the shores." To these Desiderata by *Varenius* many others might with ease be added. (1) The width and depth of the mouths of all the Rivers in the world, with observations on their Bars. (2) The height above the level of the Sea of the principal Headlands as ascertained by observation; character of the Coast, whether dark rocks or chalk cliffs. (3) The set and velocity of Currents, times of high water, rise of tide, and soundings. The topography of the ocean has at present been only imperfectly illustrated; though many facts indeed have been long deposited amidst the arcana of the English Admiralty, whence the skill and experience of Mr. *Dalrymple* is at present employed to derive a professional source of hydrographical accuracy. Yet still much remains to be accomplished.—If we confine these remarks to the Coast which has hitherto occupied our attention, it may be observed that the *Chain of Atlas* has been always incorrectly delineated. *Shaw* gave four maps¹ of the northern provinces of Africa, but the chain of *Atlas*

was

¹ Professor *Hubner* in his geography, notices the best Maps of *Africa* which then existed: that of *Moll* is first mentioned with credit. Then follow three of *M. de l'Isle*, who divided *Africa* into southern, northern, and eastern. These three Maps were copied by *Mortier*. One by *M. Robert* appeared in 1740. But the best, in Mr. Hubner's opinion, was that of *M. Haas*, engraved by the heirs of the *Sieur Homann* at Nuremberg.

The following Latitudes and Longitudes on the Western Coast of Africa, were ascertained from Lunar Observations by an Officer of Rank in the King's Service.

	Latitude.	Longitude.
Fredericksburg	4° 46' N.	2° 53' W.
Aqueda	4° 42' N.	2° 50' W.
Cape Three Points	4° 42' N.	2° 43' W.
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Anabor
Benguell
Cape Lo

was only partially marked by this geographer. According to *Arrowsmith's* last map of *Africa* in four sheets, *Mount Atlas* butts on the *Atlantic* at *Cape Geer*; then takes nearly a north-eastern direction, passing through the empire of *Morocco* and *Fez* to *Cape Tenis*, and then an easterly direction through the greatest part of the kingdom of *Algiers*.

Ch. II. § 2.
Hydrographical
Remarks.

The Western Coast of *Africa* within these few years has received considerable attention. *Cabo Blanco*, which had long been represented as the most western point of land, is now placed in $17^{\circ} 12'$ west, and *Cabo Verde* is ascertained to be the most western promontory. To describe all the corrections and changes which this Coast has undergone, from the Charts in common circulation, would require a separate dissertation, and may be fully explained by an examination of the charts in this volume. It will therefore at present be sufficient to notice one curious circumstance. The centre of the *Island of St. Thomas* as ascertained by lunar observations, and also time-keepers which agreed to one mile, is placed in $6^{\circ} 36'$ east longitude from *Greenwich*; whereas, according to the largest Charts of the above Coast,

	Latitude.	Longitude.
Dick's Cove	$4^{\circ} 46' N.$	$2^{\circ} 40' W.$
Dutch Batenstein	$4^{\circ} 48' N.$	$2^{\circ} 36' W.$
Dutch Tzucarari	$4^{\circ} 49' N.$	$2^{\circ} 25' W.$
Secundée	$4^{\circ} 54' N.$	$2^{\circ} 22' W.$
Dutch St. Sebastian	$5^{\circ} 0' N.$	$2^{\circ} 16' W.$
Commendo	$5^{\circ} 2' N.$	$2^{\circ} 10' W.$
Elmina	$5^{\circ} 1' N.$	$2^{\circ} 4' W.$
Cape Coast	$5^{\circ} 3' N.$	$1^{\circ} 51' W.$
Anamaboo	$5^{\circ} 9' N.$	$1^{\circ} 43' W.$
Dutch Fort Maurée	$5^{\circ} 6' N.$	$1^{\circ} 47' W.$
Island St. Thomas, <i>Road Anchors</i> , the north-eastern point	$0^{\circ} 27' N.$	$6^{\circ} 50' E.$
Walvis Bay	$23^{\circ} 50' S.$	$14^{\circ} 15' E.$
Mouth of the Great River Zaire or Congo	$5^{\circ} 35' S.$	$12^{\circ} 40' E.$
Annobon	$1^{\circ} 35' S.$	$6^{\circ} 0' E.$
Benguella	$12^{\circ} 37' S.$	$12^{\circ} 45' E.$
Cape Lopez Goncalves	$0^{\circ} 48' S.$	$8^{\circ} 10' E.$

BOOK
I.

Coast, the centre of the *Island of St. Thomas* is, on the contrary, fixed in 10° east longitude from Greenwich, and the coast of Guinea appears sixty-eight leagues longer than it is in reality. All the Coast to the southward as far as the *Cape of Good Hope* has been rectified by the latest astronomical observations.

The *Portuguese* in their earliest charts distinguished a part of the *Atlantic* by the name of *Mar di Sargasso*; and extended this division from the 20° of north latitude, to 34° south. The *Sargasso* is a sort of *creffe*, and bears a berry not unlike the red currant, but insipid and hollow; it is thus described by *Roggewein*: "They now found themselves in the latitude of 18° north, in that part of the sea, which is generally speaking covered with grass so that at a distance it really looks like a meadow. There are some years in which none of this grass appears; and others, again, in which it abounds, and is found in prodigious quantities." This part of the *Atlantic* is of a great depth, and far from land.

Currents.

The most extraordinary CURRENT of the Sea is described by *Varenus*¹, as being that which impels the waters of the *Atlantic* from *Cape Verde* along the coast of *Guinea*, towards the curvature or bay of Africa called after *Fernando Poo*; the direction of this Current after passing *Cape St. Anne* is from west to east, and such is its force adds *Varenus*, that when ships approach too near the shore it carries them violently towards that bay, and deceives the mariners in their reckoning. This Current, according to the above geographer, only affects that part of the *Atlantic* which is adjacent to the Coast of *Guinea* as far as the extent of that gulf, and to about one degree of $^{\circ}$ south latitude. The following conjectures as

¹ *Varenus*, vol. 1. p. 221. *Barbot*, p. 537. See also Dr. *Vincent's* Periplus, page 179. N. 282.

² *Harris's* Collection (v. 1. p. 313.)

³ Vol. 1. p. 265.

⁴ Here *Varenus* appears incorrect, it more probably comes seven, or eight degrees to the southward of the line, and then turning round to the westward unites with the Gulf Stream:

given by *Varenius* are interesting, though he sets out with an error. Ch. II. § 2.

(1.) The Ocean being repulsed by the *American* shore moves slowly to the eastward, but this motion is not felt in the Main, because the other destroys it, and renders it less sensible; only near the shore it runs swiftly towards *Fernando Poo*, which being stretched a considerable way into the land is fittest to receive it; and the reason why it is not felt in other places upon the shore of Africa, (as at *Congo*) is because the rapidity of the rivers breaks and obstructs it.

*Hydrographical
Remarks.*

(2.) There may be some subterraneous receptacle in the Bay of *Fernando Poo*, into which the sea perhaps may fall and draw the rest of the Ocean.—According to Major ^a Rennell, who has considered the streams of Current in the *Atlantic* with attention, Modern navigators find a constant motion of the sea to the southward along the western coasts of *Europe*, and *Africa*, from the parallel of Ireland, at least, to the borders of the south-east trade wind; and on the other hand, a motion of the sea to the north, from the southern extremity of Africa, to the equator, or rather beyond it: with the exception of those particular *veins* of these streams which are produced by inlets or projections of the coast. The current mentioned by *Varenius*, seems to be described as, *the narrow vein of Easterly Current, which came originally from the North, and passes within the accumulation of water that escapes Westward in a direction nearly parallel to the coast of Guinea*. The latest writer who has written on the currents of the Atlantic is Colonel Capper, in a valuable ^b work already noticed.

^c During ten months of the year, from the beginning of February to

the professional reader is referred on this subject to an excellent hydrographical chart of the North Atlantic Ocean constructed by Gerard de Brahm in 1771.

^a Geography of Herodotus, (p. 700.)

^b Ibid. p. 701.

^c *Observations on the winds and monsoons*, 1801. P. 201. (See preceding page 243. and Introduction, p. 210.)

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1.

to the beginning of December, this gulf, (of Guinea) which is a central point between the North of the *European Coast*, and the South of *Africa*, is from very obvious causes, the hottest part of this line. Here then, during these ten months, the greatest degree of evaporation must necessarily take place; and consequently, as water will always * reassume its level, the waters of the adjacent parts of the *Atlantic Ocean* will flow from that part which is colder, towards this point in different directions, to restore the equilibrium: this must necessarily produce Currents from the North of *Europe*, the southern extremity of *Africa*, and also from the western part of the *Atlantic Ocean*, parallel to the Coast, particularly during the two Equinoxes. But as a further confirmation of this Hypothesis, in the months of *December* and *January*, whilst the *Harmattan* prevails, and the sun is at its greatest distance from the *Coast of Guinea*, the *Southern Ocean* is warmer than this gulf; both the Wind and Currents at that time, which have before come from the North, South, and West, during the ten preceding months, suddenly change, and during the Winter Solstice both take the opposite direction to the end of *January*. This regular Change, which is perfectly periodical, seems to prove, almost to a mathematical certainty, that the Winds and Currents in this part of the *Atlantic* are both regulated by the effects of heat and cold. With respect to the drain along the Western Coasts of *Europe* and *Africa* during the spring, summer, and autumn, we may reasonably impute it to the same Cause; for Evaporation, being greater near the Coast than out at sea, will likewise at these seasons, particularly in summer, occasion a fall from the Ocean towards the Coast; and of course, according to this hypothesis, this Current will be strong or weak in proportion to the temperature

* If Water reassumes its level, which is surely fact if properly and fairly examined, this seems to ascertain that one Sea cannot be higher than another, unless it is an Inland Sea.

temperature of the different latitudes, and vary very much at different seasons of the year.

Ch. II. § 2.

Hydrographical
Remarks.

“ Doctor *Halley* has suggested, that the expanse of water by evaporation is sufficient to account for the constant Current which runs from the Ocean into the Mediterranean, without looking for any other cause; to which, however, it has been objected, that this could not be an adequate reason, as probably there is an equal Evaporation both from the Sea, and the Ocean. But this latter Objection does not appear to me to be well founded; for in the summer the Land is always much hotter than Water, and the surrounding air on land is much more dry; consequently the evaporation of all Mediterranean, or Inland Seas must be infinitely greater, than that of the Ocean in the same parallels, where the air is already saturated, and continues in the same temperature many days successively. Besides, it must be remembered, that the water evaporated from what is generally called the *Mediterranean Seas*, is immediately in summer conveyed towards the land, where great part of it remains; being either precipitated there in Rain for the benefit of the earth, or retained on the summit of the mountains, in the form of Ice and Snow; and even the remainder is but slowly returned into the different seas and lakes through the channels of the adjacent rivers. The quantity of water thus raised in Vapour, and retained there for these beneficial purposes, can only be supplied by a constant Current from that part of the *North Atlantic*, with which it immediately communicates. Should this Hypothesis, on further examination, be considered as well founded, it will serve also to account for the *Equatorial Currents*; for during the Equinoxes, and for some weeks preceding and following them, the evaporation near the Equator must be very considerable; the Water adjacent, therefore, will flow in to supply the deficiency, and consequently in all parts of the Ocean, where it is not obstructed by land, will pro-

BOOK
1.

duce at this season opposite Currents from the two Poles towards the Equator. But an exact account of the Currents in the *Atlantic* kept for one year, would verify or refute this system; and the strength of the Current at different seasons from the Ocean to the *Mediterranean* through the Straits of Gibraltar, would afford very useful information on this subject."

The following observations on the Navigation * from *Europe* to *India*, are chiefly selected from the *Neptune Oriental* of D'Apres de Manneville.

Trade
Winds.

From the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude almost to the equinoctial Line, navigators find those regular *Winds*, called by the Italians *venti regolati*, by the French *vents alizees*, and by us *Trade Winds*; they blow from north north-east to east during the whole year. But this rule although general throughout the *Atlantic*, is nevertheless subject to certain exceptions, especially near the Coasts of the continent, in the neighbourhood of islands, and in other places from particular causes.

If we examine with attention the Journals of our most experienced navigators, we shall perceive that the Coasts of those great continents, which lie between the Tropics, are struck obliquely by winds whose direction is relative to those that prevail in the surrounding seas. In consequence of this, on the African coast from *Cabo Blanco* to *Sierra Leona*, with the exception of land-breezes and heavy gales, Winds blow more from north to north-west than from north to east. From *Sierra Leona*, to *Cape Palmas*, the usual direction * of the wind is from west north-west, and beyond the

* See also APPENDIX, Article III. (P. 256.)

* From the Observations which *Mr. Arrowsmith* has collected, the following remark is taken: "As there is no general rule which admits not of some exception, so there is in the *Atlantic* a tract of sea, wherein the southerly, and south-westerly winds are perpetual, viz. all along the Coast of *Guinea* for five hundred leagues together, from *Sierra Leona* to the island of *St. Thomas* :

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the latter cape from west south-west to south-west. Although the *Canaries* are situated in the region of the Trade Winds, we nevertheless find that westerly and south-westerly winds sometimes continue to blow there for eight days without intermission. Southerly and south-westerly also blow between the *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the adjacent seas, during the months of July, August, September, and October; at which time the roadsteads of those Islands are not safe.

Ch. II. § 2.
*Hydrographical
Remarks.*

The greater part of our philosophical writers who have only considered Trade Winds in their libraries, assign them limits towards the equinoctial totally different from what they really are in each season; and, as "*D'Après* proceeds to remark, inferences drawn from such assertions must naturally lead navigators into error. "I have thought it preferable, adds he, to prefer experience to received opinions. After a careful examination of above two hundred and fifty Journals, to ascertain in what degree of latitude ships that sail for the East Indies leave the current of the Trade Winds, and on what parallel of latitude they have fallen in with it on their return; it appeared to me, that throughout the month of *January* the true limits of these winds are found between the sixth and

St. Thomas. The south-east Trade Wind having passed the line, and approaching the Coast of Guinea within eighty or an hundred leagues, inclines towards the shore and becomes south south east by degrees; as you come nearer it veers about to south south-west, and in with the land south-west, and sometimes west south-west. Such are the winds that have been observed on this Coast when it blows true. To the northward of the Line between 4° and 10° , and between the meridians of *Cape Verde*, and of the easternmost Islands of that name, there is a tract of sea wherein it were improper to say there is any Trade Wind, or even variable ones, since almost a perpetual calm prevails attended with thunder and lightning, and frequent rains. Some sudden uncertain gusts form the little wind that exists, of very short duration and less extent. Every hour will sometimes bring a different gust, which dies away into a calm before another succeeds; so that ships in sight of each other, will each have a different wind."

* *Instructions sur la Navigation de France aux Indes.*

BOOK
1.

and fourth degree of north latitude; throughout *February* between the fifth and third degree; throughout *March*, and *April*, between the fifth and second; and throughout *May* between the sixth and fourth degree of latitude."

During the months of *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*, the action of the Sun upon the land and sea in the northern parts of our globe, changes the temperature and state of the atmosphere, and thus renders the winds less regular. So that in the month of *June* the Trade Winds cease to blow at the tenth degree of latitude; in *July*, *August*, and *September*, between the fourteenth and thirteenth; nor do they resume their mean limits until December and January.

When navigators leave the track of the Trade Winds they generally meet with those that are *Variable*, and also with calms and heavy gales, produced by the conflux of the Trade Winds with the General Winds; and by various other * causes which will not allow us exactly to fix their duration, or extent, in each respective season. It is only necessary to remark that the nearer you approach to the ordinary tract of the Trade Winds, the more this shifting is affected by it; and that on the contrary, when you are near the Equator, the winds vary oftener from east to south, than from east to north; this however does not prevent you from finding winds sometimes blowing in the same tract from west to south, and chiefly in

* In the new edition of Laurie and Whittle's *Oriental Navigator* (1801.) it is remarked, that the Calms experienced by ships, particularly in going to *India*, appear to depend on the vicinity of the Coast, which they approach much nearer when bound to the *Cape of Good Hope*, than in the route from that Cape to Europe; accordingly the passages from the Cape to Europe are much shorter than those from Europe to the Cape. The Calms that are met with to the northward of the Equinoctial Line are owing to the configuration of the Coast of Africa; which to the north, a few degrees from the line, projects about five hundred leagues toward the west; while the great distance at which a ship is from this land, when she is to the southward of the Equator, prevents the General Wind of these Seas from thence undergoing any change.

in the months of July, August, and September; but they are generally occasioned by storms, and should only be regarded as foreign winds, necessary to restore the equilibrium of the atmosphere when the air is too much rarified in the eastern quarter.

Ch. II. § 2.
*Hydrographical
Remarks.*

From the equinoctial Line to the tropic of Capricorn a regular Trade Wind prevails, which blows generally and constantly between south and east; and as the same is met with not only in the sea between Africa and America, but also throughout the southern ocean, the appellation of *General Winds* has been given to distinguish them from the north-easterly trades, which in some particular seas are subject to periodic changes. During an whole year's residence at the island of *St. Helena*, *Dr. Halley* observed, that these *General Winds* reigned there constantly from the south-east or thereabouts; that is, the wind which blew most frequently veered rather from south-east to east, than from south-east to south: when it blew from the east the weather was dark and gloomy, and it never cleared up nor was serene until the wind veered back again to south-east. *Dr. Halley* adds, that he never observed the wind to blow from south to west, nor from north to north-west. The extent of the *General Winds* is not limited to the Line; they are met with as far as five or six degrees northward of it, and even to seven degrees, according to the time of year. Sometimes the north-east and south-east Trades extend very near each other, and at other seasons there will be several degrees between them subject to calms, squalls, thunder, lightning, and heavy rains.

General Winds, as well as *Trade Winds*, always take a different direction near the Coast from what they have further out at sea. Along the Coast of *Africa* from twenty-eight degrees of south latitude down to *Cabo Lopo Gonzalvez*, near the Line, the direction of the wind is generally from south, to south south-west, and even in some parts south-west, according to the trending of the

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the Coast. On the examination of a great number of Journals it appeared to *D'Après*, that this same tendency of the wind's blowing from south to south-west has been observed at a great distance from the African continent; and that in general its influence seems to be bounded to the westward by the tracts comprised between that Coast, and an imaginary line drawn from the *Cape of Good Hope*, to *Cape Palmas* on the coast of Guinea.

In the Course which ships generally keep on crossing the equinoctial line for the Cape of Good Hope, it is remarked, that beyond the parallel of sixteen degrees the *General Winds* veer towards the north; and are found to blow rather from east to north-east than from east to south-east. Respecting the limits of the same winds being commonly confined to the twenty-eighth degree of latitude; even that is a general rule which still has exceptions: since different winds are often met with before ships have reached that latitude, and sometimes even on this side the tropic of Capricorn. From the parallel of twenty-eight to forty degrees of south latitude, the winds have sometimes been found as variable as in European seas; those, which are the most frequent, blow from North to N. W. and from N. W. to W. S. W. Near the *Cape of Good Hope*, Winds sometimes blow from S. E. to E. S. E. for many days without intermission, but in general you have easterly or westerly winds according to the season of the year: prevailing winds at The Cape are the S. E. and N. W; the east, and north-east are less frequent than any. Their Summer continues from October to April. Whenever the Table Land begins to be covered with a cloud, it indicates a strong East, or E. S. E. wind: after the mountain is completely covered the Gale comes on, and often continues for two or three days.

Seas adjacent
to The Cape.

Winds from N. W. to W. S. W. are those which occasion the highest Seas to the eastward, as well as to the westward of the

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the Cape; and though they blow with their greatest force during the months of *June, July, and August*, yet it sometimes happens that in *April, or May*, you meet with very violent squalls from that quarter. These are generally foreseen by black clouds which darken the horizon from N. W. to west; they come on very rapidly, and are sometimes accompanied by whirlwinds: they first blow violently from W. N. W. to west; then shifting with fury to the S. W. they get to south, when the wind abates and it suddenly falls calm. But the Sea agitated and swelled into Mountains by these boisterous winds is not so soon composed, and is frequently more dangerous than the Gale itself. About 150 leagues to the eastward of the Cape these Storms are very frequent; the atmosphere is almost always on fire with lightning and thunder followed by deluges of rain, so that navigators can scarcely ever enjoy two fair days together. The weather remains thus tempestuous while you are sailing above 300 leagues farther, and several have remarked that it continues to that meridian which passes through the eastern part of Madagascar.

Ch. II. § 2.
*Hydrographical
Remarks.*

The CAPE OF GOOD HOPE whether a navigator approaches it from the westward, or eastward, has the appearance of a large Island when he is at such a distance as not to be able to discern the connection between the neck of its mountains, and the other mountains. The new moon produces high water at the Cape at half past two P. M. and the Tide seldom rises more than three feet, except after an hurricane, or from some extraordinary cause. CABO L'AGULHAS lies to the E. S. E. of the extreme point of the Cape of Good Hope; it was named by the Portuguese *Cabo das Agulhas*, or Needle Cape, because they imagined the magnetic needle had no variation there at that time. This southernmost point of Africa

is

† In this respect DIAZ must have been deceived. The line of no Variation was placed by Halley to the westward of the Cape. Refer to Dr. Halley's *Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Compass* (Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. 1. p. 27. and 43.) According to a table there inserted,





BOOK I. is in latitude $34^{\circ} 52'$ south. The Cape itself, as well as the land for many miles to the westward of it, is of a moderate height, and cannot be seen at more than six leagues from an Indian's poop. All that part of *Africa*, of which *Cabo das agulhas* forms the extreme point, is surrounded by a bank of soundings, which after the Cape's name is called *bank of l'agulhas*; this Bank begins at thirty-three degrees and an half of south latitude near the Coast, and increases its breadth south-west and by west until about the latitude of 37° ; then extending to the north west, it draws progressively nearer to the Cape of Good Hope, where it may be said to terminate.

The following directions for sailing round The Cape are given by Major *Reunell*. "During the winter months, when the westerly winds are so common, the passage round the Cape will be the most speedily effected by keeping the Ship in the stream of the Current, and letting her drive round the bank. I am aware that most Commanders prefer keeping on the bank for the purpose of getting soundings, and in expectation of smoother water, and a stronger Current than is to be met with farther out. With respect to the latter, which is undoubtedly the prime object, they are disappointed, as they find a help of about four or five miles per day only, between *Cape Talbado* and *Cape Lagullas*. All the Journals that I have examined, tend to establish this fact, of which I had ocular proof during five days that I was on the bank. I am indebted to Captain *Wagborn*, late of the *Asbburnam*, for the first hint I received concerning the course of the Current round the bank. He went round

inserted, the variation at *Cape Agulhas* in 1622, was $2^{\circ} 0'$ west. Dr. Halley adds, *In all Europe the Variation at this time is West, and more in the Eastern parts thereof than the Western: as likewise, that it seems throughout to be upon the increase that way.*—At the eastward of *Brasile*, properly so called, this Easterly Variation decreases, so as to be very little at *St. Helena* and *Ascension*; and to be quite gone, and the Compass point true about eighteen degrees of longitude West from the **CAPE OF GOOD HOPE**.—*BYRON* seems to have made a similar mistake with *Diaz*; declaring that he met with no variation in 128° and an half west longitude, and $16^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude. (*See Arrowsmith's Chart of the Pacific in nine sheets.*)

▪ Observations on the Currents round the Cape of Good Hope, published on half a sheet with a Chart.

CAPE DE VERDE ISLANDS.

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Ch. II. § 2.
Hydrographical
Remarks.

round it in the *Liverpool frigate*, in 1764, and in five days had an help of about 160 miles between the meridians of *Cape Talhado* and *Falso Bay*. The alteration of the Current from S. W. to N. W. in latitude 37° was so sudden, that it marked the exact time when the Ship doubled the point of the Bank."

As a conclusion to these remarks on the *Atlantic* and the navigation to *India*, a description of the principal of the Cape de Verde Islands communicated by a friend, is subjoined from the notes of an officer, formerly in the India service.—*SAN JAGO*, the largest and best inhabited of the Cape de Verde Islands, lies in latitude 15° north, and $23^{\circ} 30'$ west longitude. The face of the country is mountainous, its climate excessively hot and unfriendly to the constitution of Europeans. The inhabitants are chiefly slaves from Africa, or such Europeans as the king of Portugal has either banished or encouraged to settle in that island. It contains all the different sorts of cattle proper for a supply of provisions; also fowls, game, great plenty of India Corn, plantains, pine apples, tamarinds, cocoa nuts, guavas, and a variety of superior oranges both as to size and flavour, great quantities of which are annually sent as presents to Europe; they have also sugar Canes, and Cotton in great abundance, with which the natives manufacture a curious narrow cloth of different colours for the African trade. Yet the appearance of *SAN JAGO* is by no means inviting to strangers, since there is not a single house that can be called a comfortable dwelling: the governor's palace is constructed with low thatched walls; its doors and windows are clumsy and unfinished, and the furniture merely consists of a few odd broken chairs left there by different captains. The Company's warehouse, consisting of one lower

* *D. Burger*, Esq. sent by Captain *Burger*, to whose talents and excellent observations in design, I have been greatly indebted.

* Compare this with the account already inserted p. 274.

BOOK
I

lower room, is tolerably well built with brick and lime brought for that purpose from Portugal. SAN JAGO is 150 miles in circumference. The total number of the Cape de Verdes is about twenty, but most of them being barren uninhabited rocks are seldom included.

Colonel Bolts, who was at these ISLANDS in 1781, communicated the following particulars to Mr. Wadstrom (*essay on Colonization, page 139.*) "In September and October, Ships have often been driven on shore in *Porto Praya* road. In the dangerous season, therefore, it is best to anchor out in eighteen fathoms water; so that, in case of a gale, the Ship may be sure of clearing the eastern point, called *Mulher Branca*, or the western called *Tumrosa*. *San Vincent*, one of the *Ilhas Desertas*, has the best harbour in all these islands; and it is capable of containing the most numerous fleet of large ships, safe all the year round. *San Vincent* has the advantage of excellent air and plenty of good water, but it is uninhabited. The Island of *S. Antam*, improperly called *S. Antonio*, formerly belonged to the *Duque Infelix* (d' Aveiro). It was rented by that family to an English gentleman, whose agent one *Stephen Spencer*, picked up some stones washed down from the Peak of the Island, and sent them to England. The lapidaries gave it as their opinion that the mountain whence they came certainly contained curious, if not precious stones. All the Islands contain Iron ore, often on the surface. The *Duque d' Aveiro* had partly peopled *S. Antam* with his own slaves: and in time, he acquired, or usurped a kind of property in the persons of the other inhabitants. On the fall of the Aveiro family, however, *S. Antam* reverted to the crown. During the administration of the *Marquis de Pombal*, about ten thousand of the inhabitants of the Cape Verde islands were sent to build the present fortifications at *Bissao*, where most of them died. There are at *Santiago* fourteen *Engenhos*, or sugar-

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mills, worked by oxen ; but only two of them are reckoned good. The late governor, *Joaquim Salene Saldanha Lobo*, had a scheme for fitting out vessels at the *Cape Verde Islands* for the whale fishery on the Southern Coast of Africa ; and another for extracting from the *Semente da purga* (*ricinus pignon d' Inde*, believed to be the same plant from which the Castor Oil is extracted in the West Indies) an Oil which is excellent for burning, and is free from any bad smell. The gathering of *Orzella*, or *Orcbella*, on the Coast of these Islands, costs not eight hundred reas per quintal. The medium price of that quantity, at *Porta Praya*, is three thousand reas, and at Lisbon nineteen thousand two hundred * reas. In these Islands they might raise great quantities of very good Cotton, and also of Indigo, which grows wild every where. But the inhabitants do not cultivate more of either, than what is necessary for the cloaths they manufacture for their trade to the continent of Africa.

Ch. II. § 2.
*Hydrographical
Remarks.*

“ The Portuguese had the advantage of trading to, and establishing themselves in Africa, earlier than any other modern European nation ; and that too at a time when they were actuated by a spirit of enterprize which perhaps has never been exceeded in any people. Their power has indeed undergone a great, but gradual declension, especially on the Continent of the east of Africa. Yet such remains of it are still visible that a respectable modern writer scruples not to say, that they still possess more valuable territory in Africa, and have brought more of the natives to live in the European manner, than all Christendom besides. Hence he concludes that other nations, and the British in particular, who can furnish *Africa* with manufactures of their own, might make at least as great advances in the inland trade of that Continent, as the Portuguese, under the disadvantage-

* Four thousand eight hundred Reas are equivalent to a Moidore, or about twenty-seven shillings sterling.

BOOK I. disadvantage of purchasing most of the goods they carry to it from other nations. *But this, he observes, depends on quite other measures than what have ever yet been taken."*

* * *Mons. P. Abbe Demail* published some remarks on the *Western Coast of Africa*, in his *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Afrique Française*. (Two volumes 12mo, Paris 1787.)—The Portuguese have it in contemplation to establish Naval Arsenals in the Cape de Verde Islands, particularly at *St. Jago, Bonaville, and St. Nicholas*.

From the evidence of *A. P. How, Esq.* who was in Africa during 1785, and 1786, in the *Grampus* ship of war, and was employed as a Botanist by the British Government, it appeared that the *Witness* had seen *Cinnamon Trees* at *St. Thomas*, at the sea side, about twenty feet high; and, from what he heard, they grew inland to an higher size. From the bark brought down he concludes there must be a great quantity inland. The witness was not positive that it was the same sort of *Cinnamon* which grows in *India*; but the bark, leaves, and whole structure of the tree were the same as those brought from thence to *Kew Gardens*. The *African Cassia* is not unlike that which has been seen in the *East Indies*. (*Minutes of evidence before the House of Commons, 1790, p. 226.*)

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Published Jan'y. 1863. by Cadell & Davies, Strand.

CHAPTER III.

I. Retrospect of Indian History from the Macedonian Discoveries to the close of the fifteenth Century. II. The Portuguese reach India under the conduct of da Gama.

SECTION I.

Memander.—Togara, Barygaza, Plutbana, and Baroach.—Partition of the Empire of Demetrius.—Pachorus. BICKERMAJIT. Pandion. Basdeo. Annindoe. Maldeeyebund. MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS. Ancient Cities of India. TURKESTAN INVASIONS. Gazna.—Gaur.—Cherazm. Southern India invaded by the Mohammedan Kings of Delhi.—Cuttub. MOGUL DYNASTY. View of the Maritime Parts of Southern Hindostan at a very early period. Conjectures respecting the Fleur de lis on the Mariner's Compass.

BEFORE we enter on the more immediate subject of this Chapter Ch. III. § 1.
the Voyage of da Gama, it has been thought expedient to take a connecting retrospect of the history of INDIA, a country on which the Retrospect of
Indian History.
 attention

* Principally from Mr. Maurice's *Modern History of Hindostan*.—Raynall gave the bare and unconnected outline in his second volume (p. 339.)

BOOK I. attention of the Portuguese had been long fixed, and to whose Coasts they had now opened by the skill of *Dian* a passage hitherto unexplored by sea.

From the close of the *Macedonian Discoveries* by the death of ALEXANDER to the commencement of the Mohammedan era in the sixth century, the page of Indian history is particularly involved in doubt and obscurity. The ashes of Porus were avenged by the successes of * *Sandracottus* and his son *Allitrochades*, and the laurels which *Nearebus* had gained, withered amidst the contention of thirty-six generals who survived Alexander. Considerable remains however of the Macedonian invasion existed for several ages in the southern provinces towards the mouth of the *Ganges*, and along the western Coast of * *Hindostan*. About the year 195 before Christ the renowned *Menander* fourth sovereign in the Grecian dynasty of *Bactria*, was established on that throne; who is said by Strabo to have subdued more Indian nations than even Alexander, to have extended his empire on one side to *Pattala* and *Zinerus* on the Malabar coast, and on the other quite to *Bactra* and *Drapfa*. Mr. Wilford observes in his dissertation on the City of * *Tagara* (*Deogbir*) that the Greeks in consequence of Alexander's expedition, soon discovered the way by sea to *India*; for during the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 2056 years ago, *Tagara* began to be known to them. All kinds of mercantile goods throughout the Deccan were brought to *Tagara*, and thence conveyed to *Barygaza*. We learn also from *Arrian* in his *Periplus Maris Erythrai*, that *Tagara* was about ten days journey to the eastward of another

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* Corrupted, says MR. Wilford, from *Chandra-Gupta*.—(Chronology of the Hindus, Asiatic Researches, vol. 5. p. 241.)

* Maurice, p. 28.

* Now called Doulet-abad.

* Maurice's Modern Hindostan, p. 95.

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famous mart called *Plutbana*; that *Plutbana* was twenty days journey to the southward of *Baroach*; and also that the road lay through the *Balla-gaut* mountains. This passage in Arrian, adds Mr. Wilford, is the more interesting, as it fixes the time when the *Balla-gaut* mountains were first heard of in Europe. *Tagara* at that early period was the metropolis of a large district called *Ariaca*, which comprehended the greatest part of subah *Aurangabad*, and the southern part of *Concan*; for the northern part of that district including *Damaun Callian*, the Island of *Salsct*, *Bombay*, &c. belonged to the Rajah of *Larikeh* or *Lar*. Thus the latest remains of *Macedonian* or *Grecian* discovery have been traced to the western Coast of that peninsula, on which the *Portuguese* navigators first landed under the command of *da Gama*.

Ch. III. § 1.

*Retrospect of
Indian History.*

But to continue our retrospect of Indian History. The partition of the empire of *Demetrius* styled by *Justin* king of *India*, between *Mithridates* king of *Parthia* and *Eucratides* the *Bactrian* monarch, took place about 175 years before the ¹ Christian era. To *Mithridates* were assigned the provinces between the *Hydaspes*, and the *Indus*, whilst *Eucratides* possessed all the remainder adjoining the eastern and southern quarter of his Indian possessions. But on the fall of the *Bactrian* empire at the death of the patricide *Eucratides* the second, 126 before Christ, after it had flourished during nearly a century and an half, the whole of these extensive Indian domains of *Eucratides* on this side and even beyond the *Ganges*, centred in the mighty *Mithridates*.

Pacorus the first, king of *Parthia*, unable to resist the ravages of the *Scythian* hive whose assistance his predecessor *Prabates* had incautiously requested, dispatched an embassy to *Sylla* then in *Asia* (A. C. 80.) and thus hastened the ruin of his country by opening a passage

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 369.² Maurice, p. 101.

BOOK passage for the *Romans* into the fertile regions of the East, which directed their attention to the rich territory of *India*.

L
Bickermajit,
or Vicramá-
ditya.

The celebrated BICKERMAJIT is said to have obtained the supreme sovereignty of *Hindoostan* fifty-six years before the Christian period^a. According to Mr. *Wilford* in the dissertation already cited, *Bickermajit* ruled for some time over the northern parts of the Decan; but its Rajahs headed by *Salaban* having revolted they gave *Bickermajit* battle, and he was slain about the commencement of the Christian era. He had previously subdued the kingdom of *Malva* and *Guzzerat*, and in order to acquire a knowledge of the state of the arts, and of government, among foreign nations, is said to have travelled over great part of the East in the habit of a mendicant. So successful were the arms of this monarch in afterwards reducing the feudatories around him, that he was believed to act under divine authority. But *Bickermajit* was also the patron of literature, and of the fifteen Brahmins who were patronised at court, the poet and philosopher *Calidas* took the lead.

Pandion.

The powerful Indian kingdom of PANDION, who flourished about fifteen years before Christ and is recorded to have sent an embassy to *Augustus*, extended to the southern point of Comaria, or *Comerin*; his residence was at the extensive city of *Madura*. At the commencement of our era, *India* as we learn from^b *Strabo* was divided into one hundred and eighteen considerable nations, each governed by a particular Chief dependant on one monarch who in cases of necessity summoned his inferior Rajahs to the field.

According to^c *Ferishtah*, as cited by Mr. Maurice, the Empire of *India* was reduced after the death of its monarchs *Bickermajit* and *Salaban* to a state of anarchy. The great vassals of the

^a Maurice, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 68. *Ferishtah*, vol. i. p. 13.

^b Maurice, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 139. *Strabo*, Lib. xv. p. 719.

^c *Ferishtah*, vol. i. p. 13.

the crown embracing this opportunity to assume independence, the very name of emperor became in great measure obliterated. In this state *India* appears to have continued until the year of Christ 230, when *BASDEO* having reduced *Bengal* and *Babar* established a new kingdom, and assumed imperial honours at *Canouge*: it seems probable that the splendid Indian embassy to *Trajan* came from this monarch. The title of Maharajah or supreme, did not however long continue in his family, and the dependant princes again rendered themselves absolute.

A chief of the tribe of Bice *ANNINDEO*, raised himself to regal power after the death of the murderer *Partab*, who had seized on the throne of the deceased emperor *Ramdeo* in the year 500. For the space of sixteen years *Annindeo* reigned over his conquests; which consisted of the kingdom of *Malva*, the peninsula of *Guzzerat*, the country of the *Mabrattas*, and the whole province of *Berar*. His successful example was followed by the daring *MALDEO*, who rising from an obscure origin to empire, was enabled to retain the city of *Delhi* and its territory, as well as the city of *Canouge*, for the space of forty years. These usurpations called forth the ambition of various petty chiefs in *Hindustan*; destroyed the unity of the empire; and by subdividing its strength laid it open to the subsequent invasion of the *Mohammedans*. Some shadow of obedience however to the *mabarajah* or supreme sovereign long remained, even after that subjection: for at the great festival called *Raisoo* held at *Canouge* in 1192, all the Rajahs of *Hindustan*, except *Pithowra* Rajah of *Delhi* the last of its native princes, assembled at *Canouge* as the imperial city to pay homage to their sovereign ¹ *JYCHUND*, who himself probably was tributary to Persia:

at

¹ Maurice, vol. 1. p. 149.

² Maurice, vol. 1. p. 164. and *Ayren Akberry*, vol. 2. p. 107.

the crown embracing this opportunity to assume independence, the very name of emperor became in great measure obliterated. In this state *India* appears to have continued until the year of Christ 230, when **BASDEO** having reduced *Bengal* and *Babar* established a new kingdom, and assumed imperial honours at ^{Ch. III. § 1.} *Canouge*: it seems probable that the splendid Indian embassy to *Trajan* came from this monarch. The title of Maharajah or supreme, did not however long continue in his family, and the dependant princes again rendered themselves absolute. ^{History of Indian History.}

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at

¹ Maurice, vol. 1. p. 149.

² Maurice, vol. 1. p. 164. and *Ayren Akberry*, vol. 2. p. 107.

BOOK
I.Mohammedan
invasions.

at this festival even the labours of the scullery were performed by Rajahs.

During the first year of * *ABUSSEKER*, successor of the prophet *Mohammed* who died in 632, the relentless *Arabs*, or *Saracens*, made their first advance towards *INDIA* by invading the fertile and wealthy empire of *Persia*. In vain did the experience of its general *Ferooknood* cause the needy wanderers to retreat: the intimidated multitude rested on the frontiers of *Syria*, and meeting with powerful reinforcements returned with eagerness to their prey. *Albaruman* a Persian nobleman opposing a formidable army to the resolute numbers of the *Moslems*, was entirely defeated and cut to pieces with the greater part of his troops. The conduct of the war became then entrusted (A. D. 636.) to a general of the name of *Rostam*, whose approach was expected by the dauntless *Saad* on the vast plains of *Cadesia*: for three days the dreadful conflict continued, at the end of which the triumph of the *Arabs* was complete. A settlement of eight hundred *Moslems* was soon made, and the speedy foundation of *Bassora* opened a convenient port for their future commerce.

The *Arabs* during the ensuing year having plundered the hundred vaults of *Ctesiphon* or * *Al Madayn*, the Persian capital, advanced to the interior provinces, and their progress was marked by blood and devastation. *Yezdegerd* the young monarch of *Persia* bravely exerted himself at the battle of *Julula* to retrieve the glory of *Persia*, but was obliged to seek his safety by flight. The last context was made near *Nebavend* a city of *Farsistan*, by one hundred and fifty thousand Persians; but the sacred trumpets of their Magi sounded in vain, and the *Arabs* emphatically styled that battle the *Victory of Victories*.

Not to dwell on their intermediate conquests it is sufficient to observe that the Arabian army, like a swarm of locusts, proceeded towards

* Ibid. p. 187. See also *Gibbon*, vol. ix. p. 354.

* Maurice, p. 190.

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towards *India* with fatal rapidity. Their first invasion of it seems to have been under the conduct of *Mohammed Ebn Casim*, who was appointed by the caliph *Valid* at the commencement of the eighth century, in the year 707. Mr. Maurice * is of opinion that although the interior provinces were not probably attacked in this expedition, yet that by this invasion a way was opened for the two *Mohammedan* * merchants, who travelled thither during the ninth century. The superior or northern provinces of *Hindostan* at the time of its invasion by the Mohammedans, were divided among the Rajahs of *Labore*, *Delhi*, *Ajmere*, *Canouge*, and *Callinger*, whose forces are said to have been united to repel the common enemy: the state of the other provinces is thus described by * their historian. " The more southern provinces of *Hindostan Proper*, full of impregnable hills and castles, that as yet disdained a foreign lord, were tenanted by the daring race of *Rajapouts*, whose profession, from their earliest youth, was War; and who if they had not been engaged and debilitated in perpetual feuds among themselves, would have been invincible by the armies of any foreign invader. The multitude of these Forts wheresoever those lofty and almost perpendicular * eminences of rock, or mountain, which are so common in *India*, allowed an opportunity for erecting them, affords sufficient evidence of the distractions, which, in ancient periods, prevailed in this Country, amidst the endless contests resulting from the ambition and avarice of the more turbulent Chieftains; among whom, in the most ancient annals of *India*, the illustrious family of the *RANNA*, noticed by the very same name in *Ptolemy*, is recorded to have been the principal. The celebrated Castles and Cities of *Chitore*, *Mandu*, *Guallior*, *Rotas*, *Rantampoor*, and others in that central region, were places

* Ibid. p. 223.

* See APPENDIX D. (P. 217.)

* Maurice, p. 165.

* Many of these have been correctly delineated by Mr. Daniel, who has enabled his countrymen to enjoy the rich scenery of *India* at a comparatively small expence.

BOOK
I.

places of incredible strength, and in the unimproved state of the military Science at that period, bade defiance to all the forces the assailants could bring against them.—The mighty range of the *Bala-gant mountains*, of height almost inaccessible, and in most places covered with impervious Forests, perhaps coæval with the creation, ever afforded to its hardy bands of untamed warriors, an equally elevated and, from their remoteness, a still more secure retreat from the invading enemy.”

Respecting the cities of India during the early periods of its history, in the *Mababbarat* translated by the secretary of Akber the first imperial city of *Hindostan* is stated to have been OUDE capital of that province; and Sir William Jones informs us that the present city of *Lucknow* was only a lodge for one of its gates. OUDE continued the imperial City for 1500 years, when CANOUGE became with BENARES, joint metropolis of the vast kingdom on the Ganges. CANOUGE and PATNA seem also to have been considered as capitals, in the same manner as *Delbi* and *Agra* were in latter times. According to the *Mababbarat* Delhi rose to opulence on the site of the ancient City of *Inderput*, which in ages justly reputed fabulous had been the metropolis of the country. The learned editor of Harris’ collection of voyages remarks, that *Delbi* made a part of the kingdom of *Porus*, and in its neighbourhood the great battle was fought which gave that kingdom to Alexander. — It is said a Column still remains at Delhi, erected in memory of this battle, with an inscription almost worn out in a language now unknown.

During the reign of Caliph *Motasssem* (A. D. 800.) eighth of the *Abbasides*, we observe the ARABS yielding to the superior intrepidity of those TURKESTAN mountaineers, whom the timid caliphs called in to protect their city of *Bagdad*; and from this caliphate their power gradually declined until the death of *Al Rbadi* in

* Maurice’s Modern Hindostan, vol. 1. p. 270. 279. 359. 281. 263.

† Vol. 1. p. 632. Note.

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in 940, when the caliphs became entirely subservient to their Turkish generals. On the subsequent dissolution of the unity of the Arabian Empire, its independent fragments, as Gibbon expresses himself, *were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms.*

Ch. III. § 1.
*Reign of
Indian History.*

INDIA was next invaded, and subdued, by the sultans of the dynasties of *Gazna*, *Gaur*, and *Charasm*, as they successively arose on these ruins of the power of the *Caliphs*. ABISTAGI governor for the *Samanides* of *Chorasan*, having caused himself to be crowned at *Gazna* the capital of *Zabulistan*, during the minority of the young prince *Mansur*, was succeeded after a reign of fifteen years by his son *Abu Isaac*; and at his death the brave and loyal general SUBUCTAGI was raised to the throne during the year 977. In the first years of his reign he led the warlike *Afgans* to ravage the frontiers of *India*, and returned laden with spoils, *Jeipal* who then reigned in *Labore* or the *Panjab*, situated on the direct road to the interior of *Hindustan*, eager to chastise this and other previous acts of similar aggression, carried the war into the territories of his enemy. But the bravery of this Indian chief was baffled by a tremendous storm, amidst the violence of which whole squadrons of his cavalry perished, and *Jeipal* was compelled to sue for peace. His speech on that occasion, at the conference which he solicited with Subuctagi, displays the bold and desperate character of the Indian warriors: *Beware how you drive to despair the irritated but resolute Indians, who now suppose themselves suffering under the momentary wrath of their gods. They have a dreadful custom when reduced to the last extremity. In the phrenzy of desperation, they first massacre their wives and children to save them from violation and captivity: they then set fire to those terrestrial habitations, for which they have no longer occasion, and with dishevelled hair and horrible outcries, they rush upon the*

Invaded by
the Sultans
of Gazna,
977—1184.

see,

* Vol. 10. p. 146.

* Maurice, p. 222.

† Maurice, p. 235.

BOOK I. *for, nor leave the bloody field, till either they are cut off themselves, or have exterminated their adversaries.*

Jelal however neglecting to observe the terms on which his safe retreat had afterwards been permitted, and refusing to pay the promised tribute to those whom he probably considered as unprincipled marauders, preparations were instantly made on both sides for renewing the war. Accordingly in the year 978 the Indian chief took the field with one hundred thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, led on by the sovereigns of *Delhi, Ajmere, Callinger, and Canouge*. *Subucragi* supplied his deficiency in point of numbers by skill and discipline; with an army consisting chiefly of cavalry, but which did not amount to above a fourth part of the combined forces of *Hindostan*, he entirely routed the allies, gained an immense plunder in their camp, and acquired a considerable addition of territory.

MAHMUD, the bloody successor and son of *Subucragi*, succeeded to the throne of *Gazna* in the year 997. During his twelve *Indian Expeditions*, the first of which took place in the year 1000, his impetuous and unrelenting bigotry desolated a country, which, as its historian ^a observes, "might at that period be justly called the grand treasure-house of the world. It fell to the lot of *Mahmud* and his descendants, to unlock the doors of that treasury so long closed; to burst open its secret vaults; and bid the golden inundation roll back upon the impoverished regions of the exhausted globe." *Mahmud* died at his palace in *Gazna*, 1030, after a reign of thirty-five years.

The sufferings of *INDIA* were in some measure avenged by the fate of the sons of its invader, *Mohammed* and *Massud*; the very treasure which their father *MAHMUD* had amassed from all quarters, eventually caused his offspring to be deserted by his troops, and to be abandoned in the most critical emergency. *Oh cruel re-*

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^a Maurice, p. 240.

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*verse of fate! exclaimed Massud; yesterday I was a mighty prince; Ch. III. § 1.
three thousand Camels bending under my Treasure. To day I am forced
to beg, and receive but the mere mockery of my ^{Retrospect of} wants.*
Indian History.

During the reign of MODUD, grandson of Mahmud, and fourth king of Gazna and India, the confederated rajahs of Northern Hindostan made a resolute attempt to retrieve the independence of their suffering country, and for a time success attended their patriotism: but the military spirit of Modud rose superior to the adverse fortune which for a season threatened the kingdom of Gazna; faction however after his death (1049) poured forth the accumulated plunder of India. Like a secret poison it was ordained to ferment throughout every department of the state, and to weaken a strength which had been so rapaciously exerted; until in 1058 the devout IBRAHIM, son of Massud the second, ninth king of Gazna and India, was enabled by a peace with the Seljukian Turks to secure and extend the Moslem conquests in Hindostan during a reign of forty-two years. So numerous were his victories in that country that he was styled the conqueror and the triumphant, *Al Modbaffer* and *Al Mansur*. The son of Ibrahim, MASSUD THE THIRD, with the virtues and judgment of his father, inherited his ambition for Indian conquests. His generals imbibed the spirit of their sovereign; and proceeding eastward even beyond the country which the great Mahmud had reached, they crossed the sacred river of the Ganges.

1041.

BYRAM, twelfth king of Gazna and India, after penetrating twice into Hindostan sought an asylum on the borders of that country during the year 1151, being driven from Gazna by Alla brother to Seif ul Dien, Prince of Gaur. Byram returned unexpectedly with a powerful army; but treachery lurked amidst its ranks, and the

Dynasty

* Ibid. p. 318.

b Ibid. p. 333.

BOOK I. Dynasty of *Gazna* hastened to its close. In the reign of his grandson, **CHOSRO THE SECOND**, Lahore was taken by the treachery of *Mohammed* (1184) and the House of *Gazna* was obliged to yield to the superior villainy of the House of * **GAUR**.

Invaded by
the Sultans
of Gaur.
1184—1212.

MOHAMMED endeavoured to secure by blood what he had obtained by cunning. *Chosro* the second with his whole family were put to death; the superb palace of *Labore* and the government were assigned to Ali, viceroy of Multan; whilst *Mohammed* with the fame of a renowned general, and the authority of a monarch, returned to his brother who sat on the *Gaznavide* throne. During 1191 Mohammed again marched towards *Hindostan*, and proceeding to *Ajmere* took the capital of *Tiberhind*. On his return he heard that *Pittu Rai*, prince of Ajmere, and *Candi Rai*, king of Delhi, were advancing towards Tiberhind: a dreadful battle was in consequence fought on the banks of the *Sirfutti*, fourteen miles from Tannasar and eighty from Delhi; when the invader of *India* was repulsed, and owed his life to the fidelity of a servant.

Mohammed retreated, and returning to *Gaur* vented his indignation on the Omrahs who had deserted him in battle; he then resigned himself to indolence and dissipation. After a short interval his ambition returned, and an army consisting of one hundred thousand chosen horse, many of whom had their helmets and armour richly ornamented, prepared a new scourge for the natives of India. The Hindoos were soon in arms; their allied forces consisting of three hundred thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry, encamped opposite to their enemies on the river *Sirfutti*. One hundred and fifty Indian Princes assembled under the banners of the King of *Ajmere*; and after the performance of religious rites they all solemnly vowed by the sacred water of the **GANGES** that they would conquer or die. The treachery of *Mohammed*

was again exerted, and again successful. Fatally lulled into a delusive security, the Hindoo Camp became a scene of revelry, and the discipline of war was neglected: the morning beheld their numbers struggling with desperate resolution to retrieve past negligence; but at length a violent and unexpected charge of twelve thousand Moslem horse, whose riders were clad in complete armour, decided the fate of India. The city of *Delhi* was for a time preserved by means of costly presents.—*Mohammed* during his nine expeditions into *Hindustan* is recorded to have amassed five hundred maunds of diamonds, but his career was then terminated; and the murderer of the family of *Ghose* perished by the hands of midnight assassins:—though surrounded by his faithful guards there was still an Arm to whom the tent of this dreaded General was open; twenty mountaineers were chosen as the instruments of its vengeance, who at once rushed upon their victim, and buried their daggers into his ^d body.

Ch. III. § 1.
*Retrospect of
Indian History.*

1205.

After the victory which *Mohammed* had obtained over the allied army of India under *Pittu Rai*, the *Empire of Delhi* had been founded by *CUTTUB* or *Cotbeddin Ibek*, a faithful slave and friend of the conqueror left by him at *Koram*: for, having taken possession of *Delhi*, *Cuttub* who was the Mohammedan Viceroy of the conquered possessions in India made that city the seat of his government in the year 1193, and obliged the districts around him to embrace the doctrines of the *Koran*.—*MAHMUD*, the pusillanimous nephew and successor of *Mohammed*, lost the crowns both of *Gaur*, and *Gazna*, and in 1212 yielded to the prowess of the House of *CHARASM*. *MAHMUD* like his uncle was murdered in his bed.

MOHAMMED THE GREAT King of *Charazm*, and western India dependant on the empire of *Gazna*, soon beheld a new and powerful

*Charazmian
Dynasty.*

ful

^d Ibid. P. 364.

^d Ibid. P. 359.

BOOK
I.

1218.

ful enemy in the renowned *Gengis Khan*, who in 1218 moved on his countless multitudes of well disciplined *Moguls*, and *Tartars*, towards the rich provinces of ' *Southern Asia*. Having reduced the celebrated city of *Bokhara* to an heap of ashes, plundered *Samar-cand*, and given *Charazm* to the flames, GENGIS ordered the flying Mohammed to be incessantly pursued by thirty thousand picked soldiers, conducted by three of the most experienced Mogul generals. Death at length came to the relief of this miserable Sultan in 1220 ; and he expired under the cover of a wretched tent in the small uninhabited island of *Abiscon*, situated on the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea.

The brave son of *Mohammed*, * *GELALEDNIN*, † prepared to avenge the cause of his father, and to chastise the cruel invaders of his Charasmanian empire. But in the mean time *Gengis* urged a destructive course through the cities of *Balkh*, *Termed*, *Meru*, and *Nishapour* ; their walls were levelled, and their inhabitants murdered. At the sack of *Bamian* this wild beast of *Tartary* was gorged with blood ; men, women, and children were indiscriminately massacred. In vain did *Gelaleddin* strive with dubious success to retrieve the fortunes of his house, and even at length regain a part of his hereditary dominions ; for during the year 1231, four years after the death of *Gengis* who only reached the frontiers of *India* ‡, *GELALEDNIN* was betrayed and murdered in the province of *Curdistan*.

Southern
India invaded
by the Mo-
hammedan
Kings of
Delhi.

When *CUTTUB* the Viceroy of *India* was established as first Mohammedan King of *Delhi*, he caused himself to be invested with the imperial regalia both of *India* and *Gazna*, and thus founded the *Afghan* or *Patan* Dynasty which held the sceptre until the

† Ibid. P. 371.

* Ibid. P. 386.

‡ Le Croix Hist. Gengis, p. 377.

the invasion of *Timur Bec* in 1398. *Cuttub* ascended the throne Ch. II. § 9.
of *Labore* in 1205, and before his death in 1210 defeated the *Retrospect of*
Prince of Benares; he also marched against the *Rajahpouts* to pre- *Indian History.*
vent their junction, and overcame with difficulty an alliance of
the independent Indian chiefs with the prince of Narwalla. His
son ¹ *ARAM* succeeded, who with difficulty held the reins of govern-
ment for one year; and to pass over the intermediate sovereigns
of Delhi, in the year 1265 the Vizier *BALIN* on default of issue
from *Mabmud*, ascended the vacant ² throne. The most cele-
brated men of science that Asia could produce were assembled and
encouraged in his court, among whom the noble *Chosro*, and
Hassen, bore the first rank. Though the disposition of *Balin* was
cruel, and sanguinary, he condescended to visit learned men at their
own houses, and is said to have made them costly presents. He
appointed his son *Kera* king of *Bengal* in 1279, and died in 1286
after a reign of twenty-two years.

During the ¹ government of *FEROSE THE SECOND*, a descendant
from the ferocious tribe of *Chilligi*, the first *Mohammedan Invasion*
of *Southern India* took place in 1293; conducted by the murderer
and nephew of *Feroze*, *Alla ul-dien*, who was afterwards emperor.
Having reached *Elichpoor*, and invested *Deogur* the capital of rajah
Ramdeo, the retreat of *Alla* was nearly cut off: but having defeated
Ramdeo and inflicted a cruel vengeance on the Hindoos, this Mo-
hammedan was enabled to drain the country of six hundred ² maunds
of pure gold, seven maunds of *pearl*, two maunds of *diamonds*, *rubies*,
emerald, and *sapphires*; beside one thousand maunds of *silver*, four
thousand pieces of *silk*, and other precious commodities.

1289.

On

¹ Maurice's Modern Hindostan, vol. i. p. 400.² Ibid. P. 415.¹ Ibid. P. 436.² The Maund of the DECCAN, according to Mr. Maurice, is twenty-five pound avoirdupois.

BOOK

1.

1295.

On the accession of this execrable *ALLA*, whose object was to impoverish all ranks of men, his kingdom was repeatedly threatened by the *Moguls*; but the daring spirit of the emperor assisted by the brave *Ziffer*, who from envy was suffered to perish in the arms of victory, baffled every attempt of the enemy. In 1306 the desolating ambition of *Alla* was again directed towards *Southern India*. *Ramdeo* king of *Deogur* had omitted to send the promised tribute, and the Mohammedan troops eagerly pressed forward to enrich themselves by a second * Invasion. *Casoor*, general of *Alla*, having divided the country of the *Mabrattas* among his omrahs, advanced to the siege of *Deogur*, or *Dowlat-abad*; but *Ramdeo* prudently appeased the ambition of the Mohammedans by presents, and scrupled not to do homage himself at *Delbi*.

A third * Invasion of *Southern India* was conducted by two Mohammedan generals *Casoor*, and *Chaja*, in the year 1310: this expedition was particularly directed against the rich Temples of *Dboor*, *Summund*, and *Maber*. *Bellal Deo*, sovereign of the Carnatic was taken prisoner, and his country laid waste. Satiated with cruelty and plunder the marauders had resolved to return; when a sudden discovery of immense treasure buried by some *Brabmins* completed the triumph of avarice. *Casoor*, on his arrival at *Delbi*, presented *ALLA* with three hundred and twelve *elephants*, twenty thousand *horses*, ninety-six thousand maunds of *gold*, beside several chests of *jewels*, *pearls*, and other treasure. Such an influx of wealth eventually proved favourable to the polite arts; and *Alla* could boast of having forty-five professors in his empire, who were celebrated for their skill in science. Prior to the death of this monarch, in 1316, his general *Casoor* conducted a * fourth Invasion of *Southern India* during the year 1312; and after ravaging with his usual

* *Ibid.* p. 462.* *Ibid.* p. 465.* *Ibid.* p. 468.

usual barbarity the countries of *Mabrat*, *Cannir*, *Dabul*, *Giwil*, *Rajore*, and *Mudkil*, had taken up his residence at *Deogur*.—The monster MUBARICK, third son of Alla, ascending the throne in 1317, invaded *Southern India* during the second year of his reign. His favourite general, the traitor *Chrofro*, remained a year in *Malabar*, and plundered the country of a diamond that weighed one hundred and sixty-eight ruttys, with other jewels and gold to a considerable amount.

Ch. III. § 1.
*Recapitulation of
Indian History.*

On the death of the great and virtuous *Tuglick the first*, in 1325, his eldest son MOHAMMED THE THIRD succeeded. *Hindostan* was soon threatened by a *Mogul* army conducted by the renowned *Siri* chief of the tribe of *Zagatay*, who consented to retire on receiving nearly the price of the empire. *Mohammed* having thus secured the tranquillity of his own country, prepared to invade the peace of other districts; and his generals subdued many provinces that had not yet yielded to the throne of Delhi: the *Carnatic* was reduced to the extremities of the *Deccan*, and from sea to sea; but these conquests were afterwards lost amidst convulsions occasioned by the weakness and tyranny of the emperor. With an unaccountable fickleness of disposition he abandoned his city of *Delhi*, then the envy of the world, and obliged its wretched inhabitants to migrate to *Deogur*, as being more central. Thousands were afterwards permitted to return to Delhi, but the greater part perished by famine before they could regain the abode of their forefathers. *Mohammed* died in 1351; "having laboured," says Mr. Maurice, "with no contemptible abilities to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men." His distinguished successor, FEROS THE THIRD, greatly improved the empire: he not only founded the city of *Ferozabad* in 1354, but ordered many Canals to be cut which proved

of

¹ Ibid. p. 479.

² Ibid. p. 492.

BOOK
I.

of the utmost advantage to the adjacent country. The conquests of *Feroze* were not tinged with the cruelty of his predecessors: he marched to the mountains of *Naugracut*, reduced the Rajah of those parts, and again confirmed him in his dominions. In the temple of *Naugracut*, called out of compliment to his predecessor the city of Mohammed, *Feroze* found in 1360 a Brahmin library consisting of one thousand, three hundred volumes. During this reign, which was succeeded by nine years of civil war, 'Bengal and Southern India were in a manner separated from the government of *Delhi*.

Mogul
Dynasty.
1405.

When TIMUR BEC the renowned descendant of *Gengis*, first proposed the invasion of Hindostan in 1398, ten years after the death of *Feroze*, he was answered according to 'Gibbon, by a murmur of discontent: *The Rivers! and the Mountains and Deserts! and the Soldiers clad in armour! and the Elephants, destroyers of men!* An infant son of Mohammed the fourth had been placed on the throne of *Delhi* in 1392 by the name of MAHMUD SHAH, and this event was particularly favourable to the ambition of the Mogul Chieftain. TIMUR soon made his triumphant entry into the capital of *Hindostan*; advancing one hundred miles to the north-east of *Delhi* he passed the *Ganges*, and completed his conquest at the famous rock of *Coupele*. On the death of *Timur* in 1405 began the famous Mogul Dynasty in *Hindostan*, which succeeded that of the *Afgban*, or *Patan*, founded by CUTTUB. The dominions of *Timur* were divided according to his will among his children. MIRACHA a third son " received the eastern part of *Persia*, the *Cabulistan*, a frontier province between *Persia* and the Indies, and *Hindostan*; and with this prince the Mogul empire commenced. *Miracha*

* Ibid. P. 495.

* Vol. 12. P. 13.

* Catrou's History. See also in Harris's Collection of Voyages (vol. 1. p. 629.) A succinct account of the Empire of the great Mogul from its foundation to the present times, taken chiefly from the oriental writers.

racha made choice of the city of *Herat* as his capital, situated almost in the centre of his dominions in the province of *Chorassan*. Ch. II. 4. 2.
*Retrospect of
Indian History.*

This courageous, but ungrateful emperor, was succeeded by his son *ABOUCHAID*, in 1451, whose ingratitude was proverbial throughout the East; after a disgraceful reign of twenty-eight years his fifth son *SHEIK OMAR* was placed upon the throne; and during a long interval of peace he amused himself in teaching pigeons, which he kept, to live in a continual state of enmity. Subsequent to his death in 1493 the Mogul empire was more fully established in Hindostan by his son *BABAR*; who previous to any military expeditions for the extension of his empire, a considerable part of which had been wrested from him by *Schaibec Khan* prince of the *Usbeck Tartars*, resolved with *Ranguildas* governor of *Cabulistan*, to make a tour of observation throughout Hindostan under the disguise of Indian *fauquirs*.

Having travelled from one extremity of *India* to the other, they drew up an account of that country some few years * previous to the first *Voyage of da Gama*. They found *HINDOSTAN* inhabited by four nations. (1) *Native Indians*, who notwithstanding the repeated invasions and conquests of the *Afghan* kings of *Delhi*, still preserved some faint resemblance of their antient constitution. Their monarchs however were immersed in the seraglio; the affairs of government abandoned to ministers or their deputies; whilst the *Brabmins*, forgetful of the opinions of their ancestors, abused the easy confidence of the vulgar. The army consisted of an undif-

* Other writers, differing from *Catrou*, are of opinion that all *Hindostan* was divided into separate States about the year 1450 under a prince called *Belloli*, who ascended the Mogul throne on the abdication of *Alla* the second; and that a son of this prince, having established his residence at *Agra* in 1501, regained a considerable part of the empire. The first expedition of *Babar* is placed by them in 1518. Mr. *Paton* in his *Principles of Asiatic Monarchies* (1801.) gives a sketch of the History of Hindostan from the first Mohammedan invasion to the reign of *Akber* (p. 67.) According to him *Babar* advanced to *Delhi* in 1525, and died in 1530.

BOOK
I.
 undisciplined rabble, and the general mass of people were lost in indolence and vice. (2) The second class consisted of *Patans*, a Mohammedan race, who had passed over from the opposite coast of *Arabia*, and having first settled on the southern side of the *Indus* where they founded the town of *Musifipatan*, thence extended themselves until they became masters of the kingdom of *Delbi*; which they possessed when *Timur* invaded India. (3) The third class consisted of *Perfians*, who on the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans had been obliged to emigrate in great multitudes. (4) *Mogul* soldiers who had been placed in different garisons, and officers appointed to collect the tribute of conquered Rajahs, formed the fourth class.

Death of
 Babar.

1530.

Malabar.

On the return of *BABAR*, and his faithful companion, the attention of this emperor was first directed towards the *Patans*, established at *Delbi* under *Amwixa* the most powerful Rajah in Hindostan: the forces of *Amwixa* were defeated, and the victorious *Babar* re-established the Mogul throne at *Delbi*. After reigning five years at *Samarcand*, three in *Cabulistan*, and thirty in *Hindostan*, this renowned emperor died in 1530, and was succeeded by his son *Homayum* or *Homaion*. Babar like Cæsar composed commentaries of his own life and actions entitled *Vakeat Babari*, in which an ample account is given of his battles both in Tartary and India.

The Maritime parts of *Southern Hindostan* were always independent of the Court of *Delbi*; and it is extremely difficult to procure any historical information respecting them prior to the arrival of *da Gama* on the Coast of Malabar. The Arabian writers, as Dr. Robertson observes, 'mention a great Empire established on the Malabar Coast, governed by monarchs whose authority was paramount to that of every power in *India*. These monarchs were distinguished by the appellation of *Balchara*, a name yet known in

India

† Ancient India, p. 221.

India^a; and it is probable that the *Samorin* or emperor of *Calicut*, Ch. III. § 1. so frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first Voyages of the *Portuguese* to India, possessed some portion of their dominions." But ^{*Abstract of Indian History.*} the best information on this subject which perhaps can be at present obtained appears in a dissertation published in the 'Asiatic Researches, entitled *Historical Remarks on the coast of Malabar*, of which the following is the substance.

In a curious work called ' *Kerul Qodputte*, or the emerging of the country of *Kerul*, the origin of the *Malabar* Coast is ascribed to the piety or penitence of *Puresram Rama*; who, stung with remorse for the blood he had shed, applied to *Varuna* god of the Ocean, to supply him with a tract of ground to bestow on the *Brabmens*. *Varuna* listening to his prayer, withdrew the sea from the *Gowkern* a hill in the vicinity of Mangalore, to Cape Comorin; and in consequence that part of the Coast which extends along the base of the *Sukbien*, or *Ghaut* mountains, has acquired the name of *Mulyalum*, which rendered literally is *skirting at the bottom of the hills*: a term that may easily have been shortened into *Maleyam*, or *Maleam*, whence probably came *Mulievar* and *Malabar*.

The Country thus obtained from the 'Sea, long continued in a marshy and scarcely habitable state, inasmuch that the first settlers, whom

^a Herbelot Article *Hend*, and *Belhar*.

^b By Jonathan Duncan, Esq. (vol. 5. 8vo. p. 1.)

^c Translated into English by Mr. Duncan, during his stay at *Calicut* in 1793, from the Persian version, made under his own inspection after the Malabaric copy in possession of one of the *Rajahs* of the *Zamorin's* family.

^d In a MS. account of MALABAR, which Mr. Duncan has seen, and which is ascribed to a bishop of Virapoli, the seat of a famous Roman Catholic seminary near *Cochin*; according to the accounts of the learned natives of that coast, it is little more than two thousand three hundred years since the Sea came up to the foot of the *Sukien*, or *Ghaut* mountains; and that it once did so he thinks extremely probable from the nature of the soil. See page 375.

BOOK ^{I.} whom *Purefram* is said to have brought from the eastern, and even northern parts of *India*, were obliged to abandon it on account of innumerable serpents with which its mud and slime abounded. These settlers however afterwards returned, being instructed by *Purefram* to propitiate and worship the serpents. This maritime district, according to the *Kerul Oodputte*, was afterwards separated into four *Tookrees*, or divisions; and these were again parcelled out into a greater number of *Naadhs*, or districts, and of *Kbunds* or subdivisions. From the same source we learn, that the *Brabhens* appear to have first established a sort of republican or aristocratical government, under two or three principal chiefs, which continued for some time: until jealousies arising among themselves, the great body of *Brabhens* landholders applied for foreign assistance; and accordingly received a *Permal*, or chief governor, from the prince of the neighbouring country of *Chaldefsb*, a part of the southern Carnatic. These viceroys were regularly changed and relieved every twelve years; until one of them named *Sbeo Ram*, or, according to the *Malabar* book, *Sbermanoo Permaloo*, by others also called *Cberuma Perumal*, rendered himself so extremely popular that he was enabled to confirm his authority, and set his sovereign the prince of *Chaldefsb* at defiance; who is known in their books by the name of *Rajah Kishen Rao*: An army was immediately sent into *Malabar* to re-establish the *Rajah's* authority, but the cause of *Sbermanoo* was successful: this event is supposed to have taken place one thousand years anterior to the present period. From this epocha all the *Rajahs*, and chief *Nayrs*, as well as other titled and principal lords and landholders of *Malabar*, date their ancestors' sovereignty in that country. After the defeat of *Kishen Rao's* army, *Sbermanoo Permaloo* being either weary of his situation, or wishing to become a convert to the *Koran*, resolved to visit *Arabia*; and accordingly made a general division

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division of *Malabar* among his dependents, from whom its present chieftains are descended.

Ch. III. § 1.
*Retrospect of
Indian History.*

It is a received opinion among the *Malabars*, that when *Shermanoo Permaloo* had completed this division of his kingdom, he was applied to by an *Erary*, or person of the Cow-herd cast for some support; which *Erary*, with his brother, had left their native town of *Poondra* on the banks of the Cavery near *Errode*, and had been the principal cause of the *Malabars'* success against the army of the Rajah Kishen Rao. *Shermanoo* having little left, made the *Erary* a grant of his own place of abode at *Calicut*; he also gave him his sword, and ankle chainlet, with other insignia, and moreover presented him with water and flowers, the ancient symbol of a transfer of property in that part of India. Beside these marks of royal favour, *Shermanoo* authorised and instructed him to extend his dominion by arms; which this adventurer, the ancestor of the present *Zamorin*, immediately attempted. In the true spirit of their original grant his family have ever since either meditated new conquests, or endeavoured to secure, what had been gained by the sword of *Shermanoo Permaloo*; which they assert to have still preserved as a precious relic.

Even anterior to the above partition of *Malabar*, the Nestorians had settled and planted *Christianity* on that coast; and with those
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* The *Abbe de Guyon* in his *Histoire des Indes*, (3 vols. 12mo.) observes, that the King of *Calicut* took the title of *Zamorin*, according to an ancient regulation of *Ceram Peroumal*, or *Peremal*, who retired to Mecca to pass the rest of his days. This prince, sovereign of all *Malabar*, divided his empire amongst his friends and relations, and thus gave rise to that multitude of petty Kings with which the Coasts are filled: but he ordained, that the King of *Calicut* should have the title of *ZAMORIN*.

* Pennant in his *Western Hindoostan*, (p. 164.) observes, "What weighs greatly with me concerning the truth of the existence of the *Indian Christians*, or *Christians of St. Thomas*, is, that the knowledge of them had reached *England* as early as the ninth century; for we are certain that our great *Alfred*, in consequence of a Vow, sent *Sighelm* the second, in the year

BOOK
I.

of the Roman Catholic communion who arrived several centuries after in consequence of *Vasco da Gama's* discovery, they constitute to this day a considerable body of the lower orders in *Travancore*, and *Cochin*, in which last district the most considerable, or rather, perhaps the only colony of Jews in *India* is settled.

From the period of *Sbermanoo's* abdication to the arrival of the Portuguese at *Calicut*, the Mahommedan religion made great progress in *Malabar*. The Arabian traders, who annually brought considerable sums of money to the *Malabar* Coast for its pepper, and other spices, received every encouragement from the successive *Samoories*, or *Zamorins*; whence that part of the coast became the centre of Arabian traffic, and the residence of its merchants. The Rajahs of *Cochin*, and of other petty states, jealous of the ambition and superior power of these *Samoories*, were eager to afford the Portuguese a kind reception in their ports; and from this collision of interests proceeded that warfare by sea and land which shook the empire of *Hindoostan* to its centre. Mr. Duncan adds, that the only Asiatic account of these memorable contests he ever met with, is contained in an Arabic manuscript composed by ZEIRREDDIEN MUKHDOM; who is thought to have been sent to assist the Mahommedan princes of India, and the *Zamorin*, against the Portuguese. His interesting history closes with the year 1579-80, and contains among other valuable information an account of the then existing manners of the *Malabars*. The country of *Malabar* is described as being at that time divided into a number of independencies more or less extensive; in which were Chieftains commanding from one, to two, and three hundred, up to a thousand; and thence to five, ten,

883 (Bishop of Sherbourn) first to *Rome*, and afterwards to *India*, with alms to the Christians of the town of *Saint Thomas*, now *Melapour*, who returned with various rich Gems, some of which were to be seen in the church of *Sherbourn*, according to *William of Malmshury* (lib. 11. 248.) even in his days."

ten, thirty thousand, and upwards. In some of these independ- Ch. III. § 1.
dencies, two, three, and sometimes even more *Hakims*, or rulers, Retrospect of
Indian History.
had at the same time distinct bodies of men attached to them re-
spectively. The three greatest powers were the *Colasfrian* Rajah to
the north, the *Zamorin* in the centre, and farther south a Prince
who ruled from the town of *Kolum*, or *Caulim*, to *Cape Comorin*,
comprehending the States now held by the Rajah of *Travancore*. In
Zeirreddien's enumeration of what he considered as the chief pecu-
liarities in the manners of the *Malabars*, he remarked, that the
rulers were of two classes, or parties; one of which acted in sup-
port of the *Zamorin*, while the other party acted in concert with
the *Hakim* of *Cochin*. He then proceeds to mention, that the
towns built along the Coast of *Malabar* owed their origin to
the Mahommedan traders, and were principally constructed by
them. He also relates the arrival of the Portuguese fleets, under
Da Gama in 1498, and that under *Cabral* a few years afterwards;
with the negociations, jealousies, and wars that ensued, in a manner
reconcilable to the accounts of the same transactions already pub-
lished.

The multiplicity of subjects considered in this volume have not
at present allowed me to pay that attention to the discovery of the
mariner's compass which I could have wished. There is little
doubt that it was used in India, long before any knowledge of it
had reached Europe; and it is singular that the *Leadstone* seems to
have been designated under the term of *The heavy*, or *rare Stone*,
in the ' Hebrew יָקָרָה אֲבֵן, *by the navigators of Solomon's fleet*.—Cer-
tainly

' Our Translation (1 Kings 10. ch. 11. v.) styles it, *Precious Stones*, but the original term
is *Stone*, in the singular. See *Michaelis Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, No. 1049; who
contends from the *Syriac* and *Arabic*, that the sense of *precious* annexed to the epithet, is not
proper but derivative, the primary signification being heavy. The seventy however, and
Symmachus, have rendered it *σπανος rare*. (Note by the Reverend S. Henley.)

BOOK
I.

tainly we now possess sufficient evidence to believe, that the earliest ornament employed to mark the North, and which has generally been called a *Fleur de lis*, was no other than the *Indian Lotus*; since *Mr. Daniel* observed the same to be frequently introduced on some of the most ancient of the Hindoo temples. The following specimens, which he was so obliging as to communicate, are therefore offered to the attention of nautical antiquarians.



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SECTION II.

Reflections.—Accession of Emmanuel.—Conduct of Almeida.—Singular request of John the second.—Murmurs against the further progress of Discovery.—Fernan Lourenço receives orders to build the ships which John the second had destined for the discovery of India.—Da Gama appointed to command the squadron.—Narrative of his Voyage from Castanheda, Osorius, and Camoens.

VASCO ! le cui felici, ardite antenne
In contro al sol, che ne riporta il giorno
Spiegar' le vele, è fer' colà ritorno,
Dove egli par che di cadere accene :

Non più di te per aspro mar sostenne
Quel, che fece al Ciclope oltraggio, è scorno :
Ne chi turbo l'Arpie nel suo soggiorno
Ne diè più bel soggetto à colte penne.

Et hor quella del colto, è buon' Luige
Tant' oltré stende il glorioso volo
Che i tuoi spalmati legni andar' men' lungè.
Und' a quelli, à cui s'alza il nostro poio,
Et à chi ferma in contra i suoi vestigi
Per lui del corso tuo la fama aggiunge.

TASSO.

As we approach the completion of Portuguese Discovery on the Coasts of Africa, and consider the astonishing revolution which *da Gama's* Voyage produced throughout the greater part both of *Europe*, and *Asia*; we are naturally led to exclaim with Sir William ^a Monson :
“ It is strange, and surprising, that out of so many flourishing Nations as God hath created and civilized, He should elect and chuse the

^a Naval Tracts, Churchill's Collection (vol. 3. p. 352.)

BOOK
I.

the kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great work of his; and assign them such a time when they enjoyed a happy peace with their neighbours, and had no enemy to oppose or hinder their designs."

1495.

EMMANUEL was only in his twenty-sixth year, when he received the news of his cousin's death, *John the second*. Brought up without any immediate expectations of the Crown, and being himself a younger^b son, it was only at the conclusion of the late monarch's reign that *Emmanuel* had been taught to consider himself as *Infante* of Portugal. He received the express at *Salatia*, in which town he was immediately proclaimed king with the usual ceremonies: after which an assembly of his nobility, clergy, and deputies from the cities, was called at *Monte Mayor* about twelve miles from *Evora*. In this assembly the king gave early and striking proofs of great abilities by the noble plans which he suggested; and before he left *Monte Mayor* for his metropolis, an event occurred characteristic of the peculiar goodness of his disposition.

Among the number of loyal subjects who pressed forward to pay their earliest homage, the attention of the Court was particularly fixed on two persons. The scene that ensued is feelingly described by^c *Oforius*.—*Diego Almeida* master of the order of knights hospitalers, a cavalier famed for his bravery and accomplishments, had been

^b *Emmanuel* was the grandson of king *Edward*, the nephew of *Alfonso* the fifth, and cousin to *John* the second his predecessor. (*Elogios dos reis de Portugal*.) He was the third son of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Viseo*, by Donna *Beatris*, the daughter of the infant Don *Juan*. (*De Faria y Sousa Epitome*.) He was born at the castle of *Alchochetti*, May 3, 1469, which fell that year upon a Thursday, and the feast of *Corpus Christi*, at the very instant the sacrament passed by the door; and for this reason he took the name of *Emmanuel*. He received the principal part of his education in *Castile*, during the time he remained there as an hostage, and returned to Portugal about the time the Duke of *Bragança* lost his life.

^c Page 7. (*Gibbs' Translation*, vol. 1. p. 8.)

been appointed tutor to George a favourite natural son of the late king. They both appeared in deep mourning: the contrast between the youth of George who was only in his fourteenth year, and the age of his protector, gave additional interest. Almeida advancing, presented his pupil for the first time, and thus addressed EMMANUEL: *Illustrious SENHOR, the deceased king who by nature was your cousin, but by the love he bore you might well be accounted your brother; when on his death-bed assured me, that he should quit this life with the greatest resignation, if he were relieved from one anxiety which depressed his mind, the apprehension he experienced of leaving this destitute and forlorn Orphan. Yet at the same time he acknowledged that this uneasiness was greatly alleviated, when he called to remembrance the benevolence of your disposition, the gratitude of your heart, and your inclination for every thing noble and generous. And then he enjoined me in his name, to desire, nay even to entreat; as he had ever loved you as a son, as he had ever distinguished you by the greatest marks of honour, and conferred on you every kindness in his power, that you would shew a proper sense of such exalted favour, by a grateful return of the same to this his only child.—Moreover he strictly charged me, that I should frequently admonish this son to attach himself entirely to your service, and to make it his sole ambition to surpass every one in love and fidelity for your royal person, and in zeal for your interests.—These were his Commands; and in order to execute the duties of my station, I here, Senhor, present this youth, who at these tender years has been deprived of such a parent. By disposition as well as birth he is related to you. He comes as a suppliant; the severity of his fate entitles him to your protection. In the name of his Father I present him.—EMMANUEL was so greatly^d affected by this speech, that he at first was unable to reply; but afterwards assured*

Almeida,

^d Hac Almeidae Oratione aded fuit Emmanuelis moeror excitatus, ut cum dare responsum vellet, lacrymis et singultu spiritus illius impediretur. (*Orosius*. P. 8.)

BOOK
I.

Almeida, in few words, that, *he should always consider George as his own son; and would bestow on him such marks of favour as might best demonstrate an inclination to preserve and extend the name and memory of JOHN THE SECOND.* This circumstance, adds *Oforius*, we have thought worthy of a place in our history; since it equally proves how much the probity of John was regarded, and with what reason the excellency of Emmanuel's character was admired.

Venice.

VENICE was among the * first to congratulate *Emmanuel* on his accession to the throne. This watchful and jealous state must have been anxious to ascertain the strength of that opposition which continued in Portugal, against all attempts to discover a passage to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; and probably wished to increase the murmurs then prevailing against any further encouragement of so desperate an undertaking. It was therefore politic for the Venetian senate to assure *Emmanuel* of its friendship and esteem; and accordingly the nation, which became the greatest sufferer by the present reign, was the first to compliment the future destroyer of its commercial supremacy.

John the second, a short time previous to his death, made every effort to induce his successor to continue the progress of discovery beyond the point which *Bartholomew Dias* had reached. The prosperous voyage of *Columbus* imparted to *John* additional impulse; and in order that EMMANUEL might possess an equal stimulus to complete a developement of the Indian Ocean from its union with the Atlantic, he had been desired by *John* to add a Sphere to the regalia of Portugal. After his decease, the party which had long been formed, recommenced a powerful opposition against the commercial interests of their country; deprecating the possibility of ever arriving in *India*, by a passage round the newly discovered

Cape.

* *Oforius*.

† See page 181.

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Cape. The arguments that were urged on this occasion had their effect on the public mind, and tended considerably to heighten the dangers of a voyage, which *Emmanuel* was determined to attempt. *Camoens* beautifully personifies the state of mind which his countrymen then possessed, and under the following figure has recorded with a historic correctness the sentiments of Emmanuel's council.

" A reverend Figure fixt each wondering eye,
And beckoning thrice he wav'd his hand on high ;
And thrice his hoary curls he sternly shook,
While grief and anger mingled in his look ;
Then to its height his faltering voice he rear'd,
And thro' the Fleet these awful words were heard :

" O frantic thirst of Honour and of Fame,
The crowds' blind tribute, a fallacious name ;
What stings, what plagues, what secret scourges curst,
Torment those bosoms where thy pride is nurs't !
What dangers threaten, and what deaths destroy
The hapless youth, whom thy vain gleams decoy !
... Thou dazzling Meteor, vain as fleeting air,
What new dread horror dost thou now prepare !
High sounds thy voice of INDIA's pearly shore,
Of endless Triumphs and of countless Store
And say, does Zeal for holy Faith inspire
To spread its mandates, thy avow'd desire ?

Behold

* The *Lusitanian Homer*, as already observed (p. 73.), is entitled to the authority of an historian: his means of information were ample, and extended from *Portugal* to *India*. But the following suffrage of *Montesquieu* is alone sufficient to justify an insertion of such passages from the *Lusadas*, as illustrate *Gama's Voyage*. " Les Portugais naviguant sur l'Océan Atlantique, découvrirent la pointe la plus meridionale de l'Afrique ; ils virent une vaste Mer ; elle les porta aux Indes Orientales : leurs périls sur cette Mer, et la découverte de Mozambique, de Melinde, et de Calcut, ont été chanté par le CAMOENS, dont le poème fait sentir quelque chose des charmes de l'Odyssée, et de la magnificence de l'Encide." (*L'Esprit des Loix*, l. xxi. c. 21.)

BOOK
I.

Behold the HAGARENS in armour stands,
Treads on thy borders, and the foe demands :
A thousand cities own his lordly sway,
A thousand various shores his nod obey.
Through all these regions all these Cities, scorn'd
Is thy Religion, and thine Altars spurn'd.
A Foe renown'd in arms the brave require ;
That high-plum'd Foe, renown'd for martial fire,
Before thy gates his shining spear displays ;
Whilst thou wouldst fondly dare the wat'ry maze,
Enfeebled leave thy Native Land behind,
On Shores unknown a foe unknown to find.
Oh ! madness of ambition ! thus to dare
Dangers so fruitless, so remote a war !
That Fame's vain flattery may thy name adorn,
And thy proud titles on her flag be borne :
Thee, lord of Persia, thee of India lord,
O'er Ethiopia's vast, and Araby^a ador'd."

Thus did the counsellors of *Emmanuel* strive to withdraw their sovereign from measures that were planned by consummate wisdom. Never was any expedition more¹ unpopular than this of
da

^a Mickle's *Lusiad*, book iv. vol. 2. p. 38.

¹ The same prejudices that prevailed against this Voyage, were afterwards urged to discountenance all trade to the East India. *Purchas* in his first volume (p. 732 lib. 5.) gives a long Dissertation on the subject by *T. Mun*, in order to remove such objections. "By the providence of Almighty God, the discoverie of that Navigation to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope (now so much frequented by the *English*, *Portugale*, and *Dutch*, and also attempted by other Christian kingdoms) hath not onely much decayed the great Commerce betwene the *Indians* and the *Turkes* in the Red Sea, and in the *Persian* Gulfe, to their infinite hurt, and to the great increase of Christian trade ; but it hath also brought a further happinesse vnto Christendome in generall, and to the realme of *England* in particular, for the venting of more *English* commodities ; and for exporting of a lesse quantitie of siluer out of Europe vnto the infidels, by many thousand pounds yearly, than hath beene accustomed in former times ; as I shall prooue most plainly by that which followeth . . . So that by the substance, and summes of these Accounts it doth plainly appeare, that the buying of the said quantitie of raw silkes, Indico, and spices, may be performed in the *Indies* for neere one-third

PREPARATIONS FOR GAMA'S VOYAGE.

da Gama. These murmurs of the Cabinet were re-echoed by the affrighted populace, who already beheld the Sultan of Egypt in the *Tagus*, and all the princes of christendom in confederacy to subvert the kingdom of Portugal. They were afraid, says ¹ Bruce, 'left after having discovered a passage to *India*, the depriving the Moorish States of their revenues from the Spice trade, should unite these powers to their destruction. Now, to destroy their revenues effectually, and thereby ruin their power, was the very motive which set *Prince Henry* upon the discovery, as worthy the Grand Master of the Order of Christ; an order founded in the blood of unbelievers, and devoted particularly to the extirpation of the Mahometan religion.'—But the cool judgment of *Emmanuel* was not to be shaken by such vague chimeras: his superior mind discerned prospects of national advantage, and he therefore resolved to pursue that path which his predecessor had so strongly recommended. To use the words of ¹ *Oforius*, *Emmanuel* regarded Diffidence as the mark of a low and groveling mind, whereas he considered Hope to be the quality of a noble and aspiring soul.

On the arrival of *Diaz*, John the second had ordered some timber to be purchased in order to construct ² ships which in point of strength and tonnage might be enabled to surmount the raging *Tormentas* of the *grão Cabo de boa Esperança*.—This important commission was now intrusted to *Fernan Lourenço*, treasurer of the house of *the Myna*; and after much deliberation *Emmanuel* fixed on *Vasco da Gama*, *Fidalgo de sua Casa*, as *Capitão mór* of the intended

third part of the readie moneys, which were accustomed to be sent into Turkey to provide the same: so that there will be saved every yeere the value of 953,543 pounds, foure shillings, foure pence Sterling, of readie moneys, that heretofore hath bene exported out of Christendome into Turkey." (Ibid. P. 734.)

¹ Vol. 2. p. 109.

² Page 23.

³ *Castanheira's* expression is *dous navios da Madeira q'el Rey di João mandara cortar*. (Tom. 1. p. 4. cap. 2.) See also *de Barros* (*Decada* 1. liv. 4. cap. 1.)

BOOK I. intended voyage; who in a war with the French had already given proofs of enterprise and naval skill. Vasco was a native of *Sinis*, a sea port in the province of *Alentejo*, and was the son of *Esfevão da Gama*, a person of rank, who had been already appointed to this expedition by *John*, on the return of *Diaz*; but died before the squadron was fitted out. On receiving this important charge, *Vasco* told *Emmanuel* that his mind had long aspired to the honour of such an enterprise:

" Let Skies on fire,
Let frozen Seas, let horrid war conspire,
I dare them all, I cried, and but repine
That one poor life is all I can * resign."

To great enthusiasm this Navigator united perseverance, prudence, and a constant possession of his judgment. *Oforius* * styles him a nobleman endowed with a singular strength of mind. '*Gama*,' says Dr. Vincent *, 'was formed for the service to which he was called; violent indeed in his temper, terrible in anger, and sudden in the execution of justice; but at the same time intrepid, persevering, patient in difficulties, fertile in expedients, and superior to all opposition. He seems to have devoted himself to death if he should not succeed, from a sense of religion and loyalty. His success was owing to this sentiment.'

When *Gama* received these commands of his sovereign, the first nobility of Portugal were present. *Emmanuel*, after an eloquent speech, gave him with his own hand as the flag he was to bear, a sacred Banner, on which was emblazoned the Cross of the military order of CHRIST: it consisted * of a white cross inclosed in

one

* Mickle's *Lusad*, book iv. vol. 2. p. 33.

* *Hominem nobilem, et singulari animi robore pradium.* (P. 24.)

* *Periplus*, p. 221. and p. 209. n. 355.

* *Oforius*, p. 17. See also *Barros Eu Vasco da Gama . . . juro em o final desta Cruz, em que ponho as mãos, que por serviço de Deus, e vosso.* (Decada 1. l. 4. cap. 1.)

NAMES OF OFFICERS IN THE SQUADRON.

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one of a red colour; and on this standard the admiral took his oath of fidelity. The king also delivered into his hands the Journal of *Pedro de Covilham*, with a chart, and letters to such of the principal princes of *India*, as were known to the court of Portugal; among whom the renowned *Preste João des Indias* was not omitted.

Ch. II. § 9.
Emanuel.

The Squadron fitted out for this memorable voyage, consisted of three ships and a caravella: the *Sam Gabriel* of one hundred and twenty tons, and the *Sam Rafael* of one hundred tons, both built by Lourenco; the other ship of two hundred tons which served as a victualler, was purchased by the king of one *Ayres Correa*, and the caravella of fifty tons had been the property of *Berrio* a pilot at Lagos, whose name it received. The principal officers are thus given by *Castanheda*.

VASCO DA GAMA hoisted his flag on board the *Sam Gabriel*, having with him as pilot *Pero Dalâquer*, who had been pilot to *Bartholomew Diaz*.

PAULO DA GAMA, brother of the Captain-General, commanded the *Sam Rafael*.

BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ accompanied them in a separate caravella as far as the *Myna*, by the King's order.

GONÇALO NUNEZ, whom *Castanheda* styles *criad de Vasco da Gama*, was appointed to the Store Ship.

NICULAO COELHO, commanded the caravella: he is mentioned in the subsequent Narrative as Brother to the Admiral.

The

* Previous to their Discoveries in the Atlantic, the *Portuguese* had constructed Ships with Timber taken from their noble pine tree forest at *Marinha*, planted by King *Denis* the magnificent. (*Murphy's Travels in Portugal*, p. 77. 84.)

* *Castanheda* (tom. 1. cap. 2. p. 5.) writes *Gonçalo Nunes*, which *Lichsfeld* has changed into *Gomez*. *Barros* gives a more detailed List. *Diago Diaz* brother of *Bartholomew* was *Escrivão* to *da Gama*. "Do segundo per nome S. Rafael era Piloto João de Coimbra, e *Escrivão* João de Sá. Do terceiro, a que chamavam *Berrio*, era Piloto *Pero Escolar*, e *Escrivão* *Alvaro de Braga*. Eda Náo era capitão hum *Gonçalo Nunes* criado delle *Vasco da Gama*. (*Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 2.)

BOOK
I.

The total number of each crew consisted according to *Caslanbeda* of one hundred and forty-eight men, whilst others increase that number to one hundred and sixty. Perhaps, as Mickle observes, *Gama* and his brother, and the ten malefactors who were on board, are not included in *Caslanbeda's* account. "The Voyage of Columbus," adds the same author, "has been called *the most daring and grand ever attempted by man*. Columbus himself, however, seems to have had a very different idea of it; for certain it is, he expected to reach *India* by the westward Passage in the space of not many weeks. The squadron with which he attempted this discovery consisted of only three vessels. Dr. Robertson calls the largest which Columbus commanded, *of no considerable burden*; and the two others, *hardly superior in burden or force to large boats*. The crew consisted of ninety men, and a few adventurers: and the expence of fitting out this equipment did not exceed four thousand pounds sterling, for which Queen Isabella pawned her jewels.

"When *Gama* sailed from Lisbon, it was unknown that a great and potent commonwealth of Mohammedan merchants deeply skilled in all the arts and views of Commerce, were scattered over the Eastern World. *Gama*, therefore, did not sail to *India* with a warlike fleet, like that which first followed him under *Gabral*, but with a squadron every way proper for discovery. The Portuguese historians ascribe the shipwreck of many Portuguese vessels on the voyage between *Europe* and *India*, to the avarice of their owners in building them of an enormous bulk, of four, five, and six hundred tons. The Fleet of *Gama* was therefore not only of the most perfect size which the art of ship-building could then produce; but was also superior in number, and nearly of the draught of water with the vessels which at this day are sent on "Voyages of Discovery.

* Vol. 1. Appendix, p. 348.

† The following is a list of the Tonnage of such Ships, as were either fitted out for the purpose of discovery, or served in a secondary manner to promote it, during the last century. (See also preceding page 188, note t.)

Discovery. The disposition of *Gama's Voyage* is also worthy of notice: the Captain who had already past the great southern promontory of *Africa* to accompany him to a certain latitude; the Pilot who

Emmanuel.

1. In the Voyage undertaken by *Dampier* and *Funnell* (1703) the tonnage of the principal ships is not mentioned in the printed journal. *Dampier's* first Voyage was in 1679.

2. Captain *Edward Cooke* gained considerable fame as a circumnavigator during the years 1708—1711; and in 1712 published an account of his Voyages in two volumes, 8vo. At the instigation of Captain *Dampier* two Ships had been fitted out for this Voyage by some able persons at *Bristol*; the *Duke* of 350 tons, Captain *Woodes Rogers* commander, Captain *Thomas Dover* second captain, and Captain *William Dampier* pilot; and next the *DUTCHESS* frigate of about 300 tons, Captain *Stephen Courtney* commander, Captain *Cooke* his second captain. Though this Voyage was not immediately undertaken for the purposes of discovery, it yet merits a place in this list.

3. *Monf. Frezier* sailed 1711—1714. during his voyage in the South Sea in the *S. JOSEPH*, of 350 tons, commanded by the *Sieur Duchéne* *Battas*.

4. The tonnage of the principal Ships under the command of Lord *Anson*, as well as that of the ships of other eminent navigators, is not mentioned in the printed Journals. *Anson's* squadron, 1740, consisted of five men of war, a sloop, and two victuallers; the *Centurion* was a sixty-gun ship; the victuallers were pinks, one of 400 tons, the other of 200 tons.

5. The Ships that were fitted out for the discovery of a passage to the western and southern ocean of America, through *Hudson's Straits*, 1746, and 1747, consisted of the *DOBBS'S GALLEY*, 180 tons, commanded by Captain *William Moor*; and the *CALIFORNIA*, 140 tons, commanded by Captain *Francis Smith*.

6. In the Voyages of *Byron*, *Wallis*, and *Carteret*, the tonnage of their ships is not mentioned in the printed Journals. The *Dolphin* was a sixth rate, 24 guns; the *Tamar* a Sloop of 16 guns; and the *Swallow* a Sloop of 14 guns.

7. In *Lieut. Cook's* first Voyage, 1768—1771, he sailed in the *Endeavour*, built for the coal trade, of 370 tons.

8. In Captain *Cook's* second voyage (1772—1775) his two ships consisted of the *RESOLUTION*, 462 tons; and the *ADVENTURER* of 336 tons. Both built at *Whitby* by the same person who had built the *Endeavour*. In a general Introduction to that Voyage, we have the following opinion of Captain *Cook*, relative to the sort of Ship which is best adapted for Discovery.—(Page 23.) "The nature of this Voyage required Ships of a particular construction, and the *Endeavour* being gone to *Falkland Isles* as a store Ship, the Navy Board was directed to purchase two such ships as were most suitable for this service. At this time various opinions were espoused by different people, touching the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a Voyage. Some were for having large Ships; and proposed those of forty guns, or East India Company Ships. Others preferred large good sailing Frigates, or three-decked ships, employed in the Jamaica trade, fitted with round-houses. But of all that was said and offered to the Admiralty's consideration on this subject, as far as has come to my knowledge, what in my opinion was most to the purpose was suggested by the Navy Board....

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3 G

"As

BOOK
I.

who had sailed with that captain, to go the whole Voyage; the size of *Coello's* Caravel, proper to enter Creeks, and Rivers; and the appointment of the Store Ship; are circumstances which display a knowledge

"As the greatest danger to be apprehended and provided against, on a Voyage of Discovery, especially to the most distant parts of the Globe, is that of the Ship's being liable to be run aground on an unknown, desert, or perhaps savage Coast; so no consideration should be set in competition with that of her being of a construction of the safest kind, in which the officers may, with the least hazard, venture upon a strange Coast. A Ship of this kind must not be of a great draught of water, yet of a sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men, and for the time requisite to perform the Voyage. She must also be of a construction that will bear to take the ground; and of a size, which, in case of necessity, may be safely and conveniently laid on shore, to repair any accidental damage or defects. These properties are not to be found in Ships of War of forty guns, nor in *Frigates*, nor in *East India Company's* Ships, nor in large three-decked *West India* Ships, nor indeed in any other but *North-country-built* Ships, or such as are built for the coal trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose.

"Hence, it may be concluded, so little Progress had been hitherto made in Discoveries in the *Southern Hemisphere*. For all Ships which attempted it before the *Endeavour*, were unfit for it; although the officers employed in them had done the utmost in their power. It was upon these Considerations, that the *Endeavour* was chosen for that Voyage. It was to these properties in her, that those on board owed their preservation; and hence we were enabled to prosecute Discoveries in those Seas so much longer than any other Ship ever did, or could do. And although Discovery was not the first object of that Voyage, I could venture to traverse a far greater space of Sea, till then unnavigated; to discover greater tracks of Country in high and low South Latitudes; and to persevere longer in exploring and surveying more correctly the extensive Coasts of those new-discovered countries, than any former Navigator, perhaps, had done during one Voyage.

"It was first proposed to sheath them with Copper; but on considering that Copper corrodes the Iron work, especially about the Rudder, this intention was laid aside, and the old method of sheathing and sitting pursued. The frame of a small vessel, twenty tons burthen, was properly prepared, and put on board each of the Ships to be set up (if found necessary) to serve as Tenders upon any emergency, or to transport the crew, in case the ship was lost."

9. Captain Cook in his Third Voyage (1776—1780) sailed again with the *Resolution*; the *Discovery* of 300 tons accompanied him.

10. Captain T. Forrest in his Voyage to *New Guinea* and the *Moluccas* from *Balambangan*, (1774—1776) sailed in the *TARTAR GALLEY*, a *Soolo* boat, or *prow*, about 10 tons burthen.—The following are his remarks (Page 6).—"Sensible of the jealousy and watchfulness of the Dutch in the *Molucca Islands*, near which it was necessary for me to pass on my way to *New Guinea*, no less than of the danger of navigating in narrow Seas, in a Vessel that drew much water, I preferred a small one of ten tons burthen.

"In a large vessel we must have been cautious of coming near land. The Crew I had (*Malays* chiefly) make bad Sailors in square rigged vessels; and, having never been accustomed to

knowledge of and an attention to maritime affairs, far beyond any thing discovered by the court of *Spain* in the equipments of Colum-

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

bns

to lie in an open road, or be in a harbour, without the indulgence of going on shore, they would not have had patience to remain on board, which even in a Sloop of 30 tons, would have been necessary: and; in a vessel no larger than 30 tons, with such a crew, I must have frequently run the risk of being wrecked, had I made free with the shore. This I was enabled to do boldly, in a boat of small burthen, that rowed, and drew little water; and, when she touched the ground, which often happened, part of the crew, by jumping overboard, could push her off again; and, when in harbour, every body had free access to the shore. - - Her Keel was twenty-five foot long, and she had a kind of Gallery built on each side, from stem to stern, projecting about thirty inches over each gunnel. Here sat the rowers, sometimes twenty in number. She overhung so much forward and abaft, that she was forty foot long. Her draft of water was generally three foot and a half. She had for a Mast an *Artillery triangle* (gin or tripod) made of three stout bamboos, which could be struck with the greatest ease by three men. On this was hoisted a large four cornered sail, called by the Malays, *Lyre Tanjong* (pointed sail) because the upper corner appears sharp or pointed. I fixed to her a Foremast close forward, and a Bowprit; and gave her a lateen, or three cornered Foresail. I also gave her a lateen mizen; but, when it blew fresh, I took down the *Lyre Tanjong* from the Tripod Mast, as it was a very large sail, and put in its place a Lateen Sail. The Sails then resembled those of the Gallies in the Mediterranean.—A great Improvement might be made in Navigation by means of the Tripod Mast. Lash two London wherries together, and give this double Vessel the Tripod Mast, and *Lyre Tanjong*, it will beat the fast sailing boats, at least three to two.

"The Galley steered with two *Commodies*, (rudders,) a sort of broad paddle, but one generally served. She was covered almost entirely with the leaves of a certain Palm tree, called *Nipa*, such as those with which the natives cover houses on the south west coast of *Sumatra*; and in almost all *Malay* countries; it being a light kind of thatch, which keeps off sunshine and rain. One small part abaft was covered with boards. At *Yomoguy*, one of the *Molucca Islands*, I haul'd her ashore to clean her bottom; and there I raised her one streak, or plank, about fifteen inches high, as I found her rather too low to proceed down the coast of New Guinea, she being apt to ship water in bad weather. I also new roofed or thatched her there. At *Magindano*, as I had leisure, I decked her, and turned her into a schooner."

11. Captain Vancouver sailed (1790-1795) in the *Discovery* sloop of 340 tons burthen, built in the yard of Messrs Randall and Brent; and was accompanied by the *Chatham* armed tender of 135 tons burthen, built at Dover. The *Discovery* was copper fastened, sheathed with plank, and coppered over; the *Chatham* only sheathed with copper. Number of men on board the first, 100; and in the *Chatham*, 45.

12. Captain Marchand sailed (1790-1791) in the *Solide*, of 300 tons burthen, constructed at the expence of the mercantile house of *Baun*. The crew, including the captain, consisted of fifty individuals.

13. Captain Colnett sailed (1793, 1794) in the *Rattler* sloop of 374 tons burthen, which had been previously repaired and fitted up at Perry's Dock.

BOOK
I.

bus and *Magalhaens*. The warlike strength of GAMA's Fleet was greatly superior to that of the first Voyage of *Columbus*, and little inferior to that of *Magalhaens*; though *Magalhaens*, who had been in India, well knew the hostile disposition of the natives. In the art of war the *Indians* were greatly inferior to the *Moors*, and the *Moors* were as inferior to the *Portuguese*. And the Squadron of GAMA not only defeated the whole naval force of the first Maritime State of *India*, but in every attack was victorious over the superior numbers of the *Moors*. This comparative Discussion will not only give an accurate idea of the progress which the *Portuguese* had made in Navigation, but it is also, perhaps, necessary in support of the reputation of this work. Had an * Author of ordinary rank represented the Squadron of GAMA as *extremely feeble, consisting only of three vessels, of neither burthen nor force adequate to the service*, such condemnation of our Narrative had been here unnoticed. But when a celebrated and justly admired Historian, in a work published about one year and an half after the first appearance of the *Lusiad*, has given such representation of the equipment of GAMA, directly contrary to the light in which it is there placed, the foregoing detail will not appear, it is hoped, an unnecessary or rude vindication."

The conduct of *Gama* previous to his voyage, clearly evinces the opinion which that great navigator entertained of its dangers, and his determination to surmount them with the permission and support of Divine Providence. His mind was highly wrought; the natural piety of a Mariner was increased by the situation in which he was about to be placed; he was *to see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep*, to traverse an ocean hitherto considered as impassable. Ignorance might magnify its terrors, but even experience

* Robertson's America, vol. 1. p. 145.

science trembled when sent to encounter dangers which the received Ch. III. § 2.
and general opinion of that age had declared to be insurmountable. Emmanuel.
But Gama possessed a firm reliance on his God; and therefore conducted the companions of this perilous voyage to the chapel of *noſſa Senhora de Belem*, or *Betlehem*, which PRINCE HENRY had built * on the sea shore, about four miles from Lisbon: the anxious * hours of the night were spent in prayer, and in the performance of devout rites. In the morning of Saturday, * July the eighth 1497, the awful procession of the sacred ministers of Religion, preceded one of the most solemn and affecting scenes which history can display. The King, attended by his Court, was present to honour the embarkation. GAMA, and his brave mariners appeared: their resolution could not stand the general dejection, and their tears increased the distress of all who beheld them; they then hastened to perform their duty, and followed their * commander. Thousands remained immoveable on the shore until the most distant trace of the receding fleet had disappeared.

In

* See preceding page 184.—Oſorius must have been guilty of a mistake when he says this chapel was built by Emmanuel.

* Sermons on the character and professional duties of Mariners. (P. III. ed. 1801.)

* Some writers have made it the fourteenth, Raynall fixes on the eighteenth, and Bruce makes it the fourth of July. CASTANHEIRA's expression is, *bã Sabado oyo dias de Julho do anno 1497.* (Tom. 1. p. 5.) OSORIUS says, *Gama tamen quantum lacrymarum suorum desiderio funderet, rei tamen bene gerendae fiducia confirmatus, alacriter in naudem saeptis omnibus conscendit vii. id. Julii, anno a Christo nato, 1497.* (Page 25.)—SEBASTIAN CABOT failed in the spring of the same year.

* Le PIERRE JARRIC gives the following dates, in a very scarce work entitled *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant en Indes Orientales, que autres pays, de la decouverte des Portugais, a Pam 1600; le tout recueilly des lettres, &c.* (3. tom. 4to. Bourdeaux 1608. 1610. 1614.) This writer says that Gama failed on the 9th of July 1497, (tom. 1. page 20.) that they made the Cape of Good Hope on the 20th of November following, and doubled it on the 25th; and that they called the Coast to the eastward, *La Terre de Noel*, or *Natal*, from having anchored off it on Christmas day.

BOOK
I.

In my subsequent narrative of this interesting Voyage the quaint language of *Nicholas Liebfeld*, who translated a part of *Castanbeda* so early as 1582 and dedicated it to *Sir Francis Drake*, has been preferred to a more modern diction after a careful comparison of the above translation with the original *Portuguese. This narrative will be occasionally enlarged by such passages from *Orosius*,

as

* *CASTANHEDA's* history is extremely scarce; it is entitled, *Fernando Lopes de Castanbela Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, eight volumes in folio, black letter, Coimbra, 1551-1561. Some further account of its earliest translations may be acceptable. (1.) A French translation of the first book was made by the learned *Nicolas de Grouchy*, or *Gruchius*, 1554, Anvers 12mo. (2.) An Italian one in 2 vols. quarto was published by *Alfonso Ulloa* in 1578, and printed at Venice. That by *Liebfeld* is in black letter, printed in small quarto. In the dedication to *Sir Francis Drake*, he adds, "and for that I knew your Worship, with great perill and daunger have past those monstrous and hottomelesse seas, am therefore the more encouraged to desire and pray your worship's patronage and defence thereof; requesting you with all to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very many, and so much the more by reason of my long and many yeares continuance in Foraine Countries. Howbeit I hope to have truly observed the literall sence and full effect of the history, as the Author setteth it forth, which if it may please you to peruse and accept in good part, I shall be greatly emboldened to proceede and publish also the second and third booke." In *CASTANHEDA's* dedication to *Emmanuel's* son, king *John the third*, we meet with the following information: "Yea, those matters of the *INDIAS*, the which was done but yesterdaye, there is no man that hath the same in memorye more than foure personnes; so that if they had dyed, all the same hadde ended with them, the which would have bene imputed to theyr greate shame and rebuke.

"And I having a regarde, and partlye a remorse to see this losse, did therefore determine my selfe to note of those notable actes, the which your subjects hath done in the Discoverie and Conquest of the *INDIAS*, of whose valiauntnesse there is none of theyr progenitours of any age or antiquitie that ever did exceede them. . . This of the *INDIAS* was done by Sea, and that by your Capitaines, being upon the same a whole yeare, and eight monethes, and at the least six monethes not along or neere any Coast, but by the bottomelesse and great Ocean Sea; and departing from the lymites of the Occident, and bearing sayle alwayes towards the Cape De las Playas, or such lyke, without discouring or seeing any other thing, but onely the beavens and water, going round about all the Spheare, a matter never before attempted by anye mortall man, nor yet almost imagined by anye to put the same in practise; and they having past greate hunger, thirst and other infirmities, besides that everie day with those furious stormes and raines, in daunger a thousand times of their lives; and as I say, they having past those feares and daungerous troubles by Sea, yet after theyr arrivall into the *INDIAS* founde themselves in great and cruell battell.

. . . The which hath benefited me very much, my being in the *INDIAS*, where I travayled with my Father, who by your highnes commaundement was sent thither to serve as a Judge. And for that I

spent

as tend more fully to elucidate the subject of our attention. A Ch. III. § 2.
selection also of the most beautiful passages in the *Lusiad* of Mickle, Emmanuel.
founded on the history of the voyage, may possibly impart some
portion of that enthusiasm to the reader, which equally glowed both
in the minds of *da Gama*, and of *Camoens*.

" As ^d from our dear lov'd Native Shore we fly
Our votive shouts, redoubled, rend the sky;
Success! Success! far echoes o'er the tide,
While our broad hulks the foaming waves divide.
When slowly gliding from our wishful eyes
The *Lusian* Mountains mingled with the skies;
Tago's lov'd stream, and *Cyntra's* mountains cold,
Dim fading now, we now no more behold;
And still with yearning hearts our eyes explore
Till one dim speck of Land appears no more."

" Thus

spent all my youth in learning, and gave my selfe greatly in reading of ancient Histories, and having
seen and read a great part thereof, did then immediately procure to know, and with all diligence did
my best endeavour to understand what had bene done in the Discoverie of the *INDIAS*, and in the
Conquest of the same, by the *Portingales*; by means whereof, and through the instructions of
sundry Gentlemen and Captaines, many things came to my knowledge, by such persons as were then and
there present; and otherwise by many Letters and Pamphlets, the which were written by men of great
credit. Moreover, I did not only use this diligence in the *INDIAS*, but after my coming to *Portingale*
diddle the like. For as those matters the which I meant to write of, were many and of sundry
orders, so it was necessary to informe my selfe of the same by many: and beside that those that
gave me this instructions were sworn, yet I was licensed to present them as witnesses. And in this
I have spent the most part of my life; forsomuch as this was my onely recreation, having joyned
together all these informations, since my being in the *Universitie* of *Coimbro*."

The Voyage of *da Gama* is narrated by *de Barros*: an edition of his *DA ASIA*, with
the continuation by *Diogo de Conto*, was printed at *Lisbon*, 1778, in fifteen duodecimo
volumes, *Na regia Officina Typografica*: the paper and type of this edition are equally
beautiful. *Gama's* Voyage is considered by *Oforius*, *Ramusio*, *Maffi*, and *Faria y Sousa*. *Pur-*
chas gives a brief account (volume 1. book 2. page 26.) It is also noticed in *Bruce's*
Translation of the *Annals* of *Abyssinia* (vol. 2. p. 110.), and in an able manner by Dr.
Vincent PERIPLUS (p. 207.) An abridged history of the Discovery and Conquest of the
Indies was printed by *M. d' Uffeu*, a *Bouillon*, one volume 12mo. 1770. The following
work may also be recommended to the reader's notice. *Jovio's History of Navigation and*
Commerce from the earliest times, four vols. 4to.

^d MICKLE, vol. 2. book v. p. 44.

BOOK
I.July.
1497.

" Thus * being set forward and under sail, the *Captaine generall* commaunded, that if by any happe whatsoever they should bee seuered and loose each other, they should every one make, and keepe, their roote or course to *Cabo Verde*, where they would ioine themselves together againe. And so following their Volage they came within eight daies after to the sight of the Ilandes of the *Canaries*, from whence going ouer against the river called *Ryo de Oro*, the night did growe so darke, and such great tempest and storme arose, as they lost each other, and therefore they retourned their course towardes *Cabo Verde*; and *Paulo da Gama*, *Niculae Coelbo*, *Bertolame Diaz*, and *Gonçalo Nunes*, having met, and after eight daies sailing together, they came to sight of their *Captaine generall* upon the Wednesdaye in the evening; and saluting him with many shot of * ordinaunce, and with sound of trumpets, they spake unto him, each of them heartely reioysing and thanking God for their safe meeting, and good fortune, in this their first brunt of daunger and perill.

" The next day, beeing the twenty-eighth * day of *July*, the *Captaine generall* with all his fleete, attained unto the Ilandes of *San-tiago*; when coming to ankor in the bay *de Santa Maria*, they remained there seuen dayes, taking in such water as they had need of, and repairing the yards of their Shippes and other harmes they had receiued in the Storme past. *Tuesdaye*, being the *third* daie of *August*, the *Captaine generall* departed thence, following his Course to the East; but first, before his departure, he tooke his leaue of *Bertolame Diaz* who returned into *Portingale*.

" And

* Lichfield's Translation, chap. 1. folio 6.

* *C. mayus nror danielburia*. (Cassanheo, cap. 1.)* Here Lichfield is guilty of an error, and calls it the *twentieth* of July.

“ And going towarde the *Cabo de boa Esperança*, with all the Ships of his Companie, he entered the goulfe into the Sea, and from thence sailed all *August*, *September*, and *October*. In which time they susteined many and great Tempests, or rather^a tormentes of windes and raine; so that they expected nothing but present death, which still was represented before them by view of the manifold daungers and perills, they presently then sawe, and whereof they were forced to abide the euenture. Beeing thus perplexed, God of his diuine goodnesse recomforted them; for upon the *Saturday*, being the *fourth* daie of *November*, at nine of the clocke in the forenoone, they sawe Land whereat they greatly rejoyced: and the capitaines beeing together, they then saluted the generall, all of them apparelled in their best arae; and hauing decked and garnished their Shippes with flagges accordingly, they drew neere the land as the Generall had commaunded, who was desirous to haue landed. Howbeit, for that they did not know the land, he commaunded them to cast about a sea-boord, and so they passed along by the same vntill *Tuesday* following, at what time they came to perfect viewe and sight of the land, perceiuing the same to lye lowe, and that there was a great bay; which as it was a conuenient place for the Shippes, so he commaunded them to fall to an ankor there, of purpose to take in water: and afterward they named it ‘*Angra de santa Elena*. The people of the Countrie within the said Bay, as our men afterward found, bee lyttle men ill favoured in the face, and of colour blacke; and

^a *Muytas tormētas de vientos.* (Castanheda, *ibid.*)

¹ It being their customes, says Purchas, “to name lands at their first Discouerie, of that Saint on whose day they discovered the same.” LICHFIELD is guilty of a strange mistake, by translating this passage the *Island of Santa Helena*. ULLOA’s translation (1578) is more correct: *uidero ch’era una terra bassa, et che hauea una grande Baia, o spiaggia, et trouatofi, che hauea bon fondo per nauigli, comando ui si surgesse per far acqua, et gli mise nome Angra di Santa Helena.* (Vol. 1. p. 4.) This bay has also since been named *St. Martin’s Bay*. It is however singular that *Van Keulen*, in his Chart of the *South Atlantic*, places an Island called *St. Helena de nova* in the same parallel of latitude as the old *St. Helena*.

BOOK 1. and when they did speake, it was in such manner as though they
 November, 1498. did alwayes " sigh."—Purchas translates it *uttering their speech out of their throat, as it were sobbing.*

The Narrative of *Castanbada*, as Dr. Vincent remarks, is brief and dry, but seems to be a copy of the Journal: it often glides from the third into the first person, without appearing conscious of the change.—*Camoens*, in his voyage to the East Indies, followed the track of Gama so early as the year 1553, and was enabled to give an interest to his *Lusiadas* by descriptions of the naval scenery he had beheld. The foregoing journal of *Castanbada* is thus illustrated:

" Now past the limit, which his course divides,
 When to the north the Sun's bright chariot rides,
 We leave the winding Bays, and swarthy shores,
 Where *Senegal's* black wave impetuous roars.
 And now from far the Lybian Cape is seen
 Since by my mandate called the '*Cape of Green*.
 Where 'midst the billows of the Ocean smiles
 A flowery sister-train, the Happy Isles,
 Our onward Prows the murmuring surges lave;
 And now our Vessels plough the gentle wave
 Where the Blue Islands, named of *Hesper* old,
 Their fruitful bosoms to the deep unfold.
 Here our bold Fleet their ponderous anchors threw,
 The sickly cherish, and our Stores renew.
 From him the warlike guardian power of *Spain*,
 Whose spear's dread lightning o'er th' embattled plain

Has

* In the bay of *St. Helena* they found the natives which we now call *Hottentots*, as we discover by the mention of a peculiarity in their utterance, which the *Journal* calls *figbing*; and which *Vaillant* describes by the term *Clappement*, a guttural cluck, the characteristick of their language. (*Periplus*, page 210.) Gama had on board several Portuguese who were skilled in the *Ethiopic*, *Arabic*, and *Oriental* languages; but as *Oforius* adds, not one understood these natives. The inhabitants that were brought to *da Gama* are described as being *Homines colorati, breui et crispo capillo*. (*Oforius*, p. 31.)

† A vignette of *Cabo Verde* is given at the end of this chapter.

Has oft o'erwhelm'd the Moors in dire dismay,
 And fixt the fortune of the doubtful day;
 From him we name our Station of repair,
 And JAGO's name that Isle shall ever bear.
 The northern Winds now curl'd the blackening Main,
 Our Sails unfurl'd we plough the Tide again:
 Round *Afric's* " Coast our winding course we steer
 Where bending to the East the shores appear.
 Here JALOFO its wide extent displays,
 And vast MANDINGA shews its numerous Bays;
 Whose mountains' sides, though parch'd and barren, hold
 In copious store the seeds of beamy Gold.
 The GAMBEA here his serpent journey takes,
 And through the lawns a thousand windings makes;
 A thousand swarthy Tribes his current laves,
 Ere mixt his waters with th' *Atlantic* waves.
 The GORGADES we past, that hated shore
 Famed for its terrors by the bards of yore.
 Still to the South our pointed Keels we guide,
 And through the *Austral* Gulph still onward ride.
 Her palmy Forests mingling with the skies,
 LEONA's rugged Steep behind us flies:
 The CAPE OF PALMS that jutting land we name,
 Already conscious of our Nation's fame.
 Where the vext waves against our bulwarks roar,
 And *Lusian* Towers o'erlook the bending shore;

Our

" In the *Discourse of the Navigation which the Portuguese do make to the Realms and Provinces of the Eastern parts of the world*, written in Spanish by BARNARDINE of Escalante, (Churchill's Collect. vol. 8. from the Scarce Tracts in Lord Oxford's library,) the following remark occurs on *da Gama's* Voyage. " He was five months at sea before he could get as far as the Cape of *Buena Esperança*, by reason in those days the *Portuguese* sailed not by the *Bowling* in the high seas, in such sort as they do now, but always went near to the *Coast of Guiney*."

BOOK
I.

Our Sails wide swelling to the constant blast,
Now by the Isle from THOMAS named we past;
And CONGO's spacious Realm before us rose,
Where copious *Zayra's* limpid billow flows...

" While thus our Keels still onward boldly strayed,
Now tofs'd by tempests, now by calms delay'd;
To tell the Terrors of the Deep untry'd,
What Toils we suffer'd, and what storms defy'd;
What rattling deluges the black Clouds pour'd,
What dreary weeks of solid darkness lour'd;
What mountain Surges, mountain Surges lash'd,
What sudden Hurricanes the canvass dash'd;
What bursting lightnings with incessant flare,
Kindled in one wide flame the burning air;
What roaring thunders bellow'd o'er our head,
And seem'd to shake the reeling Ocean's bed;
To tell each Horror in the Deep reveal'd,
Would ask an iron throat with tenfold vigour steel'd.
Those dreadful Wonders of the Deep I saw
Which fill the Sailor's breast with sacred awe,
And which the Sages of their learning vain,
Esteem the phantoms of the dreamful brain:
That LIVING FIRE by Seamen held a divine,
Of Heaven's own care in Storms the holy Sign;

Which

* The Ancients thus accounted for this appearance: the sulphureous Vapours of the Air, after being violently agitated by a Tempest, unite; and when the Humidity begins to subside, as is the case when the Storm is almost exhausted, by the agitation of their atoms they take fire, and are attracted by the masts and cordage of the Ship. Being thus naturally the pledges of the approaching Calm, it is no wonder that Sailors should in all ages have esteemed them *Divine*. By the *French*, and *Spaniards*, they are called *St. Helme's Fires*, and by the *Italians*, the *Fires of St. Peter* and *St. Nicholas*. Modern discoveries have proved that these Appearances are the Electric Fluid attracted by the Spindle of the Mast. (*Mickle*.)

...
speak
Cause
cal or
them
Cook's

Ch. III, 42.
Emerson.

Which 'midst the horrors of the Tempest plays,
 And on the Blast's dark wings will gaily blaze;
 These eyes distinct have seen that Living Fire
 Glide through the Storm, and round my Sails aspire.
 And oft, while wonder thrill'd my breast, mine eyes
 To heaven have seen the * WATERY COLUMNS rise.
 Slender at first the subtle Fume appears,
 And writhing round and round its volume rears:
 Thick as a mast the Vapour swells its size,
 A curling whirlwind lifts it to the skies:
 The Tube now straitens, now in width extends,
 And in a hovering cloud its summit ends:
 Still gulp on gulp in sucks the rising Tide,
 And now the Cloud with cumbrous weight supply'd,
 Full-gorged, and blackening, spreads and moves more slow,
 And waving trembles to the waves below . . .

" And now since wandering o'er the foamy spray,
 Our brave *Armada* held her venturous way,
 Five times the changeful Empress of the night
 Had fill'd her shining horns with silver light;
 When sudden from the Main-top's airy round,
 LAND! LAND! is echoed—At the joyful sound
 Swift to the crowded Decks the bounding Crew
 On wings of hope and fluttering transport flew;
 And each strain'd eye with aching sight explores
 The wide horizon of the Eastern Shores.

As.

* Called by the *Latins* *Typho* and *Sipho*, by the French *Trompe*, from its resembling a speaking trumpet in shape. *Signor Beccaria*, who died in 1781, published an *Essai sur la Cause des Orages & des Tempêtes*, and endeavours to prove that *Water Spouts* have an Electrical origin. They generally appear in calm weather, and have been dispersed by presenting to them sharp pointed knives or swords. An account of one is given by Mr. *Forster*, as seen in *Cook's second Voyage*, (vol. iv. p. 190.)

BOOK
I.November,
1498.

As thin blue clouds the mountain Summits rise,
 And now the Lawns salute our joyful eyes ;
 Loud through the Fleet the echoing shouts prevail,
 We drop the Anchor and restrain the Sail :
 And now descending in a spacious Bay
 Wide o'er the Coast the venturous soldiers stray,
 To spy the wonders of the savage Shore
 Where Stranger's foot had never trod before.
 I and my Pilots on the yellow sand
 Explore beneath what Sky the shores expand :
 That sage Device, whose wondrous use proclaims
 Th' immortal honour of its author's * names,
 The sun's height measured ; and my Compass scann'd
 The painted Globe of Ocean and of Land. ||
 Here we perceiv'd our venturous Keels had past,
 Unharm'd, the Southern Tropic's howling blast,
 And now approach'd dread Neptune's secret reign ;
 Where the stern power, as o'er the Austral Main
 He rides, wide scatters from the Polar Star
 Hail, Ice, and Snow, and all the † wintery war.

“ The Generall thus † lying at ankor commaunded to goe rounde about the Bay, to see if there were anie Riuer of sweete water ; and finding none, he then sent *Niculao Coelbo* in his boate along the Coast to seek out water, which he found fowre leagues off from thence, the which he named *Sant Jago*, from whence the whole Fleete prouided of fresh water. The next day the Generall and other Capitaines, and some of the companie, went a shore ; intending to see and view what manner of people they were, that inhabited

* The *Affrolabium*. See Note (a.)† Mickle's *Lusind*, vol. 2. book v. (P. 46—56.)‡ Lichfield's Translation of *Castanheda* (folio 7.)

habited that countrie; and whether they coule informe him how farre from thence the *Cabo de Boa Esperança* was: which he knew not, neither was the head or chiefe Pilot of that Voiage of any certieintie which it was; for that in the Voiage wherein he went before with *Bertolame Diaz*, he departe' in the morning from the Cape into the Sea, and past the same in the night with a forewinde—and at his first going, came not neare the Shore: by reason whereof he did not know the Lande, notwithstanding hee coniectured and deemed it not above thirtie leagues distaunt from thence at the vttermoſt."

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

The proceedings of our Navigators in the bay of St. Helena, and their passage round the Cape of Good Hope, is detailed with greater minuteness by *Oforius* and *Faria*.

A commerce having commenced between *Gama* and the natives, by means of signs and gestures, they received cloathes, bells, glasseſs, and other trifles; and in return supplied the fleet with plenty of wholesome and nourishing provisions. This friendly intercourse was however soon interrupted by the imprudence of a Portugueſe youth. *Fernão Velloſo*, delighted with the novelty of the scene and the manners of the negroes, obtained permission to return with them to their huts; what they esteemed an elegant repaſt was immediately prepared, and a sea-calf dressed after the manner of the *Hot-tentots* was served up to the astonished *Velloſo*. Curiosity immediately yielded to disgust, and, rising from the circle in an abrupt manner, he became impatient to return. Nor did the Negroes oppose this fickle disposition of their guest, but accompanied him with the greatest good humour. *Velloſo* however became apprehensive; and the same rashness which first induced him to leave his companions, now occasioned a sudden vociferation for help as he approached the shore. *Coelho's* boat immediately left the Squadron; the natives fled to the woods; and the needless apprehensions of both

BOOK

I.

Nov. 16.

1498.

both parties, increased by their ignorance of each others language, brought on the subsequent attack. Accordingly, whilst *da Gama* with some of his officers were taking the altitude of the sun with an Astrolabe¹, some negroes sprang from an adjoining ambush; and hurling with great dexterity their spears, headed with sharp pieces of horn, many of the *Portuguese* with the admiral were wounded, yet judged it most prudent to retreat to their ships.

Having taken in a supply of fresh provisions, and water, the Squadron left the *Bay of St. Helena* on *Thursday* the *sixteenth* of *November* in the forenoon, with the wind at south south-west, and steered for the Cape of Good Hope. They who assert with² Bruce, that *Gama* sailed for India in a most unfavourable season of the year, have been led into an error. The summer in the southern extremity of *Africa*, as already³ mentioned, continues from October to April; during which navigators have generally regular sea breezes in the mornings from south-west and west, which last until noon, and sometimes longer: they are followed by a south-east, and east south-east wind coming off the land; this usually blows fresh the remaining part of the day, and all night until morning, when the sea breeze, comes off again. *Gama*, therefore, in the subsequent part of his voyage was unfortunate; for on the same day in which he left his last station he

¹ Barros gives the following account of this Instrument. *Principalmente com hum Astrolabio de pão de tres palmos de diametro, o qual armavam em tres paos á maneira de cabrea por melhor segurar a linha Solar, e mais verificada, e distintamente poderem saber a verdadeira altura daquelle lugar; posto que levassim outros de latão mais pequenos, tão ruscicamente começou esta arte, que tanto fructo tem dado ao navegar.* (Decada. 1. Liv. 4. cap. 2.)

² The difficulties which *Vasco da Gama* met with in doubling the *Cape of Good Hope* must have been many considering the people he had to deal with. But if he coasted along shore to the Cape, he had reason to expect easterly winds in November, which would enable him to stand to the Southward, until he obtained a westerly wind; and he would then have proceeded round the Cape with great ease at that time of year. (Note communicated by Mr. WHIDBEY.)

³ Page 366.

he met with a sudden change of weather.—In this part of his Voyage the greatest proofs of his resolution were called forth. The waves rose like mountains in height; his Ships seemed now heaved up to the clouds, and now appeared as precipitated by circling Whirlpools to the bed of the Ocean. The winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous that the Pilot's voice could seldom be heard; whilst a dismal, and almost continual darkness, which at that tempestuous season, says *Oforius*, involves these Seas, added greatly to the danger. Sometimes the Gale drove them to the southward, at other times they

* *Oforius*, p. 32. (Gibbs' Translation, vol. 1. p. 48. See also Mickle, vol. 1.) *Fluctus erant immensis: Tempestates perfrigida et aduersa: Tenebrae vero assiduæ procelle. . . Naves enim ita jactabantur, ut modò nubes contingere, rursus in imas profundis voragine detruhi viderentur.*

† The reader is referred to the frontispiece of the present volume, where a delineation is given of the Sea that rages round the Cape of Good Hope.

‡ This part of *Gama's Voyage* may induce the reader to compare the exertions of our own countrymen in the same Seas. I. DAMPIER gives an account of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope, vol. 1. p. 531. II. Captain Cook in his second voyage made the land of this Cape on the 29th of October, 1772, and after standing off and on during the night, anchored safely in Table Bay on the 30th, in five fathom water (vol. 1. 4to. ed. p. 14.) III. STAVORINUS an officer in the service of the Dutch East India Company, in his Voyage to *Batavia*, 1768, made the Cape of Good Hope on the 17th of November; and left Table Bay on the 12th of the next month, with a south-easterly wind, which veered to the south-west as soon as he was out at sea. They were in consequence, three days tacking about in vain, before they could double the Cape. (Vol. 1. p. 28—41.)—IV. Captain Cook in his third Voyage, 1776, being on the 6th of October in south lat. 35° 15', and west long. 7° 45' met with light airs and calms by turns, for three days successively. This calm weather was succeeded by a fresh Gale from the north-west, which lasted two days. They had then variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the north-west wind returned, and blew with such strength, that on the 17th they had sight of *The Cape of Good Hope*, and the next day anchored in *Table Bay* in four fathoms water. (Vol. 1. p. 35—37.) In the same Chapter are inserted *Nautical Remarks on the passage from England to the Cape, with regard to the Currents and the Variation.* (P. 46.)—V. VANCOUVER arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in July 1791, and had nearly the same boisterous weather to struggle against as *Da Gama*. The wind had been light and variable until the first of July, in south lat. 33° 54' and west long. 58° 40', when it blew a fine Gale from the N. N. E. attended with pleasant weather. But as they approached the *African shore* the weather became very unsettled, with sudden transitions from Calms to heavy Gales, attended with much Thunder, Lightning, and a heavy Swell from the westward, and south-west. One of these Gales, on the 5th, reduced them for a few hours to their Courses. The wind became southwardly with pleasant weather on

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1.November,
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they were obliged to stand on the tack and yield to its fury, preserving what they had gained with the greatest difficulty. During any gloomy interval of the Storm, the sailors, wearied out with fatigue and abandoned to despair, surrounded *Gama*, begging he would not devote himself and Crew to so dreadful a death. They exclaimed, that the Gale could no longer be weathered; that every one must be buried in the Waves if they continued to proceed. The firmness of the Admiral could not be shaken; and a formidable Conspiracy was immediately formed against him: but of this desperate proceeding he was informed by his brother *Paulo*. The Conspirators and all the Pilots were immediately put in Irons; whilst *GAMA*, assisted by his brother, and the few who remained steadfast in their duty, stood night and day to the helm. Providence rewarded his heroism, and at length on *Wednesday the twentieth of November*, all the Squadron doubled this tremendous promontory.

"Going along the coast," adds *Castanbeda*, "with a fore-winde, *Gama* passed with great pleasure of sundry pastimes, and in sounding of the Trumpets in all their Shippes; chiefly having their whole confidence in God, by whose diuine furtherance they hoped to finde out, and attaine to that which they sought for. So passing in this fort

the seventh. . . The Wind blew a strong Gale from W. S. W. in the afternoon of the 8th, when judging the *Cape of Good Hope* to bear from them N. 66 E. true, distant eighteen leagues, they experienced, for the space of seven miles, a most extraordinary agitation in the Sea, comparable only to a large Cauldron of boiling water; this was supposed to be the effect of two contending Currents, and for this reason they did not try soundings. At day light on the 9th the Cape was in sight, and they directed their Course to *Falso Bay*. *Vancouver* then gives a retrospect of his Voyage from the Cape de Verde Islands. (Vol. 1. p. 13. 14.) The *Portugueses* never formed any settlement at the Cape: the first was made by our own Countrymen during the reign of king *JAMES*, 1620, thirty years antecedent to the establishment of a Colony by the Dutch. Particulars of this transaction are entered on the records of our *East India Company*. (*Barrow's Travels* in southern Africa, page 2.) *THUNBERG* in his Voyage, 1772, says, that the floating of a plant called Trumpet Grass (*fucus buccinalis*) is a sure sign of the vicinity of The Cape.

* *Lichfield's Translation* (folio 8. cap. 3.).

fort along that Coast, they saw upon the lande great store of Cattell, Ch. III. § 2.
 whereof some were large, some small, but all of them were grown
 and fat: howbeit ther appeared to them no Townes within this
 Lande, by reason that along those Coasts ther are none situated;
 but further within the same, ther be Townes and Villages inhabited,
 the houses whereof are all of earth couered with strawe. The
 people are of colour somewhat blacke, and be apparailled as those
 of *Santa Elena*, speaking the selfe same language. This countrey
 is very pleasaunt with trees and waters; and joyning to this Cape
 on the south side, there is a great^b Harbour which reacheth into
 the lande sixe leagues, at the entering it containeth well as much
 more.

"The Cape of *boa Esperança* being thus^a doubled, the captaine
 generall foorthwith upon the *Sundaye* after, which was *St. Ka-*
therin's daie, came to the *Angra de Sam Blaz*, which is^d three-
 score

^b *False Bay.* The opening of this Bay between the Cape of Good Hope, and *False Cape*,
 is about five leagues, and an half; its extent to the northward is full six leagues. Mr. *Dal-*
rymple has published the angles which he took in *August*, and *September*, 1775, for determin-
 ing the reciprocal Positions of the LANDS around FALSE BAY; which were especially intended
 to assist in completing a SURVEY of SIMON'S BAY. We learn from this Memoir (page 19)
 "That the most important matter in entering FALSE BAY, is to know the exact situation of
 the ANVILL rock.—Doubts still subsist concerning the exact situation of this Rock."

^c *BARROS* thus describes the doubling of this Cape. *Segundo Vasco da Gama seu caminho na*
volta do Mar, por se desfabrigar da terra, quando veio ao terceiro dia, que eram vinte de Novembro,
passou aquelle grão Cabo de Boa Esperança commenos Tormenta. (Decada 1. Liv. 4. Cap. 3.)

^d The *Angra de Sam Blaz*, or *Aguada de S. Braz*, as *Barros* styles it, is now called *Fish*
Bay; for its latitude and longitude see chart 5. This coast is thus described in one of Mr.
Dalrymple's Memoirs: "From *C. das Aguilhas* (cape *Lagullas*) to the west point of *Struys*
bay, the coast extends north easterly 16° or 18°. This Point is low and covered with Sand-
 Downs, as well as the land to the eastward of it in *Struys-bay*: this Bay is nothing more than
 a large deep bite. . . The Eastern Point of *Struys-bay* is low and sandy; from whence the land
 forms a bite to *Fish Bay*. This is no more than an open Bay, where there is no shelter but
 for northerly winds; there is in it a small Island, and a round white Sand, by which it is easily
 known. The western point of the Bay is a pretty high Sandy Point, from whence a Reef
 stretches out, just as from the Points above mentioned. From *Fish Bay* the Coast lies East-
 erly to *Fish Bay*, which is likewise a foul open Bay. . . From *Fish Bay* the Coast lies east by
 3 1 2 north

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score leagues beyonde the Cape; beeing a verie great baye, and passing good for all windees except onelye the north winde. The people heere are somewhat blacke of coulour, they cover themselves with skinnnes. In this Lande bee manye elephauntes and great, also oxen manye, both large of stature, and very fat, whereof some haue no hornes; and upon the fatteest and fairest of the same, the people do use to ride, sadling them with pannels stuffed with the strawe of rye, as the manner is in *Spayne*.

"In this Harbour, three crosse bow shot from the shore, within the sea, lieth a Rocke in the which be many sea woulfes, which are

25

north to *Moffell* (*Musile*) Bay, which is a bay like the others, but it runs in 8° to the westward of the West Point, where one lies sheltered from the north easterly to southerly winds but exposed from the south to east. In this Bay is a small Island, or Rock, and some brackish Springs and Rivers: it is the best of all the *Bays* or *Roads* hereabout, but not to be made use of, except in cases of the greatest necessity; because the south-east and east winds make a great Sea, and the water for drinking must be taken from brackish pits. The western Point of this Bay is a middling high flat green Point, appearing at sea like a *Table Hill*; off this Point is good anchor ground every where, but from the outermost point runs out a reef of rocks, a mile to the east. (In the chart, adds Mr. Dalrymple, it is much more.) This Point lies in 33° 35' south latitude. The *Eastern Point*, or the land to the eastward of the bay, is high double mountains running down to the Sea, with little Strand, whereby the Bay is easily known in coming from the eastward, as this is the last high land near the Sea; the Coast to the westward of this Bay being lower, and the hills further in land. *Bay Agua*, according to *Van Kruin*, is a deep Bay, where may be got fresh water and fire wood; the Soundings going in from twenty-four to ten fathom."—Mr. Barrow in his travels through southern Africa (1797, 1798, page 346,) informs us, that the western point of *Musile Bay* is called *Cape Saint Blaize*. Variation of the compass was 27° 54' west; time of high water, at full and change, about three o'clock. The same writer gives an account of the next Bay on this coast to the eastward, called *Plettenberg's Bay*. "Plettenberg's, as well as *Zwart Kop's* bay, is entirely open to the south-east winds. The west point called *Robenberg*, or *Seal Mountain*, lies in latitude 34° 6' south, longitude 23° 48' east; distance from Cape Point three hundred and twenty miles. The eastern shore of the Bay rounds off into the general trending of the coast, which, seen from the landing place, terminates in a very high and regular cone-shaped mountain, called in the old *Portuguese* Charts *Pic Formosa*, but by the more modern Dutch navigators, the *Grenadier's Cap*. The best landing place is about three miles and a half to the northward of the *Robenberg*, on a sandy beach. A heavy swell generally sets into this Bay, except in northerly and north-westerly winds. The south-west winds occasion the greatest heave of the Sea." (Page 343.)

as large in bignes as great Beares; they be terrible, hauing great
 and long teeth, also so wilde and fierce that they do forcible fet
 upon men: they are like unto lions; there be so manye of them in
 the Rocke, that when our men went thether of pleasure one daie,
 they saw of them at that instant the number of three thousand, little
 and great. In this Rocke also be many * *Stores*, which are as great
 as duckes.—The Captaine generall being come to this Port or baye,
 and lieng at ankor there, caused the Shippes which carried their
 victualls to be discharged thereof, and bestowed the same in the
 others; commaunding those vessells to be then burned, as it was
 ordained and commaunded by the king in that behalfe. In doing
 whereof, and other things also which were necessarye and needfull
 to be looked unto, and foreseene, for their more safetie in the rest of
 their voyage, they remained ten daies in that place. Where, upon
 the *Fridaye* next, after the Captaine generall and the rest had arrived,
 thier appeared unto them about the number of fourescore and ten
 men of that countrey; some along upon the sandes, and some upon
 the top of their mountaines. Which when the Generall sawe, he
 and other the captaines went to the shore ward, and all the company
 of the shippes went armed in their Boates, carrieng ordinaunce with
 them; as fearing the lyke chaunce that happened to them in the
angra de Santa Elena.

"The Boates then drawing neere to the shore, the Generall threw
 on lande little Belles, which the Nigroes tooke up; and some of them
 came so neere vnto him, that he gaue them the Belles into their
 owne handes. Whereat he wonderfully meruailed; for that *Ber-
 tolame Dias* had informed before, that when he was there, they did
 run away, and wold not be aliured to come so neere view. The
 Generall

* *Oferius addit—quas incolæ appellant SOTILICATOS, paves anseribus magnitudinis.* (P. 33.)

* *Barros says, "E em tres dias que Vasco da Gama se deteve aqui."* (*Ibid.* liv. 4. cap. 3.)

BOOK
I.December,
1497.

Generall therefore perceiuing contrary to his expectation, the gentleness of those blacke people, hee then leapt out on lande with his men, making exchange of certaine red night caps with the Nigroes for bracelets of iuory which they had, and so for that time departed.

" The *Saterdaye* next after, came to the number of two hundreth blacke men, and more, some little some great, bringing with them twelue oxen and foure sheepe; and, as our men went on shore, they began to play upon foure Flutes, accordingly with foure sundry voyces, the Musicke whereof sounded very well. Which the Generall hearing, commaunded the Trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In this Pastime and feasting, and in buying their oxen and sheepe, that daie passed ouer; and in the selfe same sort upon the *Sundaye* following, sundry of the same, and many more with them as well men as women, came againe, bringing many kine. Hauing solde one ox, our men sawe certayne little nigroes, which were hidden in certayne bushes, who had with them the Weapons of the greater sort of men, wherein our men coniectured that some treason was meant to them; and therefore the Generall commaunded our people to retire to another place which was of more securitie, and those blacke men went all along the Shore directlye against our Boates, untill they came to the place where ours disimarked themselves and went upon the lande in armour. The Nigroes then ioyned themselves as though they intended to fight: which the Generall perceiuing, and not willyng to doe them anye harme, did then retyre, imbarking himselfe; and for to feare them, commaunded two brasse pieces of Ordinaunce to be shot off. Whereat they were amazed, and ranne away without anye order, leauing their weapons behinde them. After this, the Captaine Generall caused to be carried on the shore a certaine Mark, or Piller, with the King of Portingale's armes, and a Crosse; which

being there set and erected, the negroes pulled downe the same, our men yet being there. Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

" These Daies thus passed ouer, the Captaine generall, with the rest of the Fleete, departed thence towards the River called *il Rio do Iffante*, upon the Fridaye being the eight day of *December*; and in sailing forward on their Voiage, ther arose so great a Storme with a forewinde, upon the *vespera de Santa Lucia*, that our whole Fleete did runne with their small sayles, and that also very low. In this Course they lost sight of *Niculae Coelbo*; howbeit the next night after they all met together againe. Now hauing past and sailed through this great Storme, or rather *Tormenta* of winde, which then was ceased, the Captaine generall upon the *sixteenth* of *December* did discouer Lande; which consisted of certaine small^a rockes, being distaunt from the harbour of *Sam Blaxe* threescore leagues, and fiue leagues also from the other part of the Rocke called *do da Cruz*, where *Bertolame Diaz* did erect his last Pillar; from which place to the *Rio do Iffante* are fiftene leagues.

" This Countrey is very pleasant and sightly in viewe, and in the same is great store of Cattell; and the further our Fleete sayled on that Coast, the better and higher the Trees were: all which things our men might well perceiue and discerne, by reason they went so neere the Shore with their Shippes. And upon the *Saterdaye* they past hard by, and within sight, of the Rocke *do da Cruz*; and for that they were then come so far forward as the *Rio do Iffante*,

^a Probably the *St. Croix Isles* in *Algoa Bay*; and the Rock *do da Cruz*, the *Doddington Rock* in south latitude $33^{\circ} 44'$ east longitude $26^{\circ} 55'$. The place where *Diaz* fixed his last Pillar seems to have been on *Cabo Padron*, south latitude $33^{\circ} 35'$ east longitude $27^{\circ} 10'$. *BARROS* calls these small rocks, *Ilheos chãos*; he also mentions the strong Currents which *GAMA* had to struggle against on this part of the Coast, *Nal qual paragem por causa das Grandes Correntes andáram ora ganhando, ora perdendo caminho.* (Ibid.)

BOOK
I.December,
1497.

*Iffante**, they were loath to passe the same, and thereof taking counsell all the next night, they went somewhat wide from the Coast with a forewinde untill Euenfong time, and then the winde came to the east which was right against them. Wherefore the Captaine generall made to seawarde; going in such sort as sometime he kept the Sea, and sometime droue towards the lande, untill the *Tewsfaye*, being the *twentieth* of *December*, at the setting of the Sunne, the winde then comming to the west which was a forewinde: and whether to attayne to have knowledge of the Lande, they consulted all that night which were best to doe. The next daie at *tenne* of the clocke, in the *fore noone*, they came to the Rocke aforesayde, which is three score leagues a stearne the place wherunto they minded to goe.

"This Rocke is the cause of the great Currents that are there; and the selfe same daie the Fleete through passed the same Course with a great forewinde, which had also indured them three or four daies; and wherewith they ranne through those Currents which greatlye they feared, and were in doubt to haue done. These daungerous Currents thus safelye and happelye passed without losse or damage, they all were very glad and joyfull that theyr good Fortune was to have passed the same in manner as *Bertolame Dias*, before that time, had accordinglye done.—Wherefore the Captaine generall beeing animated and encouraged with this his great good lucke and Fortune, and after thanks given to God for the same, did then saye, *that bee verelye beleeeved that it was God's good will and pleasure that the INDIAS should be founde.*"

The narrative of *Camoens* is in some parts more circumstantial than *Castanheda's*; and the peculiar hardships to which GAMA was exposed

* The *Rio de Iffante*, or *Infante*, has since been called by the Dutch the *Great Fish River*. Its mouth is placed by *D'Après* in $33^{\circ} 5'$; it is described by him as being deep, but not sufficiently so for large Vessels. The direction of its course is South-East and North-West.

exposed, are translated by Mickle with all the sympathy of a mind Ch. III. § 2.
accustomed to similar scenes of peril: Emmanuel.

" Now from the wave the chariot of the Day
Whirl'd by his fiery coursers springs away,
When full in view the ¹ GIANT CAPE appears,
Wide spreads its limbs, and high its shoulders rears;
Behind us now it curves the bending side,
And our bold Vessels plow the Eastern tide.
Nor long excursive off at Sea we stand,
A cultured Shore invites us to the Land.
Here their sweet Scenes the rural joys bestow,
And give our wearied minds a lively glow . . .
Fair blow the Winds: again with Sails unfurl'd
We dare the Main and seek the Eastern world.
Now round black *Afric's* Coast our Navy veer'd,
And to the World's mid circle northward steer'd:
The Southern Pole low to the wave declined,
We leave the Isle of Holy Cross behind;
That Isle where erst a LUSIAN, when he past
The tempest-beaten Cape, his anchors cast,
And own'd his proud ambition to explore
The kingdoms of the morn, could dare no more.
From thence, still on, our daring Course we hold
Through trackless gulphs, whose billows never roll'd
Around the Vessel's pitchy sides before . . .
For many a dreary Night, and cheerless day,
In Calms now fetter'd, now the Whirlwind's play,
By ardent hope still fired, we forced our dreadful way.

}
Now

¹ WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE sailed in 1779 to Lisbon, as Secretary to Commodore Johnstone in the *Romney*.

* Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. 2. book 5. page 74.

Now smooth as glass the shining waters lie,
 No Cloud slow moving sails the azure sky;
 Slack from their height the Sails unmoved decline,
 The airy Streamers form the downward line;
 No gentle quiver owns the gentle Gale,
 Nor gentlest swell distends the ready Sail;
 Fixt as in Ice the slumbering Prows remain,
 And silence wide extends her solemn reign.
 Now to the Waves the bursting Clouds descend,
 And Heaven and Sea in meeting tempests blend;
 The black-wing'd Whirlwinds o'er the Ocean sweep,
 And from his bottom roars the staggering Deep.
 Driven by the yelling Blast's impetuous sway
 Staggering we bound, yet onward bound away.
 And now escaped the fury of the Storm
 New Danger threatens in a various form;
 Though fresh the Breeze th' expanding canvass swell'd,
 A Current's headlong sweep our Prows withheld:
 The rapid force impress on every keel,
 Backward, o'erpower'd, our rolling Vessels reel:
 When from their southern caves the Winds, enraged
 In horrid conflict with the Waves engaged;
 Beneath the Tempest groans each loaded Mast,
 And o'er the rushing Tide our bounding Navy past."

Castanbada begins his FOURTH CHAPTER with the following enumeration of its contents: *How the Captaine generall came to the Lande, called Terra da boa gete, and after went to the Riuer called Ho Rio dōs bos finaes: how hee brought theyr shippes on grounde, and of the great sicknesse our people had after they arrived there.*

" Thus following their Voiage, they perceiued that vpon *Christmas Daie* they had discovered along the ' Coast three score and tenne leagues

¹ An account of this part of the Coast of Africa little known to Europeans, was given to *Dampier* by his friend captain *Rogers*, who had often visited it. (*Dampier's Voyages*, vol.

leagues to the Eastward, which was the way he carryed with him Ch. III. 40.
in his Register, or instructions, and was the latitude in which the *Emmanuel*
Indias were marked in his Charts. And heere the Flecte went
along

vol. 2. page 108.) "The COUNTRY OF NATAL takes about three degrees and half of latitude from North to South, lying between the latitude of $31^{\circ} 30'$ south and 28° north. It is bounded on the south by a Country inhabited by a small nation of savage people, called by our English, wild-bush men, that live in caves and in holes of rocks, and have no other houses, but such as are formed by nature: they are of a low stature, tany-coloured, with crisped hair; they are accounted very cruel to their enemies. Their Weapons are bows and poisoned arrows. These people have for their neighbours on the south the Hottantots. *Dellagoa* is a navigable River in latitude 28° south, that bounds *Natal* on the north. The inhabitants of this River have a commerce with the *Portuguese* of *Monambique*, who often visit them in small barks, and trade there for elephants teeth, which they have in great plenty. Some *English* too have lately been there to purchase Teeth, particularly *Captain Fresh*; who after he had been in the River of *Dellagoa*, and purchased eight or ten tun of Teeth, lost his Ship on a Rock near *Madagascar*. The Country of *Natal* lies open to the Indian sea on the East, but how far back it runs to the Westward is not yet known.

"That part of the Country which respects the Sea is plain champion and woody; but within land it appears more uneven, by reason of many Hills which rise in unequal heights above each other. Yet is it interlaced with pleasant valleys and large plains, and 'tis chequer'd with natural groves and savannahs. Neither is there any want of Water; for every hill affords little brooks, which glide down several ways; some of which, after several turnings and windings, meet by degrees and make up the *River of Natal*, which dischargeth itself into the *East Indian Ocean* in the latitude of 30° South. There it opens pretty wide, and is deep enough for small vessels. But at the mouth of the River is a Bar which has not above ten or eleven foot water on it in a Spring-Tide; though within there is water enough. This River is the principal of the Country of *Natal*, and has been lately frequented by some of our English Ships, particularly by a small vessel that *Captain Rogers* commanded.

"There are also other Streams and Rivers, which bend their Course Northerly, especially one of a considerable bigness, about 100 mile within land, and which runs due North. The Woods are composed of divers sorts of trees; many of which are very good timber, and fit for any uses, they being tall and large. The Savannahs also are clothed with kindly thick grass.

"Here are Fowls of divers sorts; some such as we have in England, viz. *duck* and *teal*, both tame and wild: and plenty of *cocks* and *hens*. Besides abundance of wild birds, wholly unknown to us.

"The Sea and Rivers also do abound in Fish of divers sorts; yet the Natives do but seldom endeavour to take any, except *Tortoisers*; and that is chiefly when they come ashore in the night to lay their eggs. Their chief employment is husbandry. They have a great many Bulls and Cows, which they carefully look after; for every man knows his own, though they run all promiscuously together in their Savannahs; yet they have Pens near their own houses, where

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along upon the Sea without taking "Land so farre, that they began to want, and haue lacke of Water for to drinke, and were inforced to dresse their meate with salt water; so that no man had then allowance of water to drinke more then one pinte a daie.

"Howbeit upon *Fridaye* the eleuenth daie of *Januarie*, 1498, drawing neere the lande, they went out in their Boates along the Coast to take view thereof; and so passing by the same, they sawe many Nigroes with a great company of women, all of them of great stature, which went along the Sea Side. When the Captaine generall

perceiued

they make them gentle and bring them to the pail. They also plant Corn, and fence in their fields to keep out all cattle, as well tame as wild. They have *Guinea Corn*, which is their Bread; and a sort of grain no bigger than Mustard seed, with which they make their drink. They have Caps made with beef Tallow of about nine or ten inches high. They are a great while of making these Caps: for the tallow must be made very pure, before it is fit for this use. Besides they lay on but a little at a time, and mix it finely among the hair; and so it never afterwards comes off their heads. When they go a hunting, which is but seldom, they pare off three or four inches from the top of it, that so it may fit the snigger; but the next day they begin to build it up again, and so they do every day till it is of a decent and fashionable height.

"The common subsistence of these people is Bread made of Guinea corn, Beef, Fish, Milk, Ducks, Hens, Eggs, &c.; they also drink milk often to quench their thirst; and this sometimes when it is sweet, but commonly they let it be sower first. They are very just and extraordinary civil to Strangers: This was remarkably experienced by two *English Seamen* that lived among them five years; their Ship was cast away on the Coast, and the rest of their comforts marched to the *River of Dellagoa*; but they stayed here till *Captain Rogers* accidentally came hither and took them away with him. They had gained the language of the Country; and the natives freely gave them wives and cows. They were beloved by all the people; and so much revered that their words were taken as Laws. And when they came away many of the boys cried because they would not take them." An account of the *Terre Natal* is given by *D'Apru*, who places its first headland in 32°, whence its coast trends to the north-east and north-east by north, about forty-five leagues. It is known by a large rocky point: *Quand cette Pointe reste au Nord Ouest, on voit par dessus trois petites montagnes rondes, et á une lieue de-la au Nord-Est il y a un Bois qui descend jusqu' á la Mer; son sommet est onde, et on y remarque un intervalle sans bois, et trois autres Montagnes plus grandes que celles qui les précédent.*

"Though they did not land, according to *de Barros*, they discovered a River during this course, on the 6th of January, and as that day was the Feast of *Epiphany*, they called the river *Rio de los Reyes*.

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perceiued that they showed themselues to bee a people flexible to Ch. III. § 2.
 ciuilitie, and of a quiet disposition; hee commaunded one of our Emmanuel.
 men called *Martim Afonso*, who coulde speake manye languages of
 the Nigroes, and one other with him, to leape out on Lande and to
 goe to them; which immediatlye those two persons did: Comming
 to the same blacke people they were well receyued, and especiallye
 of the chiefe person or Gouernor; to whome our Generall viewing
 his and theyr manner of courtesie, forthwith sent a Jacket, a payre
 of Hose, and a Cappe, beeing all redde, and a bracelet of copper; of
 which things he was very glad, and rendered great thanks to the
 Generall for the same, saying, *That with a verge good will, hee shoulde*
haue of giste anye thing he would desire or had neede off, that was to
be had in his Countrey. All which *Martim Afonso*,^a vnderstanding
 theyr language, tolde to the Generall; who was verye joyfull that
 by his interpretation, those people and ours might of each other
 haue vnderstanding; giuing also at that instant license to the same
Afonso and one more of our men to goe with those people for one
 night to their towne, at the request of the same Gouernor, who
 verie earnestly required the same. The Gouernour then apparelled
 himselfe with those garments which the Generall gaue him, and
 with great pleasure gaue commaundement to many of his chiefe
 men, to goe before and receiue him when he came to their towne.
 The people, as they went, beheld with greate pleasure and admira-
 tion those Vestures which our Generall had giuen him, clapping
 theyr

^a These Natives, as Dr. Vincent observes, "were no longer *Hottentots*, but *Coffres*, who even in that age bore the same marks of superior civilization, which they preserve to the present hour. A circumstance more fortunate and more extraordinary was, that *Martin Alonso* understood their language. This is a most remarkable occurrence, as *Alonso* could scarcely have been lower than *Mina* on the *Western Coast*, which is forty degrees from the Cape, and the breadth of the Continent from west to east cannot, in the latitude of 20° south, be less than eighteen or nineteen degrees more. What Negro Nation or Language do we know of such an extent? and yet wonderful as it is, there is no reason to doubt the fact." (*Periplus*, page 212.)

B O O K
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theyr hands for joy thereof; which manner of gladsome rejoyfing they used three or foure times before they came to their towne. After their entraunce therein, they went round about the same; to the end all the people and inhabitants thereof, might see and behold those giuen garments, and straunge arraie. Which beeing done, the Gouvernour entered into his house, where he commaunded *Afonso*, and his companion, to be well lodged, and gaue to them for Supper a Hen, euen such as ours bee, and Pap made of *Mylylo*, a kinde of graine of a yeolow coulour, whereof also they make Bread: This Night repaired many Nigroes to theyr lodgings to see them.

"The next Daie after, the Gouvernour sent them to theyr Shippes with certaine Nigroes of his, loden with Hens for the Captaine generall, who rendered thanks for the same; and required by his Interpreter those Nigroes to saie unto theyr Governour, *that he now sawe and perceiued him to be a noble man, or King of that Countrie; and forasmuch as the Generall, and the rest of our men, in those five daies wherein they had houered upon and viewed that Coast, had no manner of damage done, or offered them, and saw both many quiet and gentle people there, and also many noble Men; he gaue to this Land an apt name, calling it TERRA DA BOA ° GETE.*

"In the towne where *Martim Afonso* was, theyr houses bee made all of strawe, and verie well furnished within. The women be more in number then the men. They carrie with them long Bowes with arrowes and darts of Yron, and upon their armes and legges they weare many braceleets of Copper, and some peeces of them in their haires. Also they carrie daggars, the hafts or handles of Pewter, and the sheathes of Iuorie; so that it is manifest they haue in that Countrie plentie of Copper and Tinne. Moreouer they haue great store of Salt which they make of Salt Water, carrieng the same from

Or according to de Barros, *Aguada da boa Paz.*

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from the Sea side in Gourds, and putting it into certaine Caues where they make the Salt. These kinde of people were so gladd of the linnen our men carried with them, and brought thether, that they gaue for one Shirt much Copper. They also were so quiet amongst our men, that they brought them Water to their Boates from a Riuer which was two Crosse Bowe shotte from the place where our men tooke in the same, which Riuer they call *Rio do Cobre*, or the copper river.”

Oforius places the arrival of the Portuguese on this part of the Coast a day earlier than *Castanbeda*, and furnishes additional information. “On the *tenth* of *January*, they discovered some small Islands, about two hundred and thirty miles from their last watering place: these Islands had a very beautiful appearance, being covered with lofty Trees and enriched with meadows of a striking verdure. They could see the Inhabitants walking on the shore in great numbers. Here *Gama* anchored, and dispatched one of his men, whom he knew to be well versed in languages, to wait upon the King. This messenger was received with civility, and dismissed with presents of the produce of the country. *Gama*, on setting sail, left two Exiles, that they might inform themselves of the character and customs of the Natives. There were in his Fleet ten Malefactors, who had been condemned to die, but were pardoned on condition of going this voyage: wherever *Gama* should leave them, they were to examine the Country, and, on his return, be enabled to give intelligence of the inhabitants.”—*Castanbeda* thus proceeds:

“From this place our Fleete departed the *fifteenth* daie of *January*, and going under saile, did discouer land of another *Countrie* which

* *Oforius*, page 33. (*Gibb's Translation*, vol. 1. p. 50.)

† He seems to have passed cape *Corrientes*, at the opening of the *Mosambique* channel, in the night; and, on account of the strong current driving towards the shore, to have kept so far from the land as not to have noticed *Sofala*. See *de Barros*.—*E daqui por diante começou de se affastar*

B O O K

I.

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which lyeth verie lowe, (Sofala) wherein were trees high and thicke; and so proceeding forward, they discovered a Riuer verie open at the entering: and for that the Generall thought it necessarie to haue notice of that Countrie, and there to learne whether they might heare anye newes or intelligence of the *Indias*, hee commaunded to come to an ankore; which was upon the *Thursdaye*, being seauen daies before the end of *Januarie*. The same night he with his brother *Niculao Coelbo* entered the Riuer, and at the dawning of daie, did well perceiue the lande to be lowe and couered with water, hauing Trees of great height, and thicke loaden with sundrie sortes of fruites.

" Our men then beholding the Lande, which was verie pleasant, they sawe also certaine Boates comming towards them, with men in the same, whereof the Generall was very glad; supposing vpon sight of those people, and view of their Countrie in that manner which argued they had some knowledge and experience of the Sea, that therefore they were not farre off from the *Indias*, or at leastwise could not then goe farre but they should heare newes of the same. When the people with theyr Boates came neere to our Fleete, our men perceiued they were all blacke people, of good stature; howbeit

assaltar algum tanto da terra, com que de Noite passou o Cabo, a que ora chamamos das Correntes; porque começa a costa encurvar-se tanto pera dentro passado elle, que sentindo Vasco da Gama que as aguas o apanhavam pera dentro, temeo ser alguma enseada penetrante, donde não pudesse sabir. O qual temor lhe fez dar tanto resguardo por fugir a Terra, que passou sem haver vista da povoação de sofala. (Ibid. liv. 4. cap. 3.)—CAPE CORRIENTES, was thus named from the violent Currents formed by the pressure of the waters through the narrow channel between Madagascar and the main. *Marmol* describes (vol. 3. p. 106.) not only the Currents, but Islands, Shoals, and the violent winds. (*Dr. Vincent, ibid.*)

Oforius makes this date to be the 15th of January. (Page 34. *Gibbs' Transf.* vol. 1. p. 50.) He says, that it was in the dusk of Evening when the *Portuguese* arrived off this river; that *Gama* was honoured with the company of four of the principal Chiefs at an entertainment he gave on board, and on taking leave presented each with a robe of Silk. *Oforius* also adds, that one of the natives spoke *Arabic* very imperfectly; and that *Gama* left two of his Convicts to reside in that part of *Africa*, to which he gave the name of *S. RAFAEL*.

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VOL.

beit all naked they came neere and entered into our Shippes without feare, in such sorte as though they had ben of long acquaintance. They were very well receiued of our people: the Captaine generall commaunded the same, and also that there should be giuen unto them certeine little Bels, and other things; and he talked with them by Signes, for they did not vnderstand any of *Martim Afonso* his languages, nor any other Interpretour. After this their good intertainment they departed; and, as it seemed, well liking of the same they and many others afterward returned in their Boates to our Shippes, bringing such victuals as their countrie yeeldeth: they haue in their lips three holes, and in euery hole a peece of tinne, which they esteeme as a thing very gallant and gaye. They tooke with them certeine of our men to make merrie at a countrie Towne there neere hand, and where they fet Water for our Shippes.

"After the three daies space that our Generall was in that Riuer, there came of curtesie two noble men of that Countrie to visit him in their boates; whose apparell was none other then of the rest, sauing that their linnen aprons were farre greater then those the common sorte used, and one of them wore upon his head a tucke or kerchiefe wrought with filke, and the other had a night cap of greene * fatten. The Captaine generall seeing those men somewhat addicted to cleanness, was verie glad thereof; receiued them in curteous manner, and commaunded to giue them meate; and moreover he gave them apparell and certeine other things: but it appeared by their countinaunces they smallye or nothing at all esteemed

* *De Faria y Sousa* in his Narrative differs in some respects from *Caslanbeda*, and says, "That the people of this River were not so black as the other Africans, and understood Arabic; that the Portuguese judged them to be more civilized from the habit they wore, consisting of diuers sorts of Stuffs both Cotton and Silk, of several Colours. According to the information of the Natives, to the eastward lived White People who sailed in Ships resembling the Portuguese."

B O O K

I.

January,
February,
1498.

esteemed thereof. Howbeit while they remained in our Shippes, the Generall perceiued by tokens and signs, which a young man that came with them then shewed, that their Countrie was farre of thence, and that they had seene as great Shippes as ours were; wherof he greatly rejoyfied and all our people in like manner, as then verely hoping, and thereby coniecturing, that the *Indias* were neere to that place. Which their hope and coniecture was also farre the more augmented and confirmed; for that after those noble men were gone to Shore, they sent to the Fleete cloth to sell which was made of cotten, upon which also were certeine marks of *Okar*: in respect of which good newes and intelligence heere found, and likely to ensue, the Captaine generall gave to this Riuer the name of ' *Ho Rio dos bõs sinaes*, the Riuer of Good Signs, and caused there a Pillar to be erected, calling the same according to the Shippe wherein he went that Voiage.

" Forasmuch as he perceiued by the signes of the young man, that those noble men inhabited a countrie farre thence, and that they had seene Shippes as greate as ours; he thereby and upon other coniectures gathered, that their Countrie was neere to the *Indias*: and so consequently that the *Indias* was farre off from that Riuer where our Shippes then lay. Wherefore consulting hereof, it was by him and the other Captaines then determined upon, that all the Shippes should be brought on ground; which determination was executed accordingly, and the same Shippes repaired, dressed, and trimmed, in all points needfull and necessarie. In doing whereof they spent two and thirtie daies. In which time our men

sustained

* It is a Circumstance particularly noticed by the Historians, that from *St. Helena* to this place no vestige of Navigation, no sort of Embarkation had been seen. But here, upon the morning after their arrival, they were visited by the Natives, in Boats, which had *Sails made of the Palm*. The expression is not clear, but intimates Cloth made of fibres of the *Coco Palm*. It is worthy of notice that *Castaneda* mentions *Boats* here, but nothing of *Sails* until they approached *Mozambique*. (*Dr. Vincens's Periplus*, page 213.)

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sustained great troubles, and torments of minde, by occasion of a Ch. III. § 2.
 Sicknesse which was thought to growe by meanes of the aire; for *Emmanuel.*
 the hands and feete of many of them, and also their gums, in such
 sorte did swell that they could not eate. With this pestilent In-
 fection, and Sicknesse, our men were greatly discomfited, and many
 of them dyed thereof; which also put the reste of the companie in
 greate " feare and perplexitie of minde.—Yea, and further would
 haue increased and aggrauated their griefes of bodye, and sor-
 rowes, were it not, *that one DA GAMA, a Man of good nature*
and condition, had taken speciall care and vsed greate dilligence, for the
recouerye of their healtbs, and putting them in comfort: Who continu-
ally visited the sicke, and liberally departed vnto them such wholesome
and medicinable things, as for his owne bodye hee had prouided and
carried with him. Througb whose good counsell giuen, great paines
taken, and franke distribution of that he had, many of our men recovered
which would otherwise haue died, and all the rest thereby were greatly
recomforted."

When it is remembered that *Camoens* composed his *Lusiadas*
 partly on the *Atlantic*, and partly on the *Indian Ocean*, the following
 passages impart additional interest :

" Now * dawn'd the sacred Morn, when from the East
 Three Kings the Holy cradled Babe addrest,
 And hail'd him KING OF HEAVEN : That festive day
 We drop our anchors in an opening Bay ;
 The River from the Sacred day we name,
 And Stores, the wandering Seaman's right, we claim.

" Now

* They afterwards found, says *De Barros*, that it proceeded from eating Salt Provisions, and
 damaged Biscuit—*que procedia das carnes, pescado falgado, et Biscoute corrompido de tanto tempo.*
 (Ibid. cap. 3.)

* *Mickle's Lusiad*, vol. 2. book 5. (P. 78—83.)

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY.

" Now the sweet waters of the Stream we leave,
 And the salt waves our gliding Prows receive.
 Here to the left, between the bending Shores,
 Torn by the Winds the whirling-billow roars,
 And boiling raves against the sounding Coast
 Whose Mines of Gold *Sofula's* merchants boast :
 Full to the Gulph the showery South-Winds howl,
 Allant against the Wind our Vessels rowl.
 Far from the land, wide o'er the ocean driven,
 Our helms resigning to the care of Heaven,
 By Hope and Fear's keen passions tost, we roam ;
 When our glad eyes beheld the surges foam
 Against the beacon's of a cultured Bay,
 Where Sloops and Barges cut the watery way.
 The River's opening breast some upward ply'd,
 And some came gliding down the sweepy Tide.
 Quick throbs of transport heaved in every heart
 To view the knowledge of the Seaman's Art ;
 For here we hoped our ardent wish to gain,
 To hear of *India's* strand, nor hoped in vain.
 Though *Ethiopia's* fable hue they bore
 No look of wild surprise the Natives wore :
 Wide o'er their heads the cotton turban swell'd,
 And cloth of blue the decent loins conceal'd.
 Their Speech, though rude and dissonant of sound,
 Their Speech a mixture of *Arabian* own'd.
 FERNANDO, skill'd in all the copious store
 Of fair *Arabia's* speech and flowery lore,
 In joyful converse heard the pleasing Tale ;
 " That o'er these Seas full oft the frequent Sail,
 And lordly Vessels tall as ours appear'd,
 Which to the Regions of the Morning steer'd ;

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Whose cheerful Crews, resembling ours, display
 The kindred face and colour of the day."
 Elate with joy we raise the glad acclaim,
 And ' RIVER OF GOOD SIGNS the Port we name.

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

" Our Keels, that now had steer'd through many a Clime,
 By shell-fish roughen'd, and incased with slime,
 Joyful we clean ; while bleating from the field
 The fleecy dams the smiling Natives yield.
 But while each face an honest welcome shews,
 And big with sprightly Hope each bosom glows ;
 Alas ! how vain the bloom of human joy !
 How soon the blasts of woe that bloom destroy !
 A dread Disease its rankling horrors shed,
 And Death's dire ravage through mine army spread.
 Never mine eyes such dreary sight beheld,
 Ghastly the mouth and gums enormous swell'd ;
 And instant, putrid like a dead man's wound,
 Poison'd with foetid steams the air around.

No

✓ This River is the ZAMBEZE, which is navigable for two hundred leagues up to *Sucumba* (*Refende*, p. 80.), and penetrates into the interior of *Benomotopa*. It falls into the Sea through a variety of Mouths, between latitude 19° and 18° south, which are known in our modern Charts as the Rivers of *Cuamo* and *Quilimanè*, from a Fort of that name upon the northern Branch.—I cannot ascertain which mouth of the ZAMBEZE *Gama* anchored in. I suppose it to be the largest which is that most to the north, as *Refende* places the *River of Good Signs* in latitude 17° 50' 0". *P. Lobo* calls *Quilimanè* the *River of Good Signs*. I find nothing in *Castaneda*, or *Faria*, to mark the extent of *Gama's* knowledge at this place, but as he had the corrected Chart of *Covilham* on board, in which *Sofala* was marked as the limit of his Progress ; if that Chart was furnished with the latitude, *Gama* must have known that he had now passed the Barrier, and that the Discovery was ascertained. The most Southern branch of the ZAMBEZE is two degrees to the North of *Sofala*. He must likewise know that the Directions given by *Covilham* were to enquire for *Sofala* and the *Island of the moon* ; which is an Arabic name, and occurs in *Al Edrissi*. (*Dr. Vincent's Periplus*, p. 214.) The Country which *Dr. Vincent* styles *Bonomotopa*, is perhaps more properly *Mocaranga*. The largest of the Mouths of the ZAMBEZE is that to the South : *Dr. Vincent* was misled by *Refende*. The *Zambeze* from the Cataracts, to its mouth, makes a Course of not more than 130 leagues. The old Navigators always reckoned the distance too great when ascending Rivers, and made it as much too short when they followed the river's Course.

BOOK

I.

February,
1498.

No sage Physician's ever watchful zeal,
 No skilful Surgeon's gentle hand to heal,
 Were found: each dreary mournful hour we gave
 Some brave Companion to a foreign grave:
 A Grave, the awful gift of every Shore!
 Alas! what weary Toils with us they bore!
 Long, long endear'd by fellowship in woe,
 O'er their cold dust we give the tears to flow;
 And in their hapless lot forbode our own,
 A foreign burial, and a Grave unknown."

But beside the distress our Navigators thus experienced from these ravages of the scurvy, two events occurred, which had nearly frustrated all their hopes. De * Barros informs us, that Gama being alongside of his brother *Paulo's* vessel in a boat, and having hold of the chains in order to speak to *Paulo*, the force of the current was so great, as to carry the boat from under him and his men: but immediate assistance being given, they were all providentially saved. After this, as the Squadron passed the Bar at the mouth of the *Rio de bons sinaes*, *Paulo's* ship grounded on a sand-bank, and for a time was given up as lost; the returning flood however relieved them from so perilous a situation, and the ship to their inexpressible joy was again afloat.

The fifth Chapter of *Castanbada* gives an account, *how the Capitaine generall with all his Fleete came to the ILHA MOÇÁBIQUE*: "The Fleete beeing furnished and provided of all things necessarie, the Capitaine generall then mindfull of his Voiage, departed thence upon *Saturdaye*, the *twenty-fourth* daie of *Februarie*; and the same daie and all the night following, for that he was incalmed, and to auoide the Shore, made way into the Sea. Upon *Sundaye*, by euensong time, our men discried *three Islands* a seaboard, all of them beeing

* *Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 3.

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being but small; they were distant one from another foure leagues. Ch. III. § 2.
 Two of them were replenished with great woods, and the third was plaine.
 To arrive to these Ilands the General was not willing, for that he sawe no cause to occasion the same; and therefore he still kept the Sea, staid and comming to an anchor alwaies as the night approached; which manner of course he continued the space of fixe daies. And upon the *Thursday* being the *first* daie of *March*, towards evening, our men came within sight of *four* Ilands; whereof two were neere the Shore, and the other two a sea-

* De Barros (Ibid.) mentions a Pillar being placed by Gama on these Ilands, and dedicated to St. George, who gave a name to them. *Nestes Ilheos os quares ora se chamam de S. Jorge por causa de hum Padr.º deste nome, que Vasco da Gama nelles poz.* Of this Coast, as already observed, Geographers know but little. It was at one time the intention of Government that Sir Home, then Captain Popham, should be sent to survey it, but the design was given up. The late Commodore Blanket remained on this station, during the last war, for a considerable time, and from his Journal much may be expected. Some drawings of the Coast have in consequence been made for the Charts which are preparing at the Admiralty. Probably also information may be gleaned from that mass of geographical information, which upwards of twenty years ago was procured on the Continent, and lodged in the British Museum; where it will now be soon arranged for the inspection of the curious. D'Après informs us, that all the Coast of Africa, from *Palo* to the *Equinoctial Line*, is lined by a Cluster of Islets, whence shoals extend themselves to the distance of a league. These Islets form a double Shore; and are taken for the Coast itself, when their separation is not discerned: in some places they lie at a league's distance from the Continent; the boats of the country are continually plying to and fro in the intermediate channel. Opposite to the Island of *Moçambique*, and about a quarter of a league at Sea, D'Après describes two small low Islands, with some clumps of trees. They are surrounded with Reefs, and lie north north-east and south south-west from each other. The northernmost is still called *St. George*, the other has the name of *St. Jago*. A plan of Fort *Moçambique* is given in *Faria*, and a view of its Coast by *Herbert*, both of which are inserted in *Aitley*. Another description occurs in a map of the eastern coast of Africa, with all the principal harbours, drawn on a large scale and published by *John Teixeira* the Queen's Cosmographer at Lisbon, in the year 1649. This curious Map is inserted in the first volume of M. Thevenot's Collection of Voyages. The latest, and most accurate delineation of *Moçambique Bay*, is in a MS. chart, which Mr. Arrowsmith has communicated for the subsequent volume of this work.

In *Linschoten's Voyage* the nautical antiquarian will also find two representations of the Bay of *Moçambique*, but without any soundings marked, as in the above Map. See chap. 4, where an excellent description is given both of the Island and adjacent Coast. *Linschoten* mentions *Moçambique* as a town in the Island of *Prafo*.

BOOK

I.

March,
1498.

seaboord; and for that they would not that Night fall in with them, they still kept the sea, minding to passe between, as indeede they did. Wherevpon the Captaine generall commaunded *Niculao Coelbo*, by reason his Shippe was lesse than the others, should go first; and so going upon the *Fridaye* within a certein Harbour which was betweene the maine Land, and one of the Ilands, the said *Niculao* missed the channell and ranne on ground. Which daunger when our other Shippes sawe, they did cast then about, and went backe; and as they were returned, they perceiued comming out of that *Ilande* seven or eight little boates under^b saile, being distant from *Niculao Coelbo* a good league. At sight of those Boates comming towards them, *Niculao Coelbo* and those with him tooke great pleasure, and for Joy gaue a great crye: at their repaire to them, *Coelbo* and they went to the Generall, and saluted him; to whom the same *Coelbo* sayd, *How say you, Sir? heere is an other kinde of People! Wherevnto the Generall answered, that hee was very glad of that good fortune, and therewith commaunded to let them go a seaboord with their Boates; for that his meaning was to beare with them to that Ilande from whence they came, and there to come to an ankor: of purpose to vnderstand what Lande that was, and whether amongst those people he might beare or haue anye newes or certeine intelligence of the Indias.* Yet notwithstanding the Generall's commandement, they in their boates followed our Shippes; alwaies making signes, and calling to our men therein, to stay and tarrie for them. Wherefore the Captaine generall, with the other Captaines, came to an ankor, and so they in their Boates approached neere, and came to our Fleete.

"By view of their persons it appeared they were men of a good stature, and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in cloth of

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^b It is upon the approach to the Port of *Mofambique* that *Castaneda* first mentions Boats furnished with SAILS. (*Dr. Vincent, Periplus, p. 217.*)

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Cotten, welted with sundry colours, some girded unto their Ch. III. § s.
 knees, and others carried the same upon their shoulders as cloaks; Emmanuel.
 and upon their heads they weare a certeine kinde of tucks or ker-
 chiefs somewhat wrought with Silke and gold thrid: they have
 Swords and Daggers as the *Moores* doe use them; in their Boates
 they brought with them their instruments called *Sagbuts*. These
 men being thus come to our Shippes, they forthwith came a boord
 the same with great opinion of assuraunce, even as though they had
 knowne our men a long time, and immediatlye began to be con-
 uersant, and very familiar with them; vsing their ' speeches which
 they vttered in the language of *Algarania* (Arabic) and would not
 be knowne they were *Moores*. The General commaunded to giue
 them meat; and being asked by one ^d *Fernão Alvares*, who could
 speake the language, what Land that was, they answered, *that it ap-*
peretained to a great king. The Iland was called Moçâbique; and the
town there full of Merchantes, which haue trafficke with the Moores
of the Indias, who bring thetber Siluer, Linnen Cloth, Pepper, Ginger,
Siluer ringes, many Pearles, and Rubie Stones; and, that out of an-
other ' Countrie, which remained behinde, they doe bring them Golde.
Declaring further that if our men would enter into the Harbour, they
would bring them thetber, and they shuld perceiue and see the truth,
and

^c BARROS says, *Chegados estes barcos ao navio de Vasco da Gama, levantou-se, hum daquelles*
homens bem vestidos, e começou per Aravigo perguntar que gente era, e o que buscavam? (Ibid.)

^d Or according to BARROS *Fernão Martins*.

• JUAN DOS SANTOS, in his Voyage published by *Le Grande*, and quoted by *Bruce* (vol. 1.
 p. 435.) says, that, " he landed at *Sofala* in the year 1586; that he sailed up the great Ri-
 ver *Cuama* as far as *Tetè*; where, always desirous to be in the neighbourhood of Gold, his
 Order had placed their Convent. Thence he penetrated for above two hundred leagues into
 the Country, and saw the Gold Mines then working, at a mountain called *Afura*. At a con-
 siderable distance from these are the Silver Mines of *Chicoua*; at both places there is great
 appearance of ancient excavations, and at both places the houses of the Kings are built with
 mud and straw, whilst there are large remains of massy buildings of Stone and Lime."

BOOK *and more at large, touching those things they then gave information of.*

I.
March,
1498.

"The Generall hearing this, entered into counsell with the other Captaines debating the matter thereof; and argued whether it were good to enter the Harbour, and see if those things were of truth, which those *Moors* had imparted to them; and also there to take some Pilottes to carrye them further, since they were nowe destitute of such. Upon which Consultation it was there determined, that *Niculae Coelbo* shuld first make an assay for enterance and founding of the Barre, by reason his Shippe was the least of the fleete; which accordingly he forthwith did. And so going to enter, he went and touched the Point of the Iland, and therewith brake his Helme: howbeit through God his goodnesse, he perished not there, although he was in great daunger; for as he went upon the Point unwares, so with quicke speede and good fortune he gote off the same. Neuerthelesse he found that the Barre was good to enter, and therefore he came to an ankor two crosse bow shot from the Towne scituated in that Iland, which is in fifteen degrees towards the south. It hath a very good Harbour, and also great plentie of the victuals of that Countrie. The houses of that Towne be made of strawe, and the dwellers therein are ^a *Moors*, which trade to *Sofala* in great Shippes that

^a A good account of the Town or City of *Mozambique*, is inserted in the Journal of the Dutch Pilot *Verhoeven*.

^b These *Moors* so often mentioned by the *Portuguese* Navigators, were, as *Bruce* informs us, (vol. 2. p. 10.) Merchants who had been expelled from *Spain* by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*: they accordingly fixed their residence first on the *Western Coast of Africa*, where being joined by either fresh exiles from *Spain*, or mingling with the inhabitants of *Morocco*, they extended themselves Eastward, and formed settlements in *Arabia*; untill the great oppressions that followed the conquest of that country, and *Egypt*, under *Selim* and *Soliman*, interrupted their trade, and scattered them along the Coast of *Abyssinia*. These are the *Moors* which *Gama* so often met with both during his Voyage, and on his arrival in *India*. They had no profession but Trade, in every species of which they greatly excelled.—*Dr. Walsen* quotes a passage from *Anderson*, to prove, that about the year 1150, the *Moors of Spain* first introduced the Art of Distillery into the west of Europe, they having learned it from the *African Moors*, who had it from the *Egyptians*.

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that haue no deckes nor nailes, but are ^b sowed with *cayro* (cocoa Ch. III. § 2. fibres) and their Sailes are of mats made of the leafe of a *Palme* tree. *Emmanuel.*
Some of them do carrie with them ^c *Compasses of Geane*, by which they
doe

^a This curious passage in the original, is as follows: *Pouada de Mouros que tratavan dañ para Cosala em grandes Naos, e sem cuberta nã pregadura, cosidas con Cayro: e as Velas erão de feiras d' palma: e algũas trazião Agulhas genuẽscas porque se região por quadrãtes, e Cartas de marear.* (Castanheda, tom. 1. cap. 5. p. 12.)

^b Probably in consequence of this passage, *M. Robert de Vaugondy* in his *Essai sur l'histoire de la Geographie*, 1755, when giving a rapid sketch of the *Portuguese Discoveries* (p. 74.) observed. *Les habitants de la Riviere des bons Signes avoient l'usage de L'Aimant, avant qu'il fut connu chez les Européens.* The Italians have a singular term for l'aimant, or the loadstone, viz. *CALAMITA*. *BARROS* does not notice the Nautical Instruments in use among the *Moor*s, until the arrival of the ships at *Melinda*. *Oforius* (page 35.) gives a very particular account of the Moorish Compass, and also mentions *Quadrants*, not *Astrolobe*. The whole of this curious passage is well worthy of the reader's attention; and as its value consists in the express terms used by *Oforius*, it is given in the original.

^c *Utebantur in navigando Normis Naviculariis, quas nautæ Acus appellant. Quarum formam propter eos, qui à maritimis regionibus semoti sunt, haud alienum arbitror explicare.*

^a Vasculum est à ligno factum, planum atque rotundum, altitudine duorum aut trium digitorum. In medio habet stylum prefixum in summo præacutum, aliquanto brevior, quam sit vasculi ipsius altitudo. Regula deinde è ferro solertissime facta, tenuis et angusta ad vasculi modum dimensa, ita tamen ut diametri ipsius vasculi longitudinem non exæquet, inducitur. Styli vero cuspis per medium hujus regulæ, quod est inferius excavatum, et fastigiatum superius, immissa, ita eam suspensam, paribusque momentis libratam continet, ut utrinque angulos pares efficiat. Operculo deinde vitreo ænea virgula circumdata firmato, ne possit regula excuti, et aliqua ex parte labare, contegitur. Cum vero Magnetis ea natura sit, ut non modo ferrum ad se trahat, verum etiam una illius pars ad Septentriones aspiret, altera in Austrum propendeat, naturamque suam cum ferro communicet, efficitur, ut cum regulæ hujus caput ad eam magnetis partem, quæ spectat ad Septentriones, applicatum, attritumque illius exterius fuerit, eandem in se vim concipiat: et cum ita suspensa extiterit, ut mobiliter in varias partes impelli possit, semper in Septentriones insita propensione referatur. Sic autem fiebat, ut Nautæ huc instrumento moniti, quanvis in profundo pelago versarentur, et cælum esset nubilum et caliginosum, possent tamen ad Septentrionis rationem cursum dirigere. Hanc autem regulam, quia ad acus similitudinem proxime accedebat, Acum Naviculariam appellabant. Deinde cum facillimum sit humanis ingeniis, addere semper aliquid ad ea, quæ sunt solerter inventa, aliam normæ rationem excogitarunt, qua possent exactius, quem cursum in navigando tenerent, ratione perspicere. E virgulis enim ferreis figuram efficiunt lateribus paribus, angulis imparibus, in rhombi speciem deformatam. Huic unam ex parte superiore, alteram ex inferiore chartam orbiculatam adglutinant. Magnetis autem adjuncta vi, sic figuram hanc temperant, ut unus ex acutis angulis Septentrionem, alter ad Occasum spectet. Diametri autem orbis hujus longitudo figuræ longitudinem non excedit. Habet autem orbis hic in medio æneum umbilicum affixum, ad eam formam factum, qua diximus regulæ medium fabricatum fuisse.

BOOK
I.March,
1498.

doe gouverne, and they be square, they haue also Seacards. With these Moores, the Moores of Indias haue traficke, and with those from the Red Sea, by reason of the Golde they haue there.

"When they sawe our men, they supposed them to bee *Turks*; by reason of the knowledge they had of the *Turks* Countrie, through intelligence of the *Moores* which dwel in the Red Sea. They which were first in our Shippes went and tolde their *XEQUE*; for so they call him alwaies that is gouernour of the towne, which was there for the king of *Quiloa*, vnder whose obeisance this Iland was."

The Narrative of GAMA's Voyage in *Camoens* being detached, and only occasionally introduced according to the rules of the *epopœe*; it may be desireable to many readers to consider these passages

"Per umbilicum illud igitur styli cuspis immissa, orbem hunc suspensum continet, qui non modò regula illius, de qua diximus, vice fungitur, sed omnes ventorum regiones, quorum statibus navis impellitur, in conspectu proponit. In charta namque superiore Septentrio, et Austro, et Oriens, et Occidens, et interjectæ inter hos terminos regiones exactissime describuntur. Norma ad hunc modum constituta, hoc restabat incommodi, quòd opus erat, quoties Navis fluctibus agitata, ut fieri necesse est, in puppim, aut proram, aut in alterutrum latus inclinaret, ut illa in profundo subsidens adhæresceret, neque motu libero in Septentriones dirigi posset. Ne autem hoc eveniret, fuit solertissime excogitatum. Nam vas ipsum paulo infra labrum circulo æneo arcuè confrigitur. Utrinque autem ab eo circulo virgula calybea ducta, in foramen alterius circuli majoris et exterioris, modico intervallo ab interiore distans, immittitur.

"Virgulæ vero binæ ita sunt æquales et oppositæ, ut si ex utraque una et perpetua fieret, circularis illius spatii diametrum contineret. Exterior autem circulus circa duas illas virgulas quasi circum axem versatur. Rursus ab exteriori circulo aliæ binæ virgulæ pari intervallo ad ambitum alveoli cuiusdam orbiculati, intra quem hæc machinatio continetur, simili ratione perducuntur.

"Ita sunt autem hæ virgulæ exteriores interioribus ex adverso constitutæ, ut si duæ tantum ex illis quatuor directæ fierent, se se ad angulos rectos interfecarent. Cùm vero machinatio ex inferiore parte ænea et ponderosa sit, neque fundum attingat ullum, ita undique pellitur, ut medium locum teneat. Et cum pensilis et mobilis existat, pondere suo nixa ea ratione consistit, ut quanvis maximi fluctus navem jactent, ipsa semper ad libellam directæ permaneat. Sic autem fit, ut nihil interveniat, quod normam ab eo motu, quo in Septentriones fertur, impedire queat. His Normis solebant uti jam illo tempore Arabes illi, et Chartis præterea, quibus maritimarum regionum situs, secundum descriptas in illis lineas, exploratè cognoscere. Quadrantibus etiam, solis varias conversiones, et quantum quæque regio ab æquinoctiali circulo distaret, observabant. Tam multis denique erant ad navigandum artibus instructi, ut non multum Lusitanis nautis de rerum maritimarum scientia et usu concederent."

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passages as connected in the present section: the following contains the substance of the sixth chapter of Castanheda. *How the Capitaine generall entered into the Harbour of Moçambique, and how the gouvernour there came to visit him at his Shippes, making peace with him, and gaue him two Pilottes to carry him to Calicut, verely supposing our people to be Turkes.* Ch. III. § 2. Emanuel.

“ Right on they steer by *Ethiopia's* strand
And pastoral ^k *Madagascar's* verdant Land.
Before the balmy gales of cheerful Spring,
With Heav'n their friend, they spread the canvas wing.
Behind them now the Cape of ^l *Prafo* bends,
Another Ocean to their view extends,

Where

^k Called by the *Portuguese* the Island of *St. Lawrence*, on whose festival they discovered it. (*Mickle.*) Gama seems not to have noticed it.

^l *Ptolemy*, with whom probably all the *Portuguese* Pilots of Gama's Age were acquainted, places *Prafum* in south latitude $15^{\circ} 30' 0''$, and it is from this Latitude of 15° south that the early *Portuguese* universally assume *Mosambique* for *Prafum*.—Where *Prafum* is to be placed is an object worthy of inquiry, if there were *Data* sufficient to determine it, as it is the final Limit of *Ancient Discovery* to the South. I can point out no fitter position for it than *Mosambique*.—One farther Observation is all that remains in this part of my discussion, which is, the peculiarity that *Prafum* signifying *green*, should point out a *Green Cape* for the termination of *Ancient Knowledge* on the *Eastern* side of the vast Continent of *Africa*; while another *Green Cape*, *Cape Verde*, should have been for many years the boundary of *Modern Navigation* on the *Western* side. If I am not mistaken, *Cape Verde* has its name from its verdant appearance when first seen by the *Portuguese*; otherwise it might have been thought, that those who first reached it had annihilated the Great Triangle like *Juba*, and *Pliny*, and thought they had arrived at the *Green Cape* of the *Ancients*. (*Πρασον*, signifies a *Leek*, but it is also used for a Sea Weed of the same colour, and may possibly allude to such Weeds found in this Sea.)—This will not appear an idle observation to those who are conversant with the *Ancient Geographers*; and who know that they found a *Western Horn* and *Carnè* on both sides the Continent, and a *Thulé* from the *Orkneys* to the Pole. But there is another view in mentioning it, which is, that some future Navigator, with this clue to direct him, may, when he is going up the *Mosambique Passage*, still find some characteristic greenness, either in the colour of the Sea, or on the Continent which may enable him to point out the *Prafum* of the *Ancients*. This is a point I cannot ascertain to my own satisfaction, but it cannot be farther South than *Corrientes*, nor farther North than *Quiloa*, or the *Zanguebar Islands*. English ships generally leave the Coast before they are so far North, but accident may carry some curious observer to the spot, which he may recognize, by knowing previously where he is to search, and what he is to search for. (*DR. VINCENT's Periplus*, p. 164—189.)

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY.

Where black-topp'd Islands to their longing eyes
 Lav'd by the gentle waves in prospect rise.
 But GAMA, Captain of the vent'rous band,
 Of bold emprise, and born for high command,
 Bears off those Shores which waste and wild appear'd,
 And Eastward still for happier Climates steer'd :
 When gathering round and blackening o'er the Tide,
 A fleet of war Canoes the Pilot spied ;
 Hoisting their Sails of palm-tree leaves, inwove
 With curious art, a swarming crowd they move :
 Long were their Boats, and sharp to pass along
 Through the dash'd waters, broad their Oars and strong.
 Their Garb, discover'd as approaching nigh,
 Was cotton strip'd with many a gaudy dye :
 'Twas one whole piece ; beneath one arm, confin'd,
 The rest hung loose and flutter'd on the wind ;
 All, but one breast, above the loins was bare,
 And swelling turbans bound their jetty hair :
 Their Arms were bearded darts, and faulchions broad,
 And warlike Music sounded as they row'd.
 With joy the Sailors saw the Boats draw near,
 With joy beheld the human face appear
 And now with hands, and kerchiefs wav'd in air,
 The barb'rous Race their friendly mind declare.
 Glad were the Crew, and ween'd that happy day
 Should end their dangers and their toils repay.
 The lofty Masts the nimble youths ascend,
 The Ropes they haul, and o'er the Yard-Arms bend ;
 And now their Bowsprits pointing to the shore,
 (A safe moon'd Bay,) with slacken'd Sails they bore :

With

^a *Caerden* says that the Bay of *Mozambique* has seldom less than eight or ten fathom water, which is so clear that every Bank, Rock, and Shallow may easily be discovered.

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With cheerful shouts they furl the gather'd Sail
That less and less flaps quivering on the gale ;
The Prows, their speed stopp'd, o'er the surges nod,
The falling Anchors dash the foaming flood. . .

“ From farthest West, the *Lusian* race reply,
To reach the golden Eastern shores we try ;
Through that unbounded Sea, whose billows roll
From the cold Northern to the Southern pole ;
And by the wide extent, the dreary vast
Of *Afric's* Bays already have we past ;
And many a Sky have seen, and many a Shore,
Where but Sea-Monsters cut the waves before.
To spread the glories of our Monarch's reign,
For *India's* Shore we brave the trackless Main,
Our glorious toil ; and at his nod would brave
The dismal gulphs of Acheron's black wave.
And now, in turn, your Race, your Country tell,
If on your lips fair Truth delights to dwell ;
To us, unconscious of the falsehood, shew
What of these Seas, and *Indias* site, you know.

“ Rude are the Natives here, the *Moor* reply'd,
Dark are their minds, and brute-desire their guide :
But we, of alien blood and Strangers here,
Nor hold their customs nor their laws revere.
From *Abram's* Race our holy Prophet sprung,
An Angel taught, and heaven inspir'd his tongue ;
His sacred Rites and mandates we obey,
And distant Empires own his holy sway.
From Isle, to Isle, our trading Vessels roam ;
MOZAMBIQ's Harbour our commodious home.
If then your Sails for *Indias* shores expand,
For sultry *Ganges*, or *Hydaspes'* Strand ;
Here shall you find a Pilot skill'd to guide
Through all the dangers of the per'lous Tide,

Though

Though wide spread Shelves and cruel Rocks unseen,
Lurk in the way, and Whirlpools rage between.
Accept, mean while, what Fruits these Islands hold,
And to the Regent let your wish be told.
Then may your Mates the needful Stores provide,
And all your various wants be here supplied.

" So spake the *Moor*, and bearing smiles untrue,
And signs of Friendship, with his bands withdrew.
O'erpower'd with joy unhop'd the Sailors flood,
To find such kindness on a Shore so rude.

" Now casting o'er the Flood his fervid blaze,
The red-brow'd Sun withdraws his beamy Rays;
Safe in the Bay the Crew forget their cares,
And peaceful rest their wearied strength repairs.
Calm Twilight now his drowsy mantle spreads,
And shade on shade, the gloom still deepening sheds.
The Moon, full orb'd, forsakes her watery cave,
And lifts her lovely head above the wave.
The snowy splendors of her modest Ray
Stream o'er the glistening Waves, and quivering play...
The Canvas whitens in the silvery Beam,
And with a mild pale red the Pendants gleam:
The Masts' tall shadows tremble o'er the Deep;
The peaceful Winds an holy silence keep;
The Watchman's carol echoed from the prows,
Alone, at times, awakes the still repose.

" The Sun comes forth! and soon the joyful Crew
Each aiding each, their joyful tasks pursue:
Wide o'er the Decks the spreading Sails they throw,
From each tall mast the waving Steamers flow;
All seems a festive Holiday on board
To welcome to the Fleet the Island's Lord.
With equal joy the Regent sails to meet,
And brings fresh Cates, his offerings, to the Fleet:

For of his kindred Race their line he deems . . .
 Brave *Vasco* hails the Chief with honest smiles,
 And a gift for gift with liberal hand he piles.
 His Gifts, the boast of *Europe's* Arts disclose,
 And sparkling red the Wine of *Tagus* flows.
 High on the shrouds the wondering Sailors hung,
 To note the *Moorish* garb, and barbarous tongue:
 Nor less the subtle *Moor*, with wonder fired,
 Their mien, their dress, and lordly Ships admired:
 Much he enquires, their King's, their Country's name,
 And, if from *Turkey's* fertile shores they came?
 What God they worshipp'd, what their sacred Lore,
 What arms they wielded, and what armour wore?
 To whom brave *GAMA*; Nor of *Hagar's* blood
 Am I, nor plow from *Izmael's* shores the flood;
 From *Europe's* strand I trace the foamy way,
 To find the Regions of the infant day.
 The God we worship stretch'd yon heaven's high bow,
 And gave these swelling Waves to roll below;
 The hemispheres of Night and Day he spread,
 He scoop'd each Vale, and rear'd each Mountain's head:
 His Word produced the Nations of the earth,
 And gave the spirits of the Sky their birth.
 On earth, by Him, his Holy Lore was given,
 On earth He came to raise mankind to Heaven.
 —And now behold what most your eyes desire,
 Our shining Armour, and our Arms of Fire.

“Straight as he spoke the Warlike Stores display'd
 Their glorious shew; where, tire on tire inlaid,

Appear'd

ⁿ *Castanheda* says, that *Gama's* presents consisted of Red Hats, short Gowns, Coral, brazen Basons, and small Hawk Bells; all of these were slighted by the governor, who begged to have Scarlet Cloth. *Osfarius* adds, that the Xequé's name was *Zacôia*, (page 27.) de Barros *Çacôja*; that his Cloaths were richly embroidered, and his sword ornamented with diamonds.

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY.

Appear'd of glittering steel the Carabines,
 There the plumed Helms, and ponderous Brigandines;
 O'er the broad Bucklers sculptur'd Orbs embost,
 The crooked Faulchions dreadful blades were crost:
 Here clasping Greaves, and plated Mail-Quilts strong,
 The Long-Bows here, and rattling Quivers hung;
 And like a grove the burnish'd Spears were seen,
 With Darts, and Halberts double-edged between;
 And far around of brown, and dusky red,
 The pointed piles of Iron Balls were spread.
 The *Bombadeers*, now to the Regent's view
 The thundering Mortars and the Cannon drew...

" His joy and wonder oft the *Moor* exprest,
 But rankling hate lay brooding in his breast;
 With Smiles obedient to his will's controul,
 He veils the purpose of his treacherous soul.
 For Pilots conscious of the *Indian Strand*,
 Brave VASCO sues; and bids the *Moor* command
 What bounteous gifts shall recompense their Toils;
 The *Moor* prevents him with assenting smiles,
 Resolved that deeds of death, not words of air,
 Shall first the Hatred of his soul declare."

The Island of MOÇAMBIQUE, which is not above a league in circumference, is described by ^p Barros, as consisting of a low and swampy country: the original Settlers were *Moors*, who had arrived in the Ships that passed from *Quiloa* and *Sofala*. It was afterwards much resorted to by the *Portuguese* Indiamen as a winter station, and became the key of the East Indies to their merchants. The *Dutch* made many attempts to obtain this Island, particularly in 1606, when ^a Paul Van Caerden besieged it with a fleet consisting of forty

^a Mickle's *Lusiad*, vol. 1. p. 20-28.

^p *Ibid.* cap. 4.

^a History of the kingdom of MOSAMBIQUE. (*Mod. Universal Hist.* vol. 12. p. 361. See also Paul Caerden's two *Indian Voyages*.)

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forty ships. The African coast, stretching out on both sides of *Moçambique*, forms two Points; that to the north-east is called point *Pannoni*, off which extends a Shoal with three Islets upon it; the southern point is named *Mengale*. A fortress stands on the north eastern point of the Island, and to the south-west of this fortress is the Monastery of *St. Anthony*, which is the mark to enter the harbour. On the main land appears a mountain called the *Loaf*, and eastward of this another called the *Table*.

Ch. III. § 2.
Enamelled.

The Channel which *Gama* had now nearly explored, has since been called the *Inner Passage*, or the channel of *Moçambique*; and its southern part, the *Gulf of Madagascar*. Though the shortest course to *India*, its navigation even at this day is considered as 'perilous and intricate. During the north-east monsoon, which begins to be felt in the beginning of *November* to the north of *Madagascar*, violent hurricanes arise. At this season the Currents set towards the South all along the Coast of *Africa*; and their common velocity, even in the offing, is seven or eight leagues in twenty-four hours. This was a tremendous obstacle to *Gama*, both before he arrived at *Moçambique*, and when he attempted to leave it. Among other dangers in this Channel, may also be mentioned the Shoals called *Baxos da Judia* by the *Portuguese*, in length about ten or twelve miles, and from five to six in breadth; also the Ledge of Rocks above two miles in breadth, which lies off the low land of *Sandy Island*; and the *Star Bank*, ten leagues in length, situated above twenty-four leagues from cape *St. Mary's*. These were fortunately avoided by keeping close to the *African* shore. The breadth of this Channel at its two extremities, is about 150 leagues, and the narrowest part from ninety to an hundred. It is

formed

' *De Bry*, in his first volume, gives an engraving of the Shipwreck of a Portuguese ship, *S. Jago*, in this channel, 1595.

BOOK formed by the island of *Madagascar* which extends three hundred leagues in length, from south south-west to north north-east, between the parallels of 12° and $25^{\circ} 36'$ south latitude.

I.
March,
1498.

The conclusion of this intricate navigation is now to be attempted by the undaunted Gama; his crew struggling with the effects of scurvy, which they knew not how to counteract; surrounded by a treacherous enemy, whose information, and Pilots, he had sufficient reason to distrust. He however had gained intelligence from the *Xeque*, that the distance to *Calicut* was nine hundred leagues, and that in their course were many shoals. The Coast was described as being enriched by various cities; and *Çacoeja* added, that the kingdom of *PRESTE JOAO* was in the interior, at a considerable distance from *Moçambique*. When the crafty *Xeque* came on board to take his leave, he brought both the Pilots he had promised, with the hope of decoying *Gama* into danger: each of them received thirty crowns and a coat; and promised, that whilst they remained in harbour, one at least should always continue in the Ship. But notwithstanding this specious conduct of *Çacoeja*, the *Moors*, from the instant they perceived that the strangers were christians, had been concerting a variety of plans to destroy *Gama* and his followers; and thus hoped to gain possession of their ships. Providentially the whole design was discovered to the admiral by one of the pilots, who thought his own life in danger. After a stay of seven days they got under weigh; and sailing out of harbour on *Saturday* the tenth of *March*, anchored off one of the islands near *Moçambique*. This was done in order to give an opportunity for the Crews to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, on the ensuing Sunday; which,

* *Barros* adds, that three *Abenjis* from the territory of *Preste João*, coming on board with the *Moors* who brought Provisions; em vendo a Imagem do Anjo Gabriel pintada em o navio do seu nome, como cousa nota a ellas por em sua patria haver muitas igrejas, que tem estas Imagens dos Anjos, e algumas do proprio nome, assentárem-se em gielbos, e fizeram sua adoração. (*Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 4.)

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* Cap. 7.
* It is a
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which, adds *Castanbada*, they had not done since their departure from Lisbon. He then proceeds with the narrative:

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmend.

"After our Shippes were thus at an ankor, the Captaine generall perceiuing the same to be in a place of assurance, so as the *Moores* should not burne them, he then determined to retourne to *Moçambique* in his Boate, to demaund the other Pilot that remayned on lande at their comming thence; and so, leauing his Brother with the Fleete, to come and succour him if in daunger, he departed, carrying with him *Niculae Coelbo*, and the other Pilot *Moore*. Going in this fort, they sawe bearing right with his Boate, fixe Boates with many armed *Moores*, hauing Long-bowes and Arrowes, and also Shieldes and Speares; who, when they sawe our men, beganne to call vnto them, willing them to come to the Harbour of their towne. The Pilot tolde the Generall what they meant by their Signes, and gaue him counsell to retourne thether; for that otherwise the Gouvernour woulde not delyuer the other Pilot which remained on the Shore. At which his speach the Generall was very angry; supposing he gaue that counsell, to the ende at theyr comming neere the shore, hee might escape and runne away; and therefore commaunded him to prison, and caused forthwith to shoote at theyr boates with ordinaunce. Which Shot when *Paulo da Gama* heard, he immediately came forward with the Shippe called *Berrio*; when the Nigroes fled so fast that the Captaine generall could not ouertake them, and therefore he returned with his Brother to the other Shippes at ankor.

"The next Daie the Generall with all his men went on lande, heard Masse, and receiued the sacrament very deuoutlye: which beeing

* Cap. 7.

* Barros calls them *são Zambucos*.

■ It is a source of satisfaction to feel assured, that the same spirit of religion still exists in the British Navy. The devout conduct of *Gama* may be compared with that of *Lord Duncan* both before, and after his action off *Camperdown*. It also reminds me of the character of *Lord Gardner*, *Admiral Gambier*, and *Admiral Holloway*.



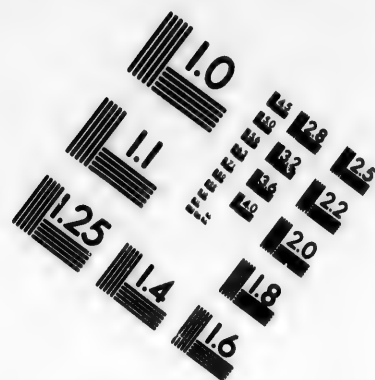
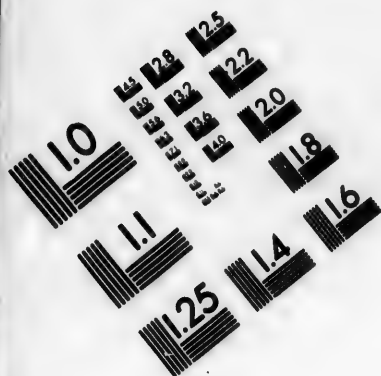
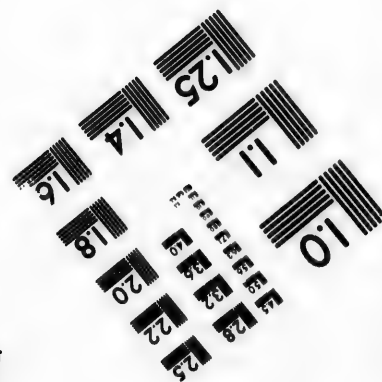
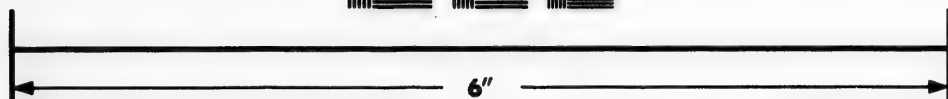
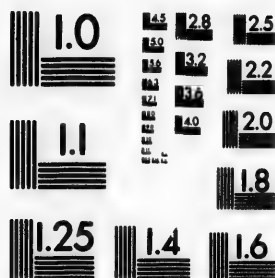


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B O O K

I

March,
1498.

being done, they went aboard their Shippe, and made sayle the same daie. The Generall, perceiving no hope to remaine for recovery of the other Pilot, gave then commandement to release him that was in the shippe committed to prison. This Pilot minded to be revenged upon the Generall, determined to carry them to the Iland *Quila*, which was peopled with *Moors*; therefore subtilly to shadowe his wicked intent, he willed the Captaine generall, not to trouble himselfe with the want of the other Pilot, for that he would carrie him to a great Iland, which was from thence one hundred leagues; inhabited the one half by *Moors*, the other by *Christians*, which alwaies were at warre the one with the other; from whence also he might furnish himselfe with Pilots to Calicut. But as the Captaine generall had good liking of those Speeches, so yet gave he no great credite to the man; nevertheless he did promise him great giftes, if he did carrie him to that Countrey: and so went forward on his Voyage with a small winde.

"The *Ten* dayes after, being within sight of Lande from whence he departed, hee was incalmed, which did indure *Ten* dayes and *Way* dayes. The next Night after, with an *Easterly* Wind beeing but small, he made way and went into the sea; and upon *Thursday*, in the morning, founde himselfe and all the Flotte, foure leagues backe behinde *Mogambique*; and so going untill the evening of the same daie, came then to an anchor hard to that Iland, where the Sunday next following he heard Masse. The winde thus beeing contrary to his purpose, he therefore remained in that place eight daies, to wait for such Gale as would serve to put him forward. In which time repaired to our Shippe a white *Moor*, which was a minister

* *Barrow* differs in some respects: "The first four days they found the current so extremely rapid, as to carry the ships backe within five leagues of *Mogambique*;" and since, by the information of the Pilot, they were not to expect a favourable wind until the New Moon, they returned to the *Ilha de São Jorge*, but would have no communication with the inhabitants of *Mogambique*. (Ibid. cap. 4.)

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minister of the *Moors* of *Moçambique*; who coming on board the Shippe of the Generall, declared, *that the Gouverneur greatlye did repent him of the breach of friendship he had made.* To whom the Generall returned answer, *that he would make no peace with the Gouverneur, neither would he be his Friend, untill such time as he did send his Pilot, whom he had hired and payed.* With this answer the minister departed, and neuer came againe.

"The Captaine generall thus staid still there, and expecting the Winde, there came to him a certaine *Moore*, who brought his sonne with him, being a boye; and asked the Generall, whether he would carry them in his Shippes to the Citie of *Melinde*, which he should finde in the Course towards *Calicut*? Declaring that he would gladly goe with him, and returne to his countrey which was neere to *Mera*, from whence he came as a pilot to *Moçambique*; and therewith advertised the Generall not to tarry upon any answer from the gouverneur, who he was assured would make no peace with him, for that he was a Christian.

"The Captaine was very gladd of the coming of this *Moore*; for by him he deemed to gather sufficient matter of information and intelligence of the *Streights* of the *Redde Sea*, and also of the Townes that lye along the Coast, by the which he must sayle to *Melinde*. Therefore he commaunded to receyue the same *Moore*, and his sonne, into his Shippe; and by reason it was then somewhat late, and that they had no store of Water, the Generall with the other Captaines determined to enter the harbour of *Moçambique*, to take in there so much as they needed: appointing also there shoulde be great watch for preuention of the *Moores*, lest they should by any deuce set on fire the Shippes."

The

* Olorius says, *Illic occurrit Arabs quidam cum parvo filio, Gamamque obsecrauit, ut illos in Mariu recipere, ut possent in aliquem locum descendere, unde facillius Mecham, qua erat illius patria, reuerteretur. Quæsit ab illo Gama, quam Artem coleret; Nauticam respondit.* (Page 38.)

BOOK

I.

March,
1498.

March 24.

The watering of the Ships was not accomplished without opposition from some Moors who had assembled near the place. The Boats, commanded by *Gama* and *Coelho*, made the attempt at midnight, conducted by the Moorish Pilot, who thought by this means to effect his escape. Whether owing to the confusion or treachery of this man, the whole night was spent in vain; and at day break *Gama* judged it prudent to return for an additional guard. On again reaching the shore, a skirmish with the Moors took place; but the Spring was found, and a supply of water being thus procured, they arrived on board a little before sun set. *Paulo da Gama*, in the interim, had been much distressed by the loss of his Pilot, who, though a Christian, had escaped to the Moors. This was a severe disappointment to the admiral, who continued at his anchorage until the Friday following, but no Pilot appeared. A Moor indeed hailed them from the shore, and exclaimed in an insulting tone of voice, *that, if they wished for water, now was their time to procure it.* *GAMA*, already irritated by the desertion of his Pilot, grew, says *Castanheda*, *into some ebber*. Orders were immediately issued to man and arm the boats, which drew up before the town and chastised the insolence of the Moors, who to the number of an hundred had assembled on the beach. A second attempt was afterwards made to seize some of the Moors, with the hope of thus having the Pilot restored. *Gama* also had heard, that two Indians were detained captives in the town, and these he wished to liberate. *Paulo* succeeded in procuring four prisoners; but every attempt either to regain the Pilot, or deliver the *Indians*, was ineffectual. On the ensuing day they completed

* Here *Barros* differs from *Castanheda*. According to him, the inhabitants abandoned their town on the attack made by the Portuguese boats; and the *Xegw*, apprehensive of what still might happen, sent *Gama* a Pilot to navigate *Coelho's* ship. *Barros* also adds, *Gama* was informed by the Moor, that from *Mozambique* to *Calicut* was a month's voyage. (*Ibid.* Liv. 4. cap. 4.)

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pleted their store of water without molestation: but before they left, what justly merited the title of *Traitor's Bay*, the Admiral resolved to chastise a combination of villainy; which had nearly frustrated all that himself and followers had undergone: the Ships were accordingly brought to bear upon the town, and its base inhabitants were driven from it in all directions. *Casabeda* then proceeds with his interesting Journal.

Ch. III. c. 3.
Examined.

" Upon the *Tuesday*, being the *twenty-seventh* date of *March*, our Fleet wayed anchor, and departed from the towne of *Mozambique*; and so in going forward: came to an anchor hard by two little Rocks of *San Jorge*, for so they named it after they came thither; where they remained, for that the winde was contrarie. Neuerthelesse having after a small winde they departed; howbeit the same was so small, and the Currents there so great, that they were cast backwards.

" The Captaine generall * following his Voiage, and beeing very glad that they had found one of the foure *Moors*, which *Paulo* tooke, was a Pilot, and would carrie them to *Calicut*; upon *Sunday* the *first* date of *Aprill* came to certeine Ilands very neere the shore. To the first whereof they gaue a name, calling it *Ilha do Acoutado*: for that they there did whippe the Pilot *Moore* of *Mozambique* by commaundement of the Generall; as well for that he had told them those Ilands were firme lande, as also, before, that he would not shew the Generall the Water at *Mozambique*, in the night when they sought for the same. Therefore now taking him with the lie, the Generall was very angrie with this Pilot, supposing as it was likly, that he did carrie them thether of intent the Shippes should be cast away amongst the same. The *Moore* beeing cruellye whipped, confessed that indeed he did carrie them thether of purpose they should there haue perished.

" These

* Cap. 8. See also *BARROS. Ibid. Liv. 4. cap. 5.*

BOOK
I.April,
1498.

" These *Ilands* were so manye, and so neere together, that they coule hardlye bee discerned one from another. Which when the Generall perceiued, he made into the seaward; and upon the *Fri-days*, which was the *fourth* daie of *Aprill*, made his way to the northwest, and before Noone-Tide had sight of a great Lande, and of two Ilands neere it, about which were many Shoels. Being come neere to the Shore, the Pilots Moores did reknowledge the same: howbeit, they said *that the Iland of the Christians is that of Quila*, which was afterne us three leagues. Wherewith the Generall was much grieved, beleeuing that certainly they were Christians, as the Pilots had informed him; and that they had willingly lost their Course, for that the Shippes should not arrive at that place. The Pilots shaddowing their treason, made shew of a reasonable excuse, saing *that as the Winde was greates, so were the Currents swift*; by reason whereof the Shippes had further made Salle then they thought for: but the truth was indeede, that they more sorrowed their missing and passing by the *Iland*, then did our Captaine generall; for they were verely in hope to have been reuenged there upon our men by death of them all. But God, beholding the daunger and perill meant towards them, of his Diuine goodnesse and mercye deliuered them: for if our men had gone thether, not one of them had escaped; since the Generall, hauing such a beliefe that they were Christians in that Iland, as the Pilot had tolde him, would no doubt haue gone presently on lande at his arriual there; and so thereby runne headlong into a place, where he and his people should haue bene put to slaughter.

" The Generall thus sorrowing the misse of that Ilande, for that he supposed there to have found Christians, and the Pilots Moores in chafe with themselves, for that they had missed their course thether; it was then on each part determined, to goe back and assaie to finde the same. Neuerthelesse, although they earnestly bent

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bent themselves to attaine vnto that desired *Iland*, and spent that Ch. III. § 2.
daie in trauell to winne their purpose, yet could they not preuaile Remarke.
thereto: for still the Winde was so contrarie, and the Currents so
great, as doe what they could they failed of theyr wills, and were
put off from arriuall there; which no doubt was done by God's
Prouidence.

"The Captaine generall, and the other Captaines, thus tossing
vp and downe, to and fro, as well with their Shippes, as also in
their Mindes, determined to beare towards the Iland of *Mombaca*;
in which, as those two Pilots gaue information, were two townes,
inhabited, as well with *Moorres*, as *Christians*. Which Instructions
these Pilots gaue to deceiue our men, for that *Iland* was wholly in-
habited by *Moorres*, as in lyke manner all that Coast is. Therefore vn-
derstanding that from thence to *Mombaca* are seauentie-seauen leagues,
they made way to goe thether; and being then towards Euening,
they sawe a great Iland situated towards the North. In this sort
our Shippes going vnder saile certayne daies, the shippe *San Rafael*
one morning, two houres before daie lyght, came on ground upon
certaine Shoells two leagues from the firme lande; and, as she
strake, they within made Signes to the other Shippes to beware:
whereupon they shot by the Shoells and came to an ankor, launch-
ing out their Boates to giue succour to *Paulo da Gama*. And per-
celuing when they came to the same, that the water did ebbe, the
Generall was meruailous glad thereof; for then he well knew, that
at the next floud the Shippe would be afloat againe. Thus re-
comforted with the certaintie they saw of the safetie of the Shippe,
they forthwith layed into the sea many ankors. By this time it
was daie lyght; and after that it was a lowe water, she then re-
mained drye upon the shore, being a sandie ground, which was
the cause she tooke no harme. Our men placed theyr ankors which
were layd forth, right ouer against themselves, and walked upon

BOOK

I.

April,
1498.

the Sandes whilst the Ebbs endured. They gave for name to those Sandes, *Os Baies de San Rafael*; and to certayne great Ilands and Hills, which were directly over against those Shoells, they gave the name of the Hills and Ilands of *S. Rafael*.

"The Shippe thus being drye, our men sawe two Boates, and Moores of that country in the same, comming towan's them to see our Shippes; bringing manie sweete Oranges, farre better than those of *Portingale*, and gave the same to our men; saieing also to the Generall, *that is no wife bee should feare anye damage that coulde cōfise to the Shippe on grounds, for that when it were full Sea she would then be on floate agayne.* With which speeches the Generall was very glad; not onely for the good comfort they gave him, but also in that they came in so good season, and time opportune; and therefore he gave them Giffts, which they accepted with manie thanks. Certayne of them, understanding that our Fleete intended its course to *Mombaga*, they desired the Generall to carrie them with him thither, who graunted their requests; the others retourning from our Fleete to their country. When it was a full Sea the Shippe was aloft; whereupon the Captaine generall proceeded on his way with all his Fleete.

"The Generall following this Voiage, did upon *Saterdaye* the *seaventh* daie of *Aprill*, about the going downe of the sunne, come to an anchor without the barre of the Iland of *Mombaga*; which

Chap. 3.

This Bar is laid down, and the Soundings marked at the entrance of the harbour of *Mombaga*, in *Tenire's Map* of 1649, already mentioned; giving sixteen, ten, nine, ten, and fifteen fathoms water.

Linschoten says (p. 10.) that the land of *Mombaga* shows high sandy Downes at a great distance.—Is the *Portuguese East Indian Navigator*, drawn up by *Alonso da Motta*, who was Pilot Major to the *Caragueis* of Portugal for thirty-five years, some valuable remarks occur respecting the Eastern Coast of Africa. This scarce Tract is translated by *M. Thome*, and given in his first volume; and occasional extracts from the original are inserted in his margin; engravings of headlands in a coarse manner are also annexed; and to the whole is subjoined

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Indies, 2 vols.

is harde by the firme lande, and is verye plentie of victualls. More- Ch. III. § 1.
 over the lland is verye pleasaunt, havinge manye sorts of frutes. In Emmanuel
 this lland there is a Citie bearing the selfe same name, beeing in
 foure degrees on the south side; it is a verye great Citie scituated
 vpon a rocke, wherevpon the sea doth beat. At the entering into
 the Porte there is a Marke; and at the enterance upon the Barre,
 there is planted a lyttle Fort, lowe and neere to the water. The
 most parte of the houses in this Citie are builded with lyme and
 stone, with the loftes thereof (ceillings) wrought with fine knottes
 of Plaster of Paris; the Streetes therein are verye fayre. They
 have a King, and the inhabitants are Moors, whereof some bee white.
 They goe gallantly arrayed, especially the women, apparelled in
 gownes of silke, and bedecked with jewells of golde and precious
 stones. In this Citie is great trade of all kinde of marchandize;
 there is also a good Harbour where alwayes are manye Shippes.

"The

Seneca's Map. *Da Motta* corrects an error of *Linsbawm* respecting the Isles of *St. George* and *St. James*, in the bay of *Mogambique*, and places them more exactly than they had previously been laid down. Respecting the Bar of *Mombaga*, he observes, "The Bar of *Mombaga* is exactly in 3° 50' South latitude, and has a quantity of Sands lying north and south of it. They who wish to cross this Bar with large Ships, like the *Caragues of Portugal*, should stand on along the Coast for a league, whether coming from the North or South; and then approach the land, sounding continually quite to the fort, until they get into twelve fathom water, when they should wait for a Pilot." *Da Motta* then proceeds to give very minute directions in case a Pilot cannot be procured, and concludes with observing, "that the Entrance is so narrow, and so filled with Shoals, as in many places to be only the length of a vessel in breadth."

* *Ossius* adds *Homines vivunt admodum laici, et domos more agreste edificunt, testoriaque varij coloribus depicta parietibus inducunt.* (P. 39.) The City once stood on a peninsula, which became insular by a canal that was cut through its isthmus. (See *Marmol*, *Davity*, *Dapper*, and *Le Croix*.) It was burnt by the Portuguese in 1507. The entrance of the Port is defended by a stout bulwark, which the inhabitants raised soon after the arrival of *da Gama*. In a description which *Captain Edward Hamilton* gives of the Eastern Coast of Africa, we learn that the Portuguese retained *Mombaga* for two hundred years, until it was taken by the *Muskat Arabs* in 1698; and in 1739 it was regained by the Portuguese. (*New Account of the East Indies*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1726.—See also *Ashley*, vol. 3. p. 387.)

BOOK
IApril,
1498.

"The Captaine generall thus come to the Barre of this Citie, did not then enter, for that it was almost night when he came to an ankor. But he commaunded to put forth the Flagges, and to toll theyr Shippes; rejoycing and making great mirth for their good fortune; and hope they conceyned, that in that lland there dwelled manye Christians, and that the next daie they should heare masse on the shore. Moreover they were greatly comforted, as hauing confidence that in this place they might cure such as were then sicke, as in truth were almost all; in number but fewe, for the others were dead. Being thus at ankor, and the night almost approached, our men saw about an hundred in a great Barcke, euey one of them hauing a sworde and a target; who, at comming to our shippes, woulde haue entered therein with all theyr weapons. Howbeit the Generall would not consent thereto, neither permitted he anye more to enter than foure of them; declaring to them in their language, *that they shoulde pardon him, since he was a straunger, and therefore coulde not tell whom he might trust.* Vnto those whom he gave license to enter, he gave good and gentle entertainment, banketting the same with such Conserues as they had, whereof those *Moors* did well eate; willing them not to deeme euill of him, for his denyall of their enteraunce in manner aforesayde. Where-vnto they^d answered, *that theyr comming then was to see him, as a rare and new thing in theyr countrie; and that he shoulde not meruaile to see them bring theyr Weapons, since it was the custome to carrie them, as well in peace, as in the time of warre.* Also they declared vnto the Generall, *that the King of Mombaga did vnderstand of his comming, and for that it was so neere night, he had not then*

^d The whole of this is somewhat different in BARROS, *Os da Cidade tanto que houveram vista dos Navios, mandáram logo a elles em hum barco quatro homens, que pareciam dos principaes, segundo vinham bem tratados: chegando a bordo, perguntáram, que gente era, e o que buscavam?* (Ibid. Liv. 4. cap. 5.)

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then sent to visit him; beseech the next daie he would: and that as Ch. III. § 2.
he was glad of his arrival there, so also would he be more glad to
see him, yea, and to give him Spices to load his Shippes. Futhermore
they informed him, that there were many Christians, which lived by
themselves in that Iland. Wherevpon the Generall was not onely
joyfull, but also fullye perswaded that theyr Report was true; since
the same was agreeable, and accorded with the information of the
two Pilots: neuertheless he carried some sparke of iealousie in
his head, and for all theyr faire speeches and sugured talke, he wisely
imagined, that those Moores came to see whether they might by
anie traine take one of our Shippes. Wherein he gessed vpon the
truth, for certainly theyr comming then was onely for that purpose;
as afterward it was made apparant. For most true it was, that the
King of Mombaga had perfect intelligence that we were Christians,
and also what we had done in Mogambique; and therefore he practised
meanes to be reuenged of vs. Wherefore prosecuting his wicked
intent the daie following, which was Palme Sundaie, he sent to our
Generall certeine white Moores; which declared to him, that theyr
King was very glad of his comming thether; and if he would come into
his Harbour, he would liberally giue him all things he stood in neede
of; and for assurance of the same, he sent him a Ring, a Sheepe, and
many sweete Orenge, Cidrons, and Sugar Canes. Wherefore the
Generall receiued them very well, and gaue them certeine giftes;
sending to the King greate thanks for his gentle and liberall offer,
saieing further, that the next daie he woulde come neerer in. He
sent also to the King a braunch of Corall verye fine; and for more
assuraunce to confirme the same, he sent with those Moores two of
our men, which were banished persons, and were carried of purpose
to bee aduentured in such like respect of daunger.

“ When our men, and the two Moores, were come to the
 Shore, there met them a multitude of people; all which went with
 them,

BOOK
I.April,
1498.

them, and viewed them even to the King's Palace. Where our men hearing entered, they passed through three doores before they came where the King was; at each of which there was a Porter attending, having everye one of them a sword in his hand. They found the King but in small estate; neuertheless he receiued them verye well, and commaunded, that in the selfe same companie of *Moors* with whome they came, they should be shewed the Citie. In going and viewing whereof, they sawe in the Streetes many men prisoners, and in Yrons; but because our men vnderstoode not theyr language, nor they had any vnderstanding of ours, there was no question demaunded what Prisoners those were: howbeit they beleeued the same to bee Christians.

"Moreover they carryed our men to the Merchauntes House of the *Indians*, who both imbraced and banketted them; shewing them painted in a paper the figure of the Holy Ghost, which they did worshippinge, and that with such a shew of greates deuotion, as though they were such men inwardlye, as in appearance outwardlye they then pretented. Furthermore, the *Moors* then tolde our men by signes, *that manye other Christians as those were, did dwell in another place furre from thence, and therefore they would not carrie them thither: howbeit they sayde, that after our Captaine generall were come into the Harbour, they shoulde goe and see them.* All these thinges those wilie people shewed to our men, of purpose to allure them within that Porte, where they were determined to destroy them.

"After they had seene the Citie, they were then brought to the presence of the King, who commaunded to shew them *Pepper, Ginger, Cloauer, and Wheate*, giuing them of euerye sorte thereof some portion to be carryed and shewed the Generall; and sent him

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De Barros says, the *Moors* were anxious that the *Portuguese* should see as little as possible. (Ibid.)

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words by his messenger, *that of all those Commodities he hadde greete* Ch. III. § 1.
Store, and woulde give him his loading if that he woulde. Also Ramond.
that he had Golde, and Silver, Amber, Waxe, Ivorye, and other riches,
in so great plentie, that he should have when he woulde, for lesse
valour and prizes than in any other place. This message was
 brought to our Captaine generall upon *Mundaye*; who hauing
 seene the Spices, and hearing of the Kinge his promise, was meruail-
 lous gladd of that offer: wherefore he and his Captaines immedi-
 atly aduised themselves thereof; and so entering into Counsel, it
 was by them thought good to come within the Porte. Thus hau-
 ing concluded, they determined to enter into Harbour the next
 daie.

" In this meane while came certaine *Moores* to our Shippes, with
 so great quietnesse and humillitie, and with such shew and ap-
 pearance of friendlinesse and loue, as though they had ben of long
 acquaintance with our men. The next daie in the morning, the
 flood being come, the Generall commaunded to take vp theyr an-
 kers, minding to enter the harbour: but God, not willing that he
 and the rest should enter into that present mischiese, nor to ende
 theyr liues in that place (as the *Moores* had determined they should
 haue done) did therefore prouide the meane that preuented that
 perill, and wrought theyr safetie. For when the Generalls Shippe
 had wayed her ankor, and was going to enter the Porte, she strake
 upon a Shoel that was afterne the same; which hap when he per-
 ceued, and fearing he should cast himselfe away, he then forth-
 with commaunded to let fall his ankor, and in like sort did the
 other Captaines also. Which chance when the *Moores* that were
 in the Shippes sawe, and that the Generall was come to an ankor,
 they then imagined, that during that daie they should not gette the
 Fleete into the Harbour; and therefore they ran to their Boate,

B O O K
I.April,
1498.

which they had on the Shippe's side, to goe to the Citie. At which instant also the pilots of *Mozambique*, falling ' a stearne the Admirall, tooke the Water, and those of the Boates carried them away; although the Generall called vnto them, requiring them to bring backe, and deliuer them to him againe. But when he sawe they would not so doe, then he apparantly perceived that ther was an euill meaning in theyr King, and them, towards him and ' his. Thus hauing declared to all his company the opinion he conceiued, he then commaunded, the night being come, to giue Torture to two of the *Moors*, which he brought Captiues from *Mozambique*; thereby to see whether they had practised any treason. Which commaundement being obserued, by heating and dropping of bacon upon theyr flesh, they immediately confessed they had conspired treason; and that the Pilots tooke the Sea, as fearing the same had ben disclosed. Wherevpon the Generall altogether altered his purpose of going into that harbour. Neuerthelesse being vnquiet, and greatly greeued at their falshood, he was desirous to vse lyke torture to another *Moore* Captiue; but this Moore, perceiuing preperation made for that purpose, did cast himselfe, his hands being bound, into the Sea; as in lyke manner another of them did before it was daie light.

" The secrecie of the Mischiefe prepared, being thus come to appraunt view, the Generall gaue great thankes to God, by whose only goodnesse, he and his company were delyuered from imminent death amongst those Infidels; and therefore, in thankesgiuing for the same, he and his company sayd the *Salue Regina*. After this, being

* Barros says *Os que estavam em o navio de Vasco da Gama, vendo o que estes faziam, fuzeram outra tanto: até o Piloto de Mozambique, que se lançou dos Castellos de Popa ao mar, tamunto foi o temor em todos.* (Ibid. Liv. 4. cap. 5.)

* D'APRES observes in a note to his Preface of the *Neptune Orientale*, that a similar act of treachery at *Mombasa*, was planned against a French Frigate, called *Le Gloire*, in 1756.

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beeing mindfull of theyr safetie, and fearing least the *Moores* would attempt some matter against them in the Night time, they therefore ordained strong and diligent watch, commaunding euerye man to watch armed. And heere by the way is to bee noted one thing, and that to bee meruayled at, which is this; that when our men came first before the towne of *Mombaca*, all such as were sicke, which indeede were many, began then presently to be whole: so that in this time of theyr great necessitie, they found themselves sound and strong. Which, as it was farre aboue the common Course of nature, so the more it appeared to be the supernaturall worke of God, miraculously done for the preferuation of that poore distressed number, which then had theyr onely affiaunce in him.

"The Watch thus prepared, and set for that night, it fortun'd that those which watched in the Shippe *Berrio*, felt the Gabell (cable) of the same wagging, whereat an ankor lay into the Sea; and at the first they adjudged that the Gabell had bene wagged, or shaken, by a kinde of fish called a *Tunnio*, whereof manye were there, about which bee very great and good meate. But giuing more attentiu care thereto, they then perceiued that their enimies were at the same; who in truth did swimme about the Gabell, and were cutting of it with theyr woodkniues, or sawchings; hoping, or rather verely knowing, that perfourming theyr enterprife thereof, the Shippe woulde runne ashore, and so both she and our men bee cast away and taken. Howbeit, our men hauing discryed whereabouts they were, preuented them, by crieng out to the other Shippes; wherevpon they of the Shippe *Rafael* came presentlye to theyr succour, finding some of theyr enimies amongst the cheines of the tacklings of theyr Formast. Who, perceiuing how they were discourred, sodainly cast themselues vnder water, and with the others, that were cutting the Gabell of the shippe *Berrio*, fledde away, swimming to certaine Boates which they had lyeng some-

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what farre off; wherein (as our men afterward vnderstoode) were many *Moores*, who taking them in rowed fast awaye, and so returned to the Citie. The *Wensdays*, and *Thursdays* following, our fleete still remained there; about which in the night time came the enemies in Boates, which alwayes lay harde by the shore, from which some of them did swimme of purpose to espie, if by anye meane they could cut a sunder the *Gabells* of the Ankors: but our men kept such diligent and warie watch, that they could not preuaile; neuertheless our men were greatlye troubled, and put in feare of burning theyr Shippes. For truly it was to be meruayled at, that the *Moores* came not about the same in such Shippes as they had; which if they had done, it had bene then lykely by all coniecture of man, that they should haue destroyed and killed us all. It was coniectured, that they beeing in feare of the ordinaunce in our Shippes, durst not giue attempt to set vpon the same by force; but, whatsoever cause appeared in our sightes to bee a lette in that respect to them, it was most certayne, that it was God his good will and fauour, to put theyr hearts in feare to deale with vs in anye forceable manner.

“ The Captaine generall did ^b remaine before *Mombaça* the two daies, as before is declared, to see if he could haue from thence Pilots to carrie him to *Calicut*; for that without them it was verye hard to goe thether, since our Pilots had no knowledge of that Countrey. But when he sawe he coulde not haue anye there, he departed thence vpon *Fridaye* in the morning with a small Winde. At the comming ouer the Barre he lefte behinde him one of his Ankors, for his men were so wearied with hailing vp the rest, that they coulde not waye vp the same: which afterward be-
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^b CASTANHEDA, cap. 10. *Osorius*, page 40. *Gibbs' Transf.* vol. 1. page 58. *Barros*, Decada 1. Liv. 4. cap. 5, and 6.

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India. Vendo
Melinde, e que

Ing found ther by the *Moores*, was carried to the Citie, and placed harde by the King's Pallace; and remained there at what time *Don Francisco d'Almeida* was the first *Viso. Rey* of the *Indias*, who when he tooke the same towne from the *Moores* found this Ankor there.

Ch. III. § 2.
Emmanuel.

" Beeing thus departed from *Mombaça*, and passing on theyr Voyage eight leagues beyonde the same, the Generall and his Fleete, through lacke of Winde, came to an Ankor hard by the lande in the Night; and in the dawning of the daie they discouered two *Zambucos* which are little Pinnacies, under the lye three leagues from the Fleete a Sea boord. Which when the Generall sawe, and beeing desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie him to *Calicut*, he supposed he might be sped of such to serue his turne, if he coulde take those small boates; and therefore, waying his ankors, he and the other Captaines went towards them, and pursued the same vntil euenfong time: at which instant the Generall tooke one, but the other ranne alande, from whence before it came. In this *Zambuco* were seauenteene *Moores*, amongst which was one olde *Moore* who seemed to be master of the rest, hauing with him a young woman that was his wife. In the same also was found great store of Siluer, and Golde, and some Viſualles.

" The Captaine, not stayeng vpon this occasion, forthwith went forward, and in the selfe same dale with his whole Fleete came harde by *Melinde*; which is eightene leagues from *Mombaça*,

¹ OSORIUS relates this somewhat different. *In via naum Saracorum capiunt, ex quibus GAMA quatuordecim tantum viuitos habere voluit, reliquos autem missos fecit. Cum vero intellexit, unum ex illis esse illorum patronum, qui pro se hominis auctoritate grauis speciem ferebat, multo de illo quesuit: adque omnia, ut vir prudens, vere et considerate respondit, et de instituta navigationis ratione sapienter admonuit.* (P. 40. Translation, vol. 1. p. 58.) BARROS says, *Partido Vasco da Gama daquelle lugar de perige, ao seguinte dia achou dous Zambucos, que vinham pera aquella Cidade, de que tomaram hum com treze Mouros, porque os mais se lançaram ao mar, e delles soube como adiante estava huma Villa chamada Melinde, cujo rey era homem humano, per meio do qual podia haver Piloto pera a India. Vendo elle que perguntado cada hum destes á parte, todos concorriam na bondade del Rey de Melinde, e que no seu Porto ficavam tres, ou quatro Navios de Mercadores da India.* (Ibid. cap. 5.)

BOOK

1.

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baça, and in three degrees to the southwarde. It hath no good Harbour, for that it is almost an open^{*} Roade; but there is a certain Piere whereon the Sea doth beat, which is the cause why the Shippes doe ride far from the shore. This Citie standeth in a broad field along the sea side; and round about the same are many Palme trees, with many other sorts of trees which all the yeare grow greene; also many gardens, and orchards, replenished with all kind of hearbes and fruits, and very faire fountaines of good waters in the same: but principally they Orenge excel, which are not onely very great, but very sweet and pleasaunt in tast. They haue also great store and plentie of Victuals, as *Mylyo* and *Ryfe*; Cattell both greate and small; also store of Hennes, which bee very fat and good cheape. The Citie is great, hauing in the same faire streets, and many faire houses of lime and stone, builded with many löfts, with their windowes and tarriss made of lime and earth. The naturall people of that Countrie are blacke, and of good proportion of bodie, with

^{*} Such says Dr. Vincent (P. 220.) as are the *Ormoi* of the *Periplus*. See also Introduction p. 216.—The Coast, particularly near *Melinde*, is extremely dangerous and difficult of access, being full of rocks and shelves. *Statio Naualis non est ubi propinqua. est enim Ora rupibus cincta, et procellis atque tempestalibus frequenter obnoxia. Id coegit Gamam in anchoris paulo longius ab urbe consistere.* (OSORIUS, page 40.) The City of Melinda is situated in a plain; and the country is so thickly covered with Citron trees, as to perfume the air. A specimen of the language of Melinda is given in the Lord's prayer by *Grammays*,—*Ahan ladi fiffan awari, et cades est moctati mala cuteca tacuna mafitoca eboma fiffa*, &c. (Univ. Hist. Modern, vol. 12. p. 331.) The Voyage of Captain Alexander Sharpey, 1608, being the fourth that was sent out by the English East India Company, may be compared with *Gama's*. (Purchas, vol. 1. p. 228. Astley, vol. 1. p. 336, and 344.) Sharpey's ship was aground on the coast of Melinde, and in the night; but by throwing all the sails aback she got off. *Le Grand* has a Dissertation on the Eastern coast of Africa, from Melinde, to the Straits of Babelmandib, which is among those translated by Dr. Johnson, and added to his Works by Mr. Gleig. (P. 220) He describes the Coast of Melinde as beginning at Cape del Gado, and extending to Cape Guardafui: beyond the City of Melinde is the Isle of Lamo, and near Lamo is the Isle of Patte. Father Jerome Lobo tells us, that after he left Patte, he travelled along the Coast, part by sea and part by land; but as he followed the course of the Shore, without daring to go far from the Sea Side, he could not tell us any thing of those Nations which inhabit the country a little higher: the most considerable of these are the *Mosseguia*, who are in alliance with the Portuguese.

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with curled haire. . . In this Citie also dwel many Gentiles of the kingdome of *Cambaya*, which is in the *Indias*, and those are greate Merchants, vsing trafficke for Golde, whereof there is some in that Countrie. The King of this Citie is a *Moore*, and is serued with farre greater estate then the other kings which remaine behinde. The Generall being come ouer against this Citie, did rejoyce in his heart very much, and so likewise did all the rest of the Fleete; for that they now sawe a Citie lyke vnto those of *Portingale*; and therefore they rendered most heartie and humble thankes to God, for theyr good and safe arriual. Being desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie them to *Calicut*, the Generall commaunded to come to an ankor; minding to assay, if he coulde by anye meanes obtaine such there as might serue for that purpose: for vntill this time he could not know of the *Moores* he had taken, whether amongst them were anye Pilots; who, albeit they were offered Torments, still answered, there were none of them skilfull in that respect."—They however, according to *de Barros*, informed *Gama*, that the distance to *India* was about seven hundred leagues.

Castanbada proceeds to relate, that on the next day, being *Easter Eve*, the old *Moor* who had been taken in the *Zambuco*, informed *Gama*, that if he would grant him permission to go on shore, he would, as his ransom, procure some Pilots, with such supplies as the Ships wanted; and also added, that four Ships from *India* were in the port of *Melinde* commanded by *Christians*, who in all probability would soon sail for *India*: these Merchants, as *de Barros* informs us, came from *Gambaia*. In consequence of this, the *Portuguese* moved nearer the town, and came to anchor within half a league of it. Their capture of the *Zambuco* at first deterred any Boats from coming off, which

Cap. xl. OSORIUS, page 41. Translation, vol. 1. p. 59.

Ibid. Liv. 4. cap. 6.

BOOK which induced *Gama*, who still was apprehensive, to land the old Moor on *Easter Monday* upon a Sand opposite the City. This had the desired effect; the *Arabian* proved to be a person worthy of confidence, and a mutual good understanding immediately ensued, by his means, between the Subjects of the King of *Melinde*, and the Portuguese. Upon which *da Gama* came the next day within the Port, and anchored close by the four ships from *India*, whose Owners immediately visited the *Portuguese*. The whole of what follows, in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of *Castanbeda*, is faithfully, and with more interest, given by *Camoens*:

1.
April,
1498.

" Right to the Port their course the * Fleet pursued ;
And the glad dawn that Sacred Day renewed,
When, with the spoils of vanquished death adorned,
To heaven the VICTOR OF THE TOMB returned.
And soon *Melinda's* shore the sailors spy ;
From every mast the purple streamers fly :
Rich figured tap'stry now supplies the sail,
The gold and scarlet tremble in the gale.
The Standard broad its brilliant hues bewrays,
And floating on the wind wide billowing plays.
Shrill through the air the quivering Trumpet sounds,
And the rough Drum the rousing march rebounds.

—————Unawed by fear,
With warlike pomp adorned, himself sincere,
Now in the Port the generous GAMA rides.
His stately Vessels range their pitchy sides
Around their Chief ; the bowsprits nod the head,
And the barb'd anchors gripe the Harbour's bed.

Strait

* Mickle's *Lusiad*. (Book 2. vol. 1. p. 70—76.) The reader may perhaps be gratified by comparing this part of the *Lusiadas* with *Barros*. (Liv. 4. cap. 6.) *Seguindo Vasco da Gama seu caminho com esta prensa de Mouros, ao outro dia, que era de Pascoa da Resurreiçao, indo com todos os navios embandeirados, e acompanha delles com grandes solias por solemidade da festa, chegou a Melinda...*

RECEPTION AT MELINDE.

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Ch. III. 4 a.

Enacted.

Strait to the King, as friends to generous friends,
 A captive Moor the valiant GAMA sends.
 The Lusian fame the King already knew;
 What gulphs unknown the fleet had labour'd through,
 What shelves, what tempests dared; his liberal mind
 Exults the Captain's manly trust to find.
 With that ennobling worth, whose fond employ
 Befriends the brave, the Monarch owns his joy;
 Entreats the Leader, and his weary band,
 To taste the dews of sweet repose on land,
 And all the riches of his cultured fields
 Obedient to the nod of Gama yields. . . .
*What from the blustering winds and lengthening tide
 Your Ships have suffered, shall be here supply'd.
 Arms and provisions I myself will send,
 And great of skill, a Pilot shall attend.*
 So spoke the King: and now, with purpled ray,
 Beneath the shining wave the god of day
 Retiring, left the evening shades to spread,
 When to the fleet, the joyful herald sped:
 To find such friends each breast with rapture glows,
 The feast is kindled, and the goblet flows.
 The trembling Comet's imitated rays
 Bound to the skies, and trail a sparkling blaze.
 The vaulting Bombs awake their sleeping fire,
 And like the Cyclops' bolts, to heaven aspire:
 The trump and fife's shrill clarion far around,
 The glorious music of the fight resound.
 Nor less the joy Melinda's sons display;
 The Sulphur bursts in many an ardent ray,
 And to the heaven ascends in whizzing gyres,
 Whilst Ocean flames with artificial fires.
 In festive war the sea and land engage,
 And echoing shouts confess the joyful rage . . .

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3 Q

When

BOOK
I.April,
1498.

When to the Fleet with many a sounding oar
 The ' Monarch sails ; the natives crowd the shore :
 Their various robes in one bright splendour join,
 The purple blazes, and the gold-stripes shine.
 Nor as stern warriors with the quivering lance,
 Or moon-arch'd bow, *Melinda's* sons advance ;
 Green boughs of Palm with joyful hands they wave,
 An omen of the meed that crowns the brave.
 Fair was the show the Royal Barge display'd,
 With many a flag of glistening silk array'd ;
 Whose various hues, as waving through the bay,
 Return'd the lustre of the rising day :
 And onward as they came, in sovereign state
 The mighty King amid his princes fate.
 His robes the pomp of eastern splendour show,
 A proud tiara decks his lordly brow :
 The various tissue shines in every fold,
 The silken-lustre and the rays of gold.
 His purple mantle boasts the dye of Tyre,
 And in the sun beam glows with living fire.
 A golden chain, the skilful artist's pride,
 Hung from his neck ; and glittering by his side
 The dagger's hilt of star-bright diamond shone,
 The girding baldric burns with precious stone ;
 And precious stone in studs of gold enchased,
 The shaggy velvet of his buskins graced.
 Wide o'er his head, of various silks inlaid,
 A fair umbrella cast a grateful shade ;

A band

* The reigning monarch of *Melinda* at this time seems to have governed for his father, who is represented as old and feeble. *Ren erat grandis admodum natus, et mihi clementique natura praeitus . . . Ren cum valde cuperet Naves nostras aspicere, id morbo atque senio praepeditus assequi non potuit. Filius, qui iam vice illius imperium administrabat, ad naves magna hominum nobilium caeterae stipatus accessit.* (OROZIVS. P. 41. *Gibb's Transl.* vol. 1. p. 59.)

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INTERVIEW WITH THE REIGNING PRINCE.

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Ch. III. § 1.

Emmanuel.

A band of menials, bending o'er the prow,
Of horn wreath'd round the crooked trumpets blow;
And each attendant Barge aloud rebounds
A barbarous discord of rejoicing sounds.
With equal pomp the Captain leaves the Fleet
Melinda's Monarch on the tide to greet:
His barge nods on amidst a splendid train,
Himself adorn'd in all the pride of Spain.
With fair embroidery * shone his armed breast,
For polish'd steel supply'd the warrior's vest;
His sleeves, beneath, were silk of paly blue,
Above, more loose, the purple's brightest hue
Hung as a scarf, in equal gatherings roll'd,
With golden buttons and with loops of gold;
Bright in the sun the polish'd radiance burns,
And the dimm'd eye-ball from the lustre turns.
Of crimson satin, dazzling to behold,
His cassock swell'd in many a curring fold;
The make was *Gallie*, but the lively bloom
Confeß the labour of *Venetia's* loom.
Gold was his sword, and warlike trowsers laced
With thongs of gold his manly legs embraced.
With graceful mein his cap assant was turn'd;
The velvet cap a nodding plume adorn'd.
His noble aspect, and the purple's ray,
Amidst his train the gallant Chief bewray.
The various vestments of the warrior train,
Like flowers of various colours on the plain,

Attract

* *Camoëns* seems to have had in view the picture of *Gama*, which is thus described by *Faria y Sousa*: "He is painted with a black cap, cloak and breeches edged with velvet, all slashed, through which appears the crimson lining, the doublet of crimson satin, and over it his armour inlaid with gold."

BOOK
I.April,
1498.

Attract the pleased beholder's wondering eye,
 And with the splendor of the rainbow vie.
 Now GAMA's hands the quivering trumpet blow;
 Thick o'er the wave the crowding barges row,
 The Moorish flags the curling waters sweep,
 The Lusian mortars thunder o'er the deep.
 Again the fiery roar heaven's concave tears,
 The Moors astonished stop their wounded ears:
 Again loud thunders rattle o'er the Bay,
 And clouds of smoke wide-rolling dim the day;
 The Captain's Barge the generous King ascends,
 His arms the Chief enfold; the Captain bends
 A reverence to the scepter'd grandeur due.
 In silent awe the Monarch's wondering view
 Is fixt on VASCO's noble mien, the while
 His thoughts with wonder weigh the Hero's toil."

Castanbeda thus proceeds: "Now hauing ended theyr talke, and confirmed the friendship betweene them, the King, then rowing amongst our Shippes, behelde the same with pleasure and admiration; out of which great store of Ordinaunce passed, wherewith they were greatlye delyghted: all which time our Generall went with him, to whom he declared, that he neuer sawe anye men of whom he tooke so great pleasure, as those of Portingall, whereof he woulde gladlye haue some with him, to helpe him in his Warres, which he hath sometime with his enimies. To which his speaches the Generall aunswered, *that if he had experience of theyr doings, he woulde then a great deale better lyke of them; and further that they would helpe him, if the King his master would sende his Shippes of Warre to Calicut: as he doubted not but he would, if it wer God his good pleasure to permit the same to be discovered.*

"After the King had in this sort solaced himselfe, he then desired the Generall, that since he would not go with him to his Citie,

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he should then let him haue two of his men, to go and see his Pal-
laice; and for pledge of the same, he would giue him his sonne,
and one of his chiefe Chaplaines, the which they call *Gacis*.
Wherevnto the Generall yeelded, and appointed two of our men to
go with the King; who, at his departure, requested the Generall,
that the next daie he would go along in his Boate hard by the
Shore, where he should see his Horsmen running; and so they
parted for that time. The next daie, being *Thursdaye*, the Captaine
generall, and *Niculao Cuelbo*, went in theyr Boates armed along the
Shore, the one somewhat distant from the other; betweene whom,
vpon the Shore, were many men on horsebacke skirmishing. As
our Boates approached, there came certeine footemen downe cer-
teine stayrea of stone from the king's house, which was in sight,
where they tooke the King vp in a Chaire, and carried him verie
neere to the Boate of the Generall; to whom he spake verie louing
Wordes, and once more requested him to enter vpon land, and go
to his citie, *for that his father, being a lame man, was desirous to see
him; and that whilest he should remaine on shoare, both he and his
children would enter and abide in his Shippes.* But our Generall
fearing, least under such sugred speach some bitter baite might lie
couered, did therefore still excuse himself for going on land, al-
leadging, *he must obey his Prince, who gaue him no license so to do at
anie time.* So taking his leaue of the King, he went a while hard
by the Shippes of the *Indias*, shooting off much Ordinaunce. Who
when they sawe vs passe by lifted up theyr hands, *saieng, Cbriste!
Cbriste!* and that night, with the King's license, our men made
them a great Feast, with much pastime also of Squibs, Gunne Shot,
and great and lowde cryes.

“ The Fleete thus lyeing in the Harbour, there came vpon the
Sundaye, being the *twenty-first daie of Aprill*, from the King, a man
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* *Kádbi*, or *Káni*, as the Turks and Persians pronounce it.

BOOK
I.April,
1498.

that was in great credit with him to visit the Captains generall. Who at that instant was very sad and heauie, for that it was then two daies since any man came to the fleet from the Citie: by reason whereof he feared, least that the King were offended with him, as taking occasion of offence, for that he refused to go on Shoare; supposing also, that he would therevpon breake the peace and league made between them, for which he was sorrowfull, especially since as yet he had no Pilots; and when he sawe, that he which was so great with the king did bring him no Pilots, he then began to haue some iealousie and suspition of the King. Who being informed thereof, and knowing the Generall remained there for that Cause, did therefore forthwith send him a Pilot, a Gentile, called in their language *Guzarate*, whose name was ' *Canaca*; making excuse that he

• *De Barros*, and *Faria*, call this Pilot *MALIMO CANA*: the former adds, that he belonged to one of the *Indian Ships*, which had arrived at *Molinda* from *Cambaia*, and shewed to *Gama* a Chart of the *Indian coast*, laid down with meridians and parallels very small, without having the Rhumbes of wind marked. This Pilot did not express any surprise on seeing the large wooden Astrolabe, and those of metal, which *Gama* used; since the Pilots in the *Red Sea* had been accustomed to Astronomical Instruments made of brass in a triangular form, and also to Quadrants. He added, that himself, and others who sailed from *Cambaia*, and the ports of *India*, sailed by the north and south Stars, and the Constellations in the eastern and western Hemisphere; that they did not employ the above Instruments in Navigation, but used one formed of three boards, after the same manner as the Portuguese made observations with the *Bal-hesilha*, or *Cross-staff*. This curious Passage may probably render some of my readers anxious to consult the original; which being scarce, has occasionally been cited: (*Decada* 1. Liv. 4. cap. 6.) *Entre os quous viaba hum Mouro GUZARATE de nação chamado Malimo Cana, e qual assi pelo contentamento que teve da conversação dos nêssos, como por comprazer a El-Rey, que buscava piloto para lhe dar, acceitou querer ir com elles. De saber do qual Vasco da Gama, depois que praticou com elle, ficou muito contente, principalmente quando lhe mostrou huma CARTA de toda a Costa da India arrumada ao modo dos Mouros, que era em MERIDIANOS, e PARALLELOS mui miudos sem outro Rumo dos Ventos; porque como o quadrado daquelles Meridianos, e Parallelos era mui pequeno, ficava a Costa per aquelles dous Rumos de Norte Sul, e Leste Oeste mui curta, sem ter aquella multiplicação de Ventos, d'agulha commum da nossa Cartas, que serve de rumo das outras. E amostrando-lhe Vasco da Gama o Grande Astrolabio de pau que levava, e outros de metal, com que tomava a altura do Sol, não se espantou o Mouro disso, dizendo, que alguns Pilotos do Mar Roxo usavam de Instrumentos de Latão de figura triangular, e Quadrantes, com que tomavam a altura do Sol, e principalmente*

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he had not sent him sooner; and so the King and Generall remain- Ch. III. § 2.
 ed friends, and continued the peace before concluded upon between *Emmanuel.*
 them." Osorius adds, the King made *Gama* promise to stop at *Melinde* on his return, that an ambassador might be sent to Lisbon, and an alliance formed between the Kings of *Melinde* and *Portugal*.

With the thirteenth chapter of *Casfanbeda*, which relates the arrival of *Gama* at *Calicut*, the first book, or great division of the progress of Maritime Discovery is completed.—*Barros* informs us, that before the *Portuguese* left *Melinde*, *Gama*, as was customary, placed in that city with the King's permission a Stone Pillar, or *Padrão*, to which he gave the name of *Santo Espirito*,

"The Captaine generall beeing thus provided of all things necessarie for his Voiage, departed from *Melinde* on "Fridaye the twenty-fourth daie of Aprill, and from thence he began to cut ouer a Goulfe, which is of 750⁰ leagues; for the Lande there doth make a certeine
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capalmente da Estrella, de que se mais serviam em a navegação. Mas que elle, e os Mercantes de Cambaia, e de toda a India, poré que a sua navegação era por certas Estrellas, assi do Norte, como do Sul, e outras notaveis, que cursaram por meio do Céo do Oriente a Ponente, não tomavam a sua distancia por instrumentos semelhantes áquelles, mas por outro de que se elle servia, o qual Instrumento lhe trouxe logo a mostrar, que era de tres taboas.

In the year 1790, Father *John de Sousa* published a curious Collection of Papers entitled *Documentos Arabicos*, which he translated into Portuguese by permission of her majesty, from the Original Arabic MSS. deposited in the Royal Archives of Lisbon. They chiefly consist of copies of Letters, that passed between the Kings of *Portugal*, and the tributary Princes of *India* in the sixteenth century. Among these is a letter from a king of *Melinde* to *Emmanuel*, the contents of which are given by Mr. Murphy, (*Travels in Portugal*, page 235.) The *Xoque Wagerage* was lord of *Melinde* when *Gama* afterwards concluded an alliance with him, and carried his ambassador to Portugal.

Osorius, (page 45. *Translation*, vol. 1. p. 60.) Lichfield has inadvertently said *Twenty* the 23d of Aprile; in which he is neither justified by *Casfanbeda*, nor de *Barros*, who both make it the twenty-fourth of April.

Barros says, *E atravessando aquella grande golpho de setecentas leguas que ha de huma á outra nesta, per espaço de vinte e dois dias.* (Ibid. cap. 6.)

B O O K
1.May,
1498.

great valley, which doth runne along the ⁷ Coast from the north to the south, and our Voiage, in demanding of *Calicut*, lay to the Eastward. In following whereof, the next *Sundaye* our men sawe the ⁸ North, which a long time before they had not seene, and also they sawe the South; of which good fortune they thanked God, in that it represented, as then to them, Winter of the *Indias*; and where alwaies in that Goulfe are great Stormes, they now found none but rather faire weather. The *Fridaye*, being the seuenteenth daie of May, and *twenty-two* ⁹ daies next after theyr departing from *Melinde*, in which time they had seene no lande, they then discovered and came to sight of lande; and the Fleete beeing eight leagues of seaboord from the Shoare, the lande seemed high; theyr Pilot did as then let fall the Plommet, and found fortie-five fathom. Wherevpon to auoide and apart himselfe from that Coast, he made his way to the South-East, and vpon *Saterdaye* he made to landward; howbeit

⁷ *Oforius* thus describes their passage through the Indian Ocean: *Solus inde Gama n. Kalen. Maij. Quoniam autem nostri Orientem versus navigarent, cursum tamen ad Septentrionem inflectebant. Intra paucos autem dies, regionem circulo equinotiali subiectam, peragranti, atque rursus Sydera; quae tam multos menses labuerant, cum voluptate conspiciunt. Ursa maiorem et minorem, et Orionem, et reliqua quae circa polum Arcticum exiguum orbem conspiciunt, oculis usurpant. Pelagus deinde maximum, cuius intimo recessu Septentrionem versus multa Aethiopia, et Arabia, et Caramania partes aluntur, tempestate admodum secunda transmittunt. (P. 43. Transl. p. 60.)*

⁸ A circumstance in the Letters of *AMERICO VESPUCCI* deserves remark. After having past the Line, he says, "E come desidero d'essere Autore che signassi la Stella, desirous to be the namer and discoverer of the Pole Star of the other hemisphere, I lost my sleep many nights in contemplating the Stars of the other Pole." He then laments, that as his Instruments could not discover any Star of less motion than ten degrees, he had not the satisfaction to give a Name to any one. But as he observed four Stars in form of an Almond (*The Crose of Cada Masso*) which had but little motion, he hoped in his next Voyage he should be able to mark them out. All this is truly curious, and affords a good comment on the temper of the man who had the art to defraud *Columbus*, by giving his own name to *America*, of which he challenged the discovery. Near fifty Years before the Voyage of *Americo Vespucci* the Portuguese had crossed the Line; and *Dian* fourteen, and *Gama* near three years before, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope. (*Mickle.*)

⁹ *Lichfield* says *twenty-three*.

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beit he ranne not so neere the same as he might certainly knowe it, Ch. HL § 2.
 but he perceiued by small showres of raine, which fell as they Remained.
 made towards lande, that they were on the Coast of the *Indias*;
 for at that present time of the Yere the Winter is euer in those
Indias.

"*Sundaye*, beeing the *twentieth* daie of *May*, the Pilot sawe cer-
 teine high hills which were ouer the Citie of *Calicut*, and came so
 neere to Lande that he did reknowledge the same; and with great
 joy demaunded his ^b reward of the Generall, saieing, *that this was*
the Lande, which he and his companie so greatly desired to see, and
come to. The ^c Generall replenished with ioy of that good fortune,
 gaue *Canaca* his demaund, and forthwith went to *Praier*, saieing *the*
Salue, wherein they gaue God greate thanks, for this theyr happie
 and safe arriuell upon that Coast, and in sight of the place which
 they so earnestly longed for to see. When *Praier* was done they
 made great joy, and feasted on shipboord; and the self same daie,
 in the euening, the Generall came to an ankor two leagues from
Calicut. Immediatly came certeine people of that lande in fowre
 Boates called *Almaydyas* to our Fleete, to vnderstand what Shippes
 these were, hauing neuer before seene anye of that making come
 to that Coast. These people are browne. At theyr comming to vs
 some of them entered into the Generall's Shippe, and albeit the
 Pilot *Guzarate* tolde him that they were Fishermen, a poore kinde
 of people, for so they call all such as bee poore men in the *Indias*;
 yet he receyued them all well, and commaunded his men to buye
 of

^b In the original, *E no Domingo, vinte d' Mayo, vio he Piloto hias feryas muyto altas q' esta
 febre a Cidade d' Calicut . . . e com muyto Prazer pedio alijaras a Vasco da Gama.* (Castan-
 heda, tom. 1. cap. 15. p. 27.)

^c *Ostius* adds, that *Gama* on this occasion released all his prisoners who were in fetters that
 every one might partake of his happiness.

BOOK of theyr fish. Hauling some talke with them he did vnderstand
 I. that towne was not *Calicut*, for it was they said further off, and
 May, offered to carrie our fleete thether. Wherevpon the Generall re-
 1498. quired them so to doe; and therewith departed thence, and was
 brought by those fishermen to *Calicut*, which is a Citie scituated on
 the Coast of *Malabar*, a prouince of the second *Indias*, that hath
 his beginning in the Mount *Dely*, and endeth at *Cabo de Co-*
morim."

" Now Morn, serene in dappled grey, arose
 O'er the fair Lawns where murmuring *Ganges* flows;
 Pale shone the Wave beneath the golden beam;
 Blue o'er the silver flood *MALABRIA*'s mountains gleam.
 The Sailors on the Main-top's airy round,
 LAND! LAND! aloud, with waving hands, resound.
 Aloud the Pilot of *Melinda* cries,
Behold O Chief the shores of India rise!
 Elate the joyful Crew on tip-toe trod,
 And every breast with swelling raptures glow'd.
GAMA's great soul confest the rushing swell,
 Prone on his manly knees the Hero fell:
 Oh bounteous Heaven! he cries, and spreads his hands
 To bounteous Heaven, while boundless joy commands
 No farther word to flow. In wonder lost,
 As one in horrid Dreams through whirlpools tost,
 Now snatch'd by demons rides the flaming air,
 And howls, and hears the howlings of despair;
 Awaked, amazed, confus'd with transport glows,
 And, trembling still, with troubled joy o'erflows;
 So, yet affected with the sickly weight
 Left by the horrors of the dreary Night;
 The Hero wakes in raptures, to behold
 The *Indian* Shores before his Prows unfold.

MARITIME DISCOVERY COMPLETED.

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O GLORIOUS CHIEF! WHILE STORMS AND OCEANS
RAVED,

WHAT HOPELESS TOILS THY DAUNTLESS VALOUR
BRAVED!

BY TOILS LIKE THINE THE BRAVE ASCEND TO
HEAVEN;

BY TOILS LIKE THINE IMMORTAL FAME IS * GIVEN!"

Ch. III. § 2.

Emmanuel.

* Mickle's Lusiad, vol. 2. book 6. p. 125.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.



Published Jan. 1, 1803, by T. Cadell & Davies, Strand.

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VOL. I

APPENDIX:

SCARCE AND DETACHED TREATISES WHICH HAVE A REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT OF THE PRECEDING PAGES.—ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.—MEMOIR OF THE DIFFERENT METHODS THAT HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE HEALTH OF SEAMEN.—ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS AS EMPLOYED FOR THE PURPOSES OF NAVIGATION.—NEW INVENTIONS.—EXPLANATORY CATALOGUE OF VOYAGES, AND OTHER WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.

* * ANTONIO GALVANO, the celebrated author of the following Treatise, was a natural son of Edward Galvano, born in the East Indies. Having obtained the government of the Molucca Islands, he soon distinguished himself by a signal victory over 20,000 men, with the very inferior force of * 350. His attention was next directed towards the depredations of the Corsairs; and, with so much success, that the adjoining parts of the Indian Ocean were rendered entirely secure for the Commerce of the Portuguese. His humanity towards the natives, and his continued anxiety to instruct them respecting the consolatory doctrines of Christianity, are recorded to the honour of Galvano, and Portugal. Nor was he at the same time inattentive to its political interests: 500,000 *crusades* were added by his industry to the royal revenue of John the Third. Such distinguished merit was not however rewarded in this world: the humane disposition of Galvano involved him in pecuniary distress; and though the sums he had expended in the service of religion, amounting to 70,000 *crusades*, gained him the title of *the Apostle of the Moluccas*, he endured, without procuring relief, an embarrassment and poverty, which his compassion towards others had occasioned. Poor and neglected, he at length sought for consolation in the bosom of his country, where he arrived in 1540: but the only asylum, which this distinguished governor of the Moluccas could secure, was the *Hospital de Lisbon*, where he died during the year 1557.—The same epitaph may be inscribed on the tomb-stones of *Antonio Galvano* and *Camoens*: and though the statesman might blush at its perusal, the injudicious expectation of an ambitious mind would thus be humbled and repressed.—Galvano wrote an *History of the Molucca Islands*, which is lost. In 1555, his *Account of the different routes, by which the merchandize of India has been conveyed to Europe*, was printed at Lisbon.

* Historians differ as to the exact number; see page 8 of this Appendix.

THE
DISCOVERIES
OF
THE WORLD
FROM
THEIR FIRST ORIGINAL,
UNTO
THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1555.

WRITTEN IN PORTUGUESE,
By ANTONIO GALVANO.

*Published by the Rev. RICHARD HAKLUYT, Student of Christ-Church in Oxford,
and afterwards inserted in Churchill's Collection of Voyages.*

THIS ancient piece comes well recommended, and deserves both our preservation and attention; as well on account of the author, who was no less than the famous Antonio Galvano, whose praise to this day is deservedly commemorated among his thankful countrymen, and succinctly collected from ancient authors, by Mr. Hakluyt, in the following epistle dedicatory: as again, on account of the translator, who was descended from an ancient family at Tetton in Herefordshire, and educated at Westminster-school: from whence, being elected a student of Christ-Church in Oxford, he took his bachelor and master of arts degrees; and at last, entering into holy orders, he first was made prebendary of Bristol, and afterwards of Westminster, and rector of Wetheringset in Suffolk, in the room of Dr. Richard Webster. Besides this translation, which gives us a proof of his capacity in the Portuguese tongue, he illustrated Peter Martyr Anglericus's eight decads de Novo Orbe, with curious notes; translated also from the Portuguese, Virginia, richly valued by the description of the main land of Florida, her next neighbour; and wrote notes of certain commodities in good request in the East-Indies, the Moluccas, and China. But what has most perpetuated his name, is his great pains and judgment in collecting English Voyages, Navigations, Trafficks, and Discoveries.

Our famous Camden played the poet on this occasion, and adorned that collection with the following commendation in Latin verse:

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad disjunctissimas regiones
navigationibus G. Camdeni hexasticon.

Anglia, quæ penitus toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parvus et orbis erat.
Nunc cum sepositos alios detexerit orbis,
Maximus orbis honos, orbis et orbis erat.
At quid, Haklute, tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?
Læus tuus, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR *ROBERT CECILL* KNIGHT,

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO HER MAJESTY, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND
LIVERIES, THE WORTHY CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
AND ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY-COUNCIL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—While I went about to publish our English voyages and discoveries, I was advised by Mr. Walter Cope, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum; adding, that in his opinion that course would prove most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although, in that work then under the press, I could not conveniently alter my course; yet holding his advice, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I here present unto your honour a brief treatise, most agreeable to the same. The author whereof was one Antonio Galvano, a Portugal gentleman; of whose piety towards God, equity towards men, fidelity to his prince, love to his country, skill in sea causes, experience in histories, liberality towards his nation; vigilance, valour, wisdom, and diligence in restoring and settling the decayed state of the isles of Moluccas (where he remained six or seven years governor), if it please your honour to read Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Joannes Maffeijs, in their histories of the East-Indies; you shall find more written in his singular commendation, than a large epistle can well comprehend.

The work, though small in bulk, containeth so much rare and profitable matter, as I know not where to seek the like within so narrow and strait a compass. For herein is orderly declared, who were the first discoverers of the world, since the time of the flood; by what ways, from age to age, the spicery, drugs, and riches of the East were conveyed into the West; what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely, the changes of empires and governments; the ceasing of all traffic for many years by the Goths' invasion of the Roman Empire; the rising up of the Mahometan sect, with their overrunning of Africa and Spain; the renewing again, after many years' disturbance, of the traffic and intercourse of the East-Indies; first, by the califs of the aforesaid sect, and afterwards by the Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbary by John, the first king of Portugal of that name, in the year of our Lord 1415; whose third son Don Henry (which he had by the virtuous lady Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, and sister to Henry the fourth,

king

HAKLUYT'S DEDICATION.

king of England) was the first beginner of all the Portugal discoveries, and continued the same for the space of forty and three years, even to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of Portugal found out, with much patience and constancy, the last way of the bringing the spicery into Europe by the cape of Buona Sperança; and for these hundred years past have become the chief lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeavours, the Antiles and the West-Indies began to be discovered by the kings of Spain. The infancies of both which most important enterprizes; the progress of the same from time to time; the discoveries of islands, rivers, bays, and harbours; of many rich provinces, kingdoms, and countries; the erecting of castles in sundry convenient islands and places, with the drawing of traffic unto the same; where, when, by whom, and by whose authority, is here succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it please your honour, at your convenient leisure, to take a sea-chart, or a map of the world; and carry your eye upon the coast of Africa from Capé de Non, lying on the main, in twenty-nine degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the cape of Buona Sperança, till you come to the mouth of the Red-Sea; and passing thence along by the country of Arabia, cross over to India, and doubling Cape Comory, compass the gulph of Bengala; and shooting by the city of Malacca, through the streight of Cincapura, coast all the south of Asia to the north-east part of China, and comprehend in this view all the islands from the Açores and Madera in the west, to the Moluccas, the Philippinas, and Japan in the east; you shall here find, by order, who were the first discoverers, conquerors, and planters in every place; as also the natures and commodities of the soils, together with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants; and that which I mention of the Orient, is likewise to be understood of the Occident.

Now, touching the translation, it may please you, Sir, to be advertised, that it was first done into our language by some honest and well-affecting merchant of our nation, whose name by no means I could attain unto, and that as it seemeth many years ago; for it hath lien by me above these twelve years. In all which space, though I have made much enquiry, and sent to Lisbon, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could never obtain the original copy, whereby I might reform the manifold errors of the translator: For, whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the propriety of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly, with the subject or matter itself; I found this translator very defective in all three, especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedy, but to have recourse unto the original histories (which, as it appeareth, are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by), out of which the author himself drew the greatest part of this discourse. And, in very deed, it cost me more travail to find out the grounds thereof, and to annex the marginal quotations unto the work, than the translation of many such books would have put me unto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther use; to wit, that such as have leisure sufficient, and are desirous to read these things more at large (for brevity oftentimes breedeth obscurity), may fully satisfy their desires, by having recourse by the help thereof to the
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HAKLUYT'S DEDICATION.

pure fountains, out of which those waters which are drawn are for the most part most sweet and wholesome. Now, if any man shall marvel that in these discoveries of the world, for the space almost of four thousand years here set down, our nation is scarce four times mentioned, he is to understand, that when this author ended this discourse, (which was about the year of grace * 1555,) there was little extant of our men's travels. And for aught I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if myself had not undertaken that heavy burden; being never therein entertained to any purpose, until I had recourse unto yourself, by whose special favour, and bountiful patronage, I have been often much encouraged, and as it were revived. Which travels of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripeness, and have been made, for the most part, to places first discovered by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the adventurers, will then be more fit to be reduced into brief epitomes by myself, or some other endued with an honest zeal of the honour of our country. In the mean season, nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance of this my labour, I humbly beseech the author of all goodness to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserve your honour to the profitable service of her majesty, and to the common benefit and good of the realm.

Your Honour's chaplain,

In all duty, most ready to be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

From London, }
this 29 Oct. 1601. }

* Second year of Queen Mary's reign.

FRANCIS DE SOUSA TAVARES,

UNTO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE

DON JOHN DUKE OF AVEIRO.

ANTONIO GALVANO upon his death-bed left unto me, in his testament, among his papers, this book; and because I am certain he ordained it to be presented unto your grace, I have thought good herein to fulfil his will and testament, though in other things I have done nothing, the fault remaining not in me. And by all reason this treaty ought to be set forth by a Portugal, seeing it treateth of the variable ways from whence the pepper and spices came, in times past, into our parts, and also of all the navigations and discoveries in the old time; in both of which things the Portugals have most travelled. In this treatise, and in nine or ten books of things, touching Molucca and India (which the cardinal willed me to give to Damian de Goes, saying that he should content me, for otherwise I could not deliver them), this true Portugal occupied himself against the unfortunate and sorrowful times which he had been in, which were all ended before all our days and times; for when he received the captainship and fortresses of Molucca, all the kings and governors of all the islands about, being agreed to make war against the Portugals, until such time as they might drive them all out of the country; he fought against them all with only an hundred and thirty Portugals, when they were all together, and strong in Tidore; and he gave them the overthrow, and killed their king, and one Ternate, the principal author of that war; and he took their fortrefs: so upon this victory they submitted themselves, and came under the obeisance and service of our king of Portugal. Herein two things happened of great admiration; the first, that all the kings and governors of Molucca agreed together against us, a thing that never fell out, nor yet credible to be like to happen; for they are ever at variance among themselves: the second, that the captain of Molucca, with only his ordinary soldiers, should have the victory against so many being all together. For sometimes it happeneth, that some of the captains of Molucca, with many extraordinary soldiers, besides their ordinary, yea, and with the aid of all the kings and lords of Molucca in their favour and aid, went against one king only of them, and came back again with loss. So there may be reckoned three notable things done in India, I say of quality (but of more quantity and importance there have been others); which were, the taking of Muar by Emanuel Falcon, and

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VOL. I

TAVARES' INTRODUCTION.

the winning of Bitam by Peter Mascarenas, and this, whereof we presently treat. For all these three deeds seemed to be impossible to be achieved; considering, the small quantity of soldiers which the captains had in gaining the enterprize against so many; with the order and manner by them ordained, how and which ways to obtain their purpose, as well by their enemies as by themselves. And they could not be achieved otherwise, but by using a mean, and order, not thought of at the first by the Portugals, nor yet ever suspected by their enemies. And, besides this, his father and four of his brethren were all slain in the king's service; and he now, being the last of his lineage, carried with him into Molucca about ten thousand crusadoes: which he spent not in idleness, nor yet in play, but only in bringing of many kings, and innumerable towns, unto our holy faith; and in the preserving of Molucca, employing all his power and strength, that all the cloves might come unto the hands of the king's highness: which, with Molucca, yielded unto him every year five hundred thousand crusadoes; being all to his great prejudice, let, and hindrance. For if he had gathered cloves for himself, as the captains of Molucca have done, then he had come home very rich. But when he came home into Portugal, in great hope (such is the simplicity of the best natures) to be rewarded for his good service; and to be more favoured and honoured, than if he had brought home with him an hundred thousand crusadoes; he was greatly deceived. For he found neither favour, nor yet honour; but only among the poor and miserable, to wit, in an hospital, where he was kept seventeen years, until the hour of his death: and there he had allowed unto him his winding-sheet to bury him in: and the brotherhood of the convent prepared for his burial as for a poor courier, cast off by all men, leaving himself indebted in two thousand crusadoes, whereof part came out of India, and part thereof many of his friends had lent him to maintain him in the hospital: for in all these seventeen years he had not of his highness to help himself with, so much as one rial of plate; nor yet of the books which I delivered, received any thing to discharge his will with. Yet for all this, even as upon the prosperity of his victories, he never made any boast, so likewise, in his adversities, his great stomach did nothing abate his heart. As there are good proofs, that with so many, and so continual disgraces as he suffered, he never, unto the hour of his death, left off to raise and augment the yearly rent unto a Counto; which some made strange, and would not give ear unto: so that even as he was extreme painful in the performance of his service, so he was the like in the things founding unto the perfecting of the same; which was the cause, that he was brought unto the state that he died in. For he could not see the quality of the time, but only those of his great service, by reason of the great charges that it stood him in. And his saying was, that he was born, not to say that his constellation was in the wars victorious; but in the overcoming of kings by the art of warfare; readiness in resolving; prudence in conserving; and great loyalty and patience; with many services unto his king and master. In which of all these he had most contentation, it cannot easily be determined. Wherefore your Noble Grace may see, that this treaty and the others were made with signs and afflictions; which his inferior will might have raised up in him, against his superior

TAVARES' INTRODUCTION.

rior reason. Neither was he willing to take for his remedy that which that great Turk Zelim, son to the great Mahomet, did (for he took Constantinople, and died in Rome), who used to make himself drunk, because he would not remember the great estate which he lost : nor yet would he give ear unto those things which many of his friends would tell him, wishing he would settle his mind out of the kingdom (for otherwise he should never be able to live) : whereunto he answered, that in this point he would rather be compared unto the great Timocles the Athenian, than to be like the excellent Roman Coriolanus. Which is a goodly example of a true and faithful Portugal. (Though it were not so as I do say, yet I hear, that the hospitals are full of the most faithful subjects to their prince and country.) Wherefore, by all reason, this treatise ought to be of your grace favoured ; setting apart all oversights, if there be any, in this work of the author, I being not able to attain unto the understanding of the contrary. God prosper your Grace with long life, and increase of honour.

. The translation of the following work by Hakluyt, was first printed separately in one volume quarto : a copy of which is in the valuable library of Alexander Dalrymple, Esq.

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THE
Excellent Treatise
 OF
Antonio Galvano.

*Containing the most Antient and Modern Discoveries of the World, especially by Navigation,
 according to the Course of Times, from the Flood until the Year of Grace 1555.*

WHILE I had a desire to gather together some old and some new discoveries, which have been made by sea and by land, with their just times and situations; they seemed to be two things of so great difficulty, that being confuted in the authors of them, I determined once to desist from any such purpose. For, touching the course of time, the Hebrews declare, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 1656 years. The seventy interpreters make mention of 2242. And St. Augustine reckoneth 2262. In the situations likewise there be many differences; for there never failed together in one fleet at sea, from ten pilots to the number of an hundred, but that some of them found themselves, by reckoning, in one longitude, and other some in another: but, considering better with myself, that the difficulties are opened, and the differences amended, by others of more exact judgment and understanding therein, I purposed notwithstanding to proceed in this Work of Discoveries.

August. de
 Civit. Dei,
 l. 15. c. 20.

Some there are that say that the world hath fully been discovered; and they allege this reason—that as it hath been peopled and inhabited, so it might be frequented and navigable; and the rather, for that the men in that age were of a longer life, and of laws and languages almost one.

There be others of a contrary opinion to this; holding that all the earth could not be known, nor the people conversant one with another: for though it had been so once, yet the same would have been lost again by the malice of men, and the want of justice among the inhabitants of the earth. But because the best and most famous Discoveries were made by Sea, and that principally in our times, I desire to know who were the first discoverers since the time of the flood.

Some affirm that they were the Greeks; others say, the Phœnicians; others also the Egyptians. The people of India agree not hereunto, affirming that they were the first that sailed by sea; namely, the Tabencos, which now we call the Chinois. And they allege for the proof of this that they are the lords of the Indies; even unto the cape of Bona Sperança, and the island of St. Laurence, which is inhabited by them,

and all along the sea; as also the Javaes, Timores, Celebes, Macafares, Moluccas, Borneos, Mindanaos, Lucones, Lequeos, Japonas, and other islands, being many in number; and the firm lands of Cauchin-China, Laos, Bramas, Pegu, Arracones, till you come unto Bengala: and besides this, New Spain, Peru, Brasil, the Antiles, with the rest adjoining unto them; as appeareth by the fashions and manners of the men and women, and by their proportions, having small eyes, flat noses, with other proportions to be seen. And to this day many of these islands and countries are called by the names of Bato-China, Bocho-China; which is as much as to say the countries of China. Further it appeareth by histories, that the ark of Noe rested upon the north parts of the mountains of Armenia, which stands in forty degrees and upwards; and that immediately thereupon Scythia was first peopled, for that it is an high land, and appeared first after the flood. And seeing the province and country of the Tabencos is one of the chiefest of all Tartary, as they report, it is to be thought that they were of the most ancient inhabitants, and men of the most ancient navigations; the seas being as calm, as the rivers be, in those parts lying between the tropics, where the days and nights do not much differ, as well in the hours as in the temperature; where blow no outrageous winds to cause the waters to rise, or to be troubled. And by late experience it is found, that the small barques wherein they sail, have only a great high bough in the midst of the barque, standing instead both of mast and sail: and the master holdeth only an oar in his hand to steer withal; and so they sail swiftly along the coast: and the rest of the passengers sit only upon certain poles, which are fastened in the barque, which they call Catamarones, and so they pass without rowing.

It is further said, that the people of China were sometime lords of the most part of Scythia, and sailed ordinarily along that coast, which seemeth to reach unto seventy degrees towards the north. Cornelius Nepos is the author of this; who particularly affirmeth—that in the time Metellus the fellow-consul of Afranius was pro-consul in France, the king of Suevia sent unto him certain Indians, which came thither in a ship from this country, coming by the north, and by the flats of Germany. And it is probable that they were people of China; for that they from twenty, thirty, and forty degrees upwards have strong ships and clinchers that can well brook the seas, and endure the cold and intemperature of such northerly regions. As for Cambaia, there is shipping also in it; and the people, by report, have used the seas many years: but it seemeth not that they were any of them which came into France; for that they traffic only to Cairo, and are men indeed of little traffic and less clothing.

As for those which escaped the destruction of the flood, they were so amazed, that they durst not descend into the plains and low countries, but kept the hills. And we read of Nimrod, who, an hundred and thirty years after the flood, built the Tower of Babel, intending thereby to save himself, if there should come any more such floods.

Therefore it seemeth, that they which first came to be Sailors, were those which dwell in the East, in the province of China; although others, contrarywise, hold them which

Pomponius
Mela, l. 3.
Plinius, l. 2.
c. 67.

Joseph. Antiq.
Judaic.
l. 1 c. 5.

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which dwell in the West, as in Syria, to have used the trade of the sea soonest after the flood. But this contention about the antiquity of Navigation I leave to the Scythians and Egyptians, who were at great variance and difference in this matter; for each of them challenged unto themselves the honour of the first sea travel. But omitting all jars and differences thereabouts, I will apply myself to my purposed discourse, and speak of that which histories have left in record.

Justinus,
lib. 1.

There are some well seen in antiquities, which say, that in the hundred and forty-third year after the flood, Tubal came by sea into Spain: whereby it seemeth, that in those times navigations were used into our parts out of Ethiopia.

Berosius.

And they also say further, that not long after this the queen Semiramis went against the Indians in that river whereof they took their name, and therein gave battle unto the king Stabrobates, wherein he lost a thousand ships: which being credible by the ancient history, proveth manifestly, that in those parts, in those times, were many ships; and the seas frequented in good numbers.

Diodorus
Siculus,
lib. 2. c. 5.

In the six hundred and fiftieth year after the flood, there was a king in Spain named Hesperus, who in his time, as it is reported, went and discovered as far as Cape Verde, and the island of St. Thomas, whereof he was prince; and Gonfhalvo Fernandes of Oviedo, the chronicler of antiquities, affirmeth—that in his time the islands of the West Indies were discovered, and called somewhat after his name Hesperides: and he allegeth many reasons to prove it; reporting particularly, that in forty days they sailed from Cape Verde unto those islands.

Berosius.

Gonfhalvo
Fernandes
de Oviedo,
l. 2. c. 3.
Gen. Hist.
Plinius,
l. 6. c. 31.

There are others that say, that the like was done from this Cape unto the islands of St. Thomas, and the isle de Principe; and that they be the Hesperides, and not the Antiles: and they differ not far from reason; seeing in those times, and many years after, they did use to sail only along the coast, not passing through the main ocean sea: for they had neither altitude, nor compass then in use, nor any mariners so expert.

It cannot be denied, but that there were many countries, islands, capes, isthmuses, and points, which now are grown out of knowledge; because the names of them are found in histories: but the age of the world, and force of waters, have wasted and consumed them; and separated one country from another, both in Europe, Asia, Africa, New Spain, Peru, and other places.

Plato saith, in his dialogue of Timæus, that there were in ancient times, in the Atlantic ocean, certain great islands and countries, named Atlantides, greater than Africa and Europe; and that the kings of those parts were lords of a great part of this our country: but with certain great tempests the sea overflowed it, and it remained as mud and shingle; so that in a long time after no ships could pass that way.

Plato in
Timæo.

It is also recorded in histories, that close by the island of Cadiz, towards the streights of Gibraltar, there was a certain island which was called Aphrodisias, well inhabited, and planted with many gardens and orchards; and yet at this day we have no knowledge of this Aphrodisias, but only a bare mention of it in ancient authors.

Plin. lib 4.
cap. 22.

The said
island

island of Cadiz is further said to have been so large, that it joined with the continent of Spain.

The Açores islands were sometime a point of the mountains of Estrella, which join to the sea over the town of Syntra: and also from Sierra Verde, or the green mountain, which adjoineth to the water hard by the city of Sagin in the land of Cucu (which is the self-same island of Mouchin, where Algarbe is) lie the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira.

For it is held as a sure and undoubted verity, that all islands have their roots running from the firm land, though they be never so far from the continent, for otherwise they could not stand firm.

Eratoſthenes
apud Strabo-
nem, lib. 1.
p. 26.

There are other histories which say, that from Spain unto Ceuta in Barbary, men sometimes travelled on foot upon dry land; and that the islands of Sardinia and Corsica joined the one with the other, as did also Sicily with Italy, and Negroponto with Greece.

We read also, that there were found hulls of ships, anchors of iron, and other memorials of shipping, upon the mountains of Susa, far within the land; where, as it now seemeth, no salt water or sea ever came.

In India also, and in the land of Malabar, although there be now great store of people, yet many writers affirm, that it was once a main sea unto the foot of the mountains; and that the cape of Comarim, and the island of Zeilan, were all one thing: as also that the island of Sumatra joined with the land of Malacca by the flats of Caypasia; and not far from thence there now stands a little island, which, a few years past, was part of the firm land that is over-against it.

Furthermore, it is to be seen how Ptolemy, in his tables, sets the land of Malacca to the south of the line, in three or four degrees of latitude, whereas now it is at the point thereof, being called Jentana, in one degree on the north side, as appeareth in the streight of Cincapura, where daily they pass through unto the coast of Sian and China, where the island of Aynan standeth, which also, they say, joined hard to the land of China: and Ptolemy placeth it on the north side, far from the line, standing now above twenty degrees from it towards the north, as Asia and Europe now stand.

Well it may be, that in time past the land of Malacca and China ended beyond the line on the south side, as Ptolemy sets them forth: because it might join with the point of the land called Jentana, with the islands of Bintan, Banca, and Salitres, being many that way, and the land might be all slime and ouze; and so the point of China might join with the islands of the Luçones, Borneos, Lequeos, Mindanaos, and others which stand in this parallel: they also as yet having an opinion, that the island of Sumatra joined with Java by the chanel of Sunda, and the islands of Bali, Aujave, Cambava, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulva, Vintara, Rosalaguin, and others that are in this parallel and altitude, did all join with Java; and so they seem outwardly to those that descry them. For at this day the islands stand so near each other, that they seem but one firm land; and whosoever passeth between them, may touch with their hand the

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bought of the trees on the one, and on the other side also. And to come nearer to the matter, it is not long since, that in the east the islands of Banda were divers of them overflowed and drowned by the sea; and so likewise in China, about ninescore miles of firm ground is now become a lake, as it is reported: which is not to be thought marvellous, considering that which Ptolemy and others have written in such cases, which here I omit to return to my purpose.

After the flood 800 years, we read, that the city of Troy was built by the Dardans; and that before that time they brought out of the Indies into Europe, by the Red Sea, spices, drugs, and many other kinds of merchandizes, which were there more abundant than they now be. Whereunto if credit may be given, we may conceive, that the sea was of old haunted and frequented; seeing that then they of the east had so much and so great traffic with them of the west, that they brought their merchandize unto an haven which was named Arfinoe, being that which at this day is called Suez; standing in thirty degrees on the north part of the Arabian gulph. It is also, by authors, farther written, that from this haven of Arfinoe or Suez, these merchandizes were carried by caravans, or great companies of carriers, upon camels, asses, and mules, unto the Levant sea, to a city called Cassou, standing on the coast in thirty-two degrees of latitude; yielding unto every degree seventeen leagues and an half, as the manner is. And there, are, by account, from the one sea to the other, thirty-five leagues, or 105 miles. These carriers, by reason of the heat of the country, travelled in the night only; directing themselves by stars, and by marks of posts and canes, which they used to stick in the ground as they went. But after that, because this course and journey had many inconveniencies, they changed and altered the same twice, to find out the most commodious way. Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

Nine hundred years, or thereabouts, after the flood, and before the destruction of Troy, there was a king in Egypt called Sesostris, who, perceiving that the former courses and passages for carrying of merchandize by men and beasts, were chargeable to the one, and most painful to the other, provided to have a way or stream cut out of the land, from the Red Sea unto an arm of the river Nilus, which runneth unto the city Heroum; that by the means thereof ships might pass and repass with their merchandizes from India into Europe, and not be discharged till they came into Italy; so that this Sesostris was the first king that built great caracks to travel this way. But this enterprize, for all that, took little effect; for if it had, Africa had then been made as an island all compassed with water; being no more ground between sea and sea than the space of twenty leagues, or sixty miles. Strabo, l. 17. p. 560.

About this time the Grecians gathered together an army or fleet, which now is called Argonautica, whereof Jason and Alceus were captains-general. Some say they went from the isle of Crete, others from Greece; but whencesoever they departed, they sailed through the Propontick sea, and Saint George's Sleeve, unto the Euxine sea, where some perished, and Jason thereupon returned back into Greece. Alceus reported, that he was driven with a tempest to the lake Mæotis, where he was forsaken of all his company; and they which escaped with great travel, passed through by land unto. Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

Diod. Sic.
l. 4. c. 4.

unto the German ocean, where they took shipping, passing the coasts of Saxony, Friseland, Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, Italy; and so returned to Peloponnesus and Greece, discovering the most part of the coast of Europe.

Strabo, l. 1.
p. 26.

Strabo, alleging Aristonicus the grammarian, sheweth, that after the destruction of Troy, Menelaus the king came out of the straits of the Levant seas into the Atlantic sea; and coasted Africa and Guiney, and doubled the cape of Bona Sperança, and so in time arrived in India: of which voyage of his there may be many more particulars gathered out of the histories. This Mediterranean sea was also sometimes called the Adriatic, the *Ægean*, and the Herculean sea, with other names; according to the lands, coasts, and islands which it passeth by, running into the great Atlantic sea along the coast of Africa.

1 Kings,
c. 9.
2 Chron.
c. 8.

In the year 1300 after the flood, Solomon caused a navy to be prepared on the Red sea, at an haven called Ezeon-Geber, to sail to the East-Indies, where, by opinion, stand the islands called Tharbis and Ophir. This navy was three years on this voyage; and then returned, and brought with them gold, silver, cypress, &c. whereby it seemeth, that those places and islands were those which now are called the Luçones, Lequeos, and Chinaes. For we know few other parts from whence some of those things are brought, or wherein navigation was so long since used.

Herod.
L. 4.

It is left us also in histories, that a king of Egypt, called Neco, desiring greatly to join the Red sea with the river Nile, commanded the Phœnicians to sail from the strait of Mecca to the farther end of the Mediterranean sea; to see if it made any turn back again unto Egypt: which command they obeyed, sailing towards the south, all along the coast and country of Melinde, Quiloa, and Sofala, till they came to the cape of Bona Esperança, finding the sea continually on the left-hand: but when they had doubled the cape, and found the coast continually on the right-hand, they marvelled much at it: notwithstanding they continued their course forward toward the north, all along the coast of Guiney and the Mediterranean sea, till they came back again into Egypt, whence they first went out: in which discovery they remained two years. And these are thought to be the first that compassed by sea all the coast of Africa, and sailed round about it.

Arist. lib. de
mirandis in
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Gonzalo Fer-
nandes de
Oviedo,
l. 2. c. 3. of
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In the year 590, before the incarnation of Christ, there went out of Spain a fleet of Carthaginian merchants, upon their own proper costs and charges, which sailed towards the west through the high seas, to see if they could find any land: and they sailed so far, that they found at last the islands which we now call the Antiles and New Spain; which Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo saith were then discovered; although Cristopher Columbus afterwards, by his travel, got more exact knowledge of them, and hath left us an evident notice where they be. But all these historians which wrote of these Antiles before, as of doubtful and uncertain things, and of places undiscovered, do now plainly confess the same to be the country of New Spain.

Diod. Sic.
l. 1. c. 3.

In the year 520, before the incarnation, and after the setting out of the aforesaid army, Cambyfes, king of Persia, took Egypt; after whom succeeded Darius, the son

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fon of Hystaspes, and he determined to make an end of the enterprize which king Sesostris had begun, if they had not told him that the Red sea was higher than the land of Egypt; and that, by means of the salt sea coming into the river Nile, all the province would have been lost and undone with hunger and thirst: for the fresh water of the river Nile overfloweth the whole country, and the inhabitants have no other water than that for their drink; whereupon he left his first purpose of prosecuting that enterprize.

—But now to *return to my matter, and to proceed in the Discoveries.—In the year 485 before the incarnation of Christ, Xerxes the king of Persia commanded Sataspis his nephew to go and search, and discover India: who, according to the precept, undertook the voyage; went through the streights of Gibraltar, and passed the promontory of Africa, which now we call the cape of Bona Sperança, standing southward betwixt 34 and 35 degrees in latitude; and, being weary of so great a navigation, turned from thence back again, as Bartholomew Diaz did in our days. Plin. l. 2. c. 67.

Before the coming of Christ 443 years, Himilco, and Hanno his brother, Carthaginian captains, governing that part of Spain which is now called Andalusia, departed from thence, each one with his navy. Hamilco, sailing towards the north, discovered the coasts of Spain, France, England, Flanders, and Germany. And some write farther, that he sailed unto Gotland, and came to the island of Thule, or Iceland, standing under the arctic circle, in 24 degrees from the north pole; and continued in his navigation two years, till he came unto this island; where the day hath in June twenty-two hours, and in December the night also hath twenty-two hours, whereby it is there wonderfully cold.

Now the other brother, Hanno, took his course towards Africa and Guiney, and he discovered the Fortunate Islands, which we call the Canaries; and besides these he discovered others, as the Orcades, Hesperides, and the Gorgades, which now are called the Cape de Verde islands. There he, with his company, went along the coast till they doubled the cape of Bona Sperança; and, taking their course towards the land, they went along by it unto another cape named Aromaticum, which is now called Guardafu, standing south-east from cape Verde in 14 degrees toward the north; and he came to the coast of Arabia, standing in 16 and 17 degrees; and was five years in this voyage, before he returned back into Spain. There are others who say, that he passed not beyond Sierra Leona, but peopled it, and afterwards discovered as far as the line: but it seemeth he made a full navigation, because he spent so much time in his travel †. Plin. l. 6. c. 31.

In

* Though I am very unwilling to abridge or alter any part of this valuable disquisition by Galvano, yet I have ventured to omit his description of some Egyptian animals.

† I here again leave out an account of the inchanters and snakes at the Cape of Good Hope, and other strange relations.

Arist. de
mirandis in
natura audi-
tis. Strabo,
l. 2. p. 68.
de Gaditano-
rum longin-
qua naviga-
tione & in-
gentibus
navibus.

In the year 355 before Christ it is said, that the Spaniards sailed through the main sea till they came to the flats of India, Arabia, and those coasts adjoining, whereunto they carried divers merchandizes, which trade they used in great ships; and, sailing to the north-west, they came unto certain flats, which were covered with the flowing of the sea, and with the ebb were discovered; finding there many tunnies of great bigness, where they commonly used to fish them to their great profit, because they were the first until that time that they had seen, and were greatly esteemed.

The time of Alexander the Great, as appeareth by the ages of the world, was before the coming of Christ 324 years: we all know that he was born in Europe; but he travelled into Asia and Africa, and passed through Arminia, Assyria, Persia, and Bactria, standing northerly in 44 degrees of latitude, which is the farthest country in longitude wherein he was in all his journeys. From thence he descended into India, by the mountains of Imaus, and the valleys of Paropamisus, and prepared a navy in the river Indus, and therewith passed into the ocean; where he turned by the lands of Gedrosia, Caramania, and Persia, unto the great city of Babylon, leaving Onesicritus and Nearchus captains of his fleet, which afterwards came unto him by the streights of the Persian sea, and up the river Euphrates, leaving that country and coast discovered.

Plin. l. 6.
c. 29.

After this Ptolemy reigned king of Egypt, who by some is reputed to have been bastard son unto Philip, father of the aforesaid Alexander the Great. This Ptolemy, imitating the forenamed kings Sesostris and Darius, made a trench or ditch of an hundred feet broad, and thirty feet deep, and ten or twelve leagues in length, till he came to the bitter wells; pretending to have his work run into the sea, from a mouth of the river Nile, called Pelusium, passing now by the city Damietta. But this thing took no effect; for that the Red sea was thought to be higher by three cubits than the land of Egypt, which would have overflowed all the country, to the ruin and loss thereof.

Strabo, l. 17.
p. 560, 561.

In the year 277 before the incarnation, succeeded in the government of the kingdom one Philadelphus, who brought to pass that the merchandizes should come out of Europe to the city of Alexandria, upwards by the river Nile unto a city named Coptus, and from thence to be conveyed by land to an haven standing upon the Red sea, called Myos-Hormos; which way was travelled in the night, the pilots directing themselves by the stars, who were expert in that practice. And because water was scant that way, they used to carry it with them for all the company; till at last, to avoid that trouble, they digged very deep wells, and made large cisterns for the reception of rain-water, by which the way, furnished with that commodity which at first it wanted, grew in continuance of time to be more frequented.

But whereas the straight way was dangerous, by reason of flats and islands, the aforesaid king Philadelphus, with his armies, went on the side of Troglodytica; and in an haven, called Berenice, caused the ships to arrive which came out of India, being a place of more surety, and less peril, from whence they might easily carry the wares

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to the city of Coptus, and so to Alexandria: and by this means Alexandria grew so famous and rich, that in those days there was no city in the world comparable to it. And to speak briefly and particularly of the abundance of traffic there used; it is left written, for an assured truth, that in the time of king Ptolemy Auletes, father to Strabo, l. 17 Cleopatra, it yielded unto him yearly, in customs, seven millions and an half of gold, p. 549. although the traffic was not then quite twenty years old, by way of that city.

But after that this province and country became subject to the emperors of Rome, Ibid. as they were greater in power, and nearer in covetousness, they so enhanced the customs, that within a little time the city yielded double the aforesaid sum: for the traffic grew so exceeding great, that they sent every year into India 120 ships laden with wares; which began to set sail from Myos-Hormos about the middle of July, Plin. l. 6. and returned back again within one year. c. 23.

The merchandize which they carried, amounted to one million two hundred thousand crowns; and there was made, in return of every crown, an hundred; inasmuch that, by reason of this increase of wealth, the matrons or noble women of that time Plin. l. 12. and place were profuse in decking themselves with precious stones, purple, pearls, c. 18. mink, amber, and the like; whereof the writers and historians of that age speak very largely.

Cornelius Nepos, quoted by Pliny, reporteth of a king of Egypt that reigned in his time, called Ptolemæus Lathyrus, from whom one Eudoxus fled upon occasion; and Plin. l. 2. the better to avoid and escape his hands, he passed through the gulph of Arabia, and c. 67. the sea, all along the coast of Africa, and the coast of Bona Sperança, till he came to the island of Cadiz: and this navigation, by that course, was as often used in those days as it is now, if we may give credit to * history: which appeareth the more manifest by this, that Caius Cæsar, the son of Augustus, going into Arabia, found in the Red sea certain pieces of those ships which came thither out of Spain. It was usual also, long after those days, to pass to India by land: for so did the kings of the Soldans, the princes of Bactria, and other famous captains, who travelling thither, and into Scythia, by land, had the view of those provinces and countries, till they came that way to the west, and to the seas thereof on the north part, whereto many merchants then travelled. Marcus Paulus Venetus writeth much hereof: and though at the first his book was esteemed a fabulous piece, yet now there is better credit given to it; for, by the late experience of travellers and merchants who have been into those parts, the names of the countries, cities, and towns, with their situations, latitudes, and commodities, are now found true, as he, and other historiographers of that time, have reported.

In the year 200 before the incarnation, it is recorded, that the Romans sent an army, by sea, into India, against the great Can of Cathaia; which, passing through the streight of Gibraltar, and running to the north-west, found, opposite to cape Finisterre,

* The reader is referred to a preceding *Historical Memoir of Commerce and the Progress of Maritime Discovery by the Antients*, for an examination into the truth of this voyage, and of the Periplus of Hanno and Hamico.

terre, ten islands, wherein were large quantities of tin, which may be those that were called the Cassiterides: and being come to 50 degrees of latitude, they found a streight, passing through which towards the west, they arrived in the empire of India; where they gave battle to the king of Cathala, and then returned to the city of Rome. Which thing, howsoever it may seem possible or not, true or false, yet so I find it left us in the histories of that time.

Xiphil. in
vita Traj.

In the year 100 after the incarnation of Christ, the emperor Trajan prepared an army by sea, on the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; but departed from them, and sailed to the islands of Zyzara; and, passing the streight of Persia, entered into the ocean, and sailed towards India, along the coast, till he came to the place where Alexander had been: there he took certain ships which came from Bengal, of whom he learned the state of that country. But because he was then in years, and weary with his travel, but especially because he found there small relief for his army, he returned back.

After the Romans had got most part of the world, there were, in that age, many notable discoveries made. But then came the Goths, Moors, and other barbarous nations, and destroyed all: for in the year 412 after the incarnation of Christ, they took the city of Rome: and the Vandals came out of Spain, and conquered Africa.

And in the year 450, king Attila destroyed many cities in Italy; at which time the city of Venice began: and in this age the Franks and Vandals entered into France.

In the year 474, the empire of Rome was lost, and fell from the Romans to the Goths.

After this came the Lombards into Italy, namely, in the year 560.

About this time the sect of the Arians prevailed greatly; and Merlin, the English prophet, flourished.

In brief, in the year 611 sprung up the Mahumetan sect, and Morisco regiment, which invaded both Africa and Spain.

Ramusius,
v. 1. f. 372.
P. 2.

By this it may appear, that in that age all the world was in a state of war, and all places very tumultuous; insomuch that traffic and merchandize ceased; for no nation durst trade one with another, either by sea or land: nothing as then remained steadfast, neither in kingdoms, signiories, religions, laws, arts, sciences, nor navigation. Nor did even the records and writings of such things remain; but were all burnt and consumed by the barbarous cruelties and unbridled power of the Goths, who became so covetous and ambitious, that they purposed of themselves to begin a new world, and to root out the memory, and blot out the knowledge, of all other nations besides.

But they that succeeded in the government of things, perceiving the great losses that the Christian world had by the want of traffic, and stagnation of navigation, whereby those commodities and merchandizes could not be spent, which before went ordinarily from one nation to another by the use of trade; to the end that this decay and loss might be repaired, and the treasures of the east be imparted with the west, as it was wont in times of peace, they began to devise a way to pass to India; which was not as the former, by the Red Sea and the river Nile, but a way of farther sailing,

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ing, farther length, and greater cost also: for they brought their ware up the river *Ib. f. 373.* Indus, and there unladed it, carrying it by land through the country of Paropamisus, by caravans, unto the province of Bactria; and then shipped it in barks on the river Oxus, which falls into the Caspian sea; and so sailed over that sea to an haven of the river Rha, named Citracan, or Astrican, and so upwards in the said river, which is now called Volga: and, as it appears, they carried it to the city of Novogrod, in the province of Resan, which now belongs to the great duke of Muscovy, standing towards the north, in 54 degrees of latitude: thence they travelled, over land, to the province of Sarmatia, to the river Tanais, which is the division of Europe from Asia; where they again laded it in barks, and carried it down the river, into the lake Maëotis, and to the city of Caffa, which, in ancient time, was called Theodosia, and then belonged to the Genoese, who came thither for those wares in their galliasses, or great ships.

It is also left written, that the trade this way endured till the reign of Commodita, *Strabo, l. 11.* emperor of Armenia, who provided for a better course, and commanded this traffic of the spices to be continued by the Caspian sea, and so through the kingdom of Iberia, which now is called Georgiana; and from thence they entered by the river Phasis, now Phasso, into Pontus Euxinus, and to the city of Trapezunda, standing in upwards of 40 degrees north latitude: and to that place came shipping for the merchandizes out of Europe and Africa.

It is further recorded concerning this way of traffic, that Nicanor determined, or *Ibid.* had already begun, to open above 120 miles of land, which lieth between the Caspian *Plin. l. 6.* sea and Pontus Euxinus, that they might come and go by water with their spices, *c. 11.* drugs, and other commodities there used: but in the mean time this mischief happened,—Ptolemy Ceraunos killed him; and by his death this worthy and famous enterprise ceased, without effect.

But the other way being at last also lost, by reason of the wars of the Turks, it pleased God to open another way to these merchandizes from the isle of Sumatra, the city of Malacca, and the island of Java, unto Bengal, carrying them up the river Ganges to the city of Agra; from whence they travelled, over land, to another city standing near the river Indus, named Boghar; where they discharged, because the city of Cabor, or Laor, stands too far within the land, being the principal city of the Mogores. From thence they went forward to the great city of Samarcand, standing in the country of Bactria: and there the merchants of India, Persia, and Turkey, met, bringing thither their several commodities, as cloth of gold, velvets, chamolets, scarlet and woollen cloths, which were carried to Cathay, and the great kingdom of China; whence they brought back gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, silk, musk, rhubarb, and many other things of great value. After this, these merchandizes, drugs, and spiceries, were carried in ships upon the Indian sea, to the streight of Ormus, and the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and were unladed in the city of Balsara, standing in 31 degrees towards the north; from thence they were carried, over land, to the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Barutti, standing on the same side, in 35 degrees; and

there the Venetian galleys, or gallies, which transported pilgrims into the Holy Land, came and received those goods.

In the year 1153, in the time of Frederick Barbarossa, 'tis said, that there came to Lubeck, a city in Germany, a canoe, with certain Indians, like a long barge, which seemed to have come from the coast of Baccalaos, standing in the same latitude with Germany. The Germans greatly wondered to see such a barge and such people; not knowing from whence they came, nor understanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that country, as now there is. It may be credible, that though the boat was small in respect of those huge seas, yet the wind and water might bring them thither; as we see in our days, that the Almadie, which is but a small boat, comes, notwithstanding, from Quiloa, Mofambique, and Sofala, to the island of Saint Helena; a small spot of land, standing in the main ocean, off the coast of Bona Sperança, so far separated.

Joan. Leo
African.
Ramusius,
v. 1. f. 373.

In the year 1300, after Christ, the great soldan of Cairo commanded, that the spices, drugs, and merchandizes of India, should be carried through the Red Sea, as it was before; at which time they unladed on the Arabian side, at the haven of Judea, and carried them to the house at Mecca; and the carriers of it were the pilgrims: so that each prince used a custom to augment the honour and increase the profit of his country: and these soldans had especial regard for Cairo, from whence the wares were carried to the countries of Egypt, Libya, and Africa; the kingdoms of Tunis, Tremessen, Fez, Morocco, and Suz; and some of it was carried beyond the mountains of Atlas, to the city of Tombuto, and the kingdom of the Jalophos; till afterwards, that the Portuguese brought it about the Cape of Bona Sperança to the city of Lisbon: as, in a convenient place, we purpose to shew more at large.

In the year 1344 king Peter, the fourth of that name, reigning in Arragon, the chronicles of his time report, that one Don Lewis, of Cerda, grandson of Don John, of Cerda, craved aid of him to go and conquer the Canary islands, standing in 28 degrees of latitude to the north; because they were given to him by pope Clement the sixth, who was a Frenchman: by which means, in those days, there grew a knowledge of those islands in all Europe, and particularly in Spain: for such great princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment, without great certainty.

About this time also the island of Madeira was discovered by an Englishman, named Macham; who, sailing out of England into Spain, with a woman of his, was driven out of his direct course by a tempest, and arrived in that island, and cast anchor in that haven which is now called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his lover was then sea-sick, he went on land with some of his company; but in the mean time his ship weighed, and put to sea, leaving him behind; which accident occasioned his lover to die of grief. Macham, who was passionately fond of her, erected a chapel, or hermitage, in the island, to deposit her remains, naming it Jesus Chapel; and graved on the stone of her tomb both their names, with the occasion that brought them there. After this he made himself a boat out of a tree (trees being there of a great circumference), and went to sea in it, with those men of his company that were

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MARITIME DISCOVERY.

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left with him, and fell in with the coast of Africa, without fail or oar: the Moors, among whom he came, took it for a miracle, and presented him to the king of the country, who, also admiring the accident, sent him and his company to the king of Castile.

In the year 1395 king Henry III. reigning in Castile, the information Macham gave of this island, and also of the ship wherein he went thither, moved many of France and Castile to go and discover it, and the great Canary. They who went, were principally the Andalusians, the Biscanians, and the Guepuscoes, carrying with them many people and horses: but I know not whether the charge of that voyage was theirs, or the king's. But by whomsoever it was set out, they seem to be the first that discovered the Canaries, and landed in them; where also they took 150 of the islanders prisoners: concerning the time of this discovery, there is some difference among writers, for some affirm this to have been done in the year 1405.

THE PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

THE chronicles of Portugal have this record, that after the incarnation of Christ 1415, king John the first, of Portugal, departed from the city of Lisbon with the prince don Duarte or Edward, and don Peter and don Henry, his sons, with other lords and nobles of his realm, for Africa; where he took the great city of Ceuta, standing on the north side thereof, betwixt 35 and 36 degrees in latitude: which was one of the principal causes of the enlarging the dominions of Portugal.

John de
Barros Afia
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 2.

When they were come from thence, Henry, the king's * third son, desirous to enlarge the kingdom, and to discover strange and unknown countries, being then in Algarve, gave direction for the discovery of the coast of Mauritania: for in those days none of the Portuguese had ever passed the cape de Non, standing in 29 degrees of latitude. And for the better accomplishing of this discovery, the aforesaid don Henry prepared a fleet, and gave command to the chief captains to proceed in discovery from the said cape forward; which they did: but when they came to another cape, named Bajador, there was not one of them that durst go beyond it: at which cowardly faintness the prince was exceedingly displeased.

In the year 1417 king John the second reigning in Castile, and his mother, lady Catharine, then governing, one monsieur Ruben, of Bracamonte, who was then admiral of France, craved the conquest of the Canary islands, with the title of king of them, for a kinsman of his, called monsieur John Betancourt: which being granted him by the queen, and farther also furnished out, he departed from Seville with a good army. But the principal cause that moved him to enter into this action, was to discover and perfectly to take a view of the island of Madeira, whereof Macham before had given so much information. But, for all that, he went to the Canaries, and carried with him a friar called Mendo, to be as bishop thereof, admitted by pope Martin the fifth. When they were landed, they won Lancerota, Forteventura, Gomera, and Ferro; from whence they sent into Spain many slaves, honey, wax, camphire, hides, orchard, figs, sanguis draconis, and other merchandizes, whereof they made good profit: and this army also, as they report, discovered Porto Santo. The island that they inhabited was Lancerota, where they built a castle of stone, for their better defence and security.

John de
Barros,
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 2.

In the year 1418, one John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristram Vaz Teixera, gentlemen of the household to don Henry, the king's * third son, perceiving the desire their

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* It is singular that a Portuguese should not have been more correct: Henry was the fifth son.

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master had to discover new countries, and willing in that course to do him some service, craved of him a bark, and licence to undertake the action, which they obtained; and then sailed to the coast of Africa, where they were overtaken by a terrible tempest, but were succoured by falling in with the land, and entered into an haven called Santo, where they landed, and remained two years.

In the year 1420, they discovered the island of Madeira, where the found the chapel, stone, and tomb, whereon the aforesaid Macham had ingraven his name. There are others who write, that a certain Castilian, perceiving the desire and favour which don Henry had to navigation, told him, that they had found the island of Porto Santo; which being but a small thing, they made no account of it:—Don Henry sent Bartholomew Perestrelo, John Gonzales Zarco, Triftran Vaz Teixeira; and by the signs and likelihoods they had received, they went to Porto Santo, and there remained two years. After that, namely in 1420, they sailed also to the island of Madeira, where they found the memorial and monument left by Macham the Englishman.

John de
Barros,
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 3.

As for monsieur Betancourt, who entered into the conquest of the Canaries, as is above mentioned, he was slain in the midst of the action, and left behind him, for his heir, a kinsman of his, called Menante; who, after that, sold the said islands to one Peter Barba, of Seville. But others say, that monsieur John Betancourt went into France to prepare a new army to complete this conquest, and left there a nephew of his; who, because he heard no more of his uncle, and finding he could no longer maintain the war, he sold the Canaries to don Henry, the king of Portugal's third son, for a certain thing that he gave him in the island of Madeira.

Ib. l. 1. c. 12.

In the year 1424, they write, that the said don Henry prepared a Navy and army to conquer these islands, wherein there went, as Captain-general, one don Ferdinando de Castro; but by the valliantness and warlike behaviour of the natives, they were repulsed: whereupon don Ferdinando, considering the great charge, and little success, gave over the action, and returned back again. After this, don Henry resigned over these islands to the crown of Castile, in consideration of the aids which Betancourt had received. But the Castilians agree not to this report: for they say, that neither the kings of Portugal, nor don Henry, would render the islands, till they came in question before pope Eugenius the fourth; who, fully understanding the matter, gave the conquest of the islands, by order of judgment, to the king of Castile, in the year 1431; whereupon this contention ceased, touching the title of the Canaries, between the kings of Portugal and Castile.

The Islands, being seven in number, were called by the name of Fortunatæ, standing in 28 degrees to the north, where the longest day is but 13 hours, and the longest night the same, lying distant from Spain 200 leagues, and from the coast of Africa 18 leagues. The people were idolaters, and eat flesh raw for want of fire; they had no iron, and sowed without any tool: they raised and tilled the ground with the horns of oxen and goats. Every island spoke a separate language: divers paganish

customs

customs prevailed there; but now the Christian faith is planted among them. The commodities of these islands are wheat, barley, sugar, wine, and Canary birds, much esteemed for their delightful harmony.

In the island of Ferro they have no other water but that which proceeds in the night from a * tree, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, serving the whole island, both men and cattle; a thing notorious, and known to many.

In the year 1428 it is written, that don Pedro, the king of Portugal's † eldest son, who was a great traveller, went into England, France, Germany, and from thence to the Holy Land, and other places; and came home by Italy, taking Rome and Venice in his way; from whence he brought a ‡ map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described: the streight of Magellan was called in it, *the Dragon's Tail*; the cape of Bona Sperança, *the Fore-front of Africa*; and so of other places: by which map, don Henry, the king's third son, was much helped, and furthered in his discoveries.

It was told me, by Francis de Sofa Tavares, that in the year 1528 don Ferdinando, the king's eldest son, shewed him a § map, found in the study of Alcobaza, that had been made 120 years before, which map set forth all the navigation of the East Indies, with the cape of Bona Sperança, as our later maps have described it: whereby it appeareth, that in antient time there was as much, or more, discovered, than there is now.—Notwithstanding all the travel, pains, and expences, in this action of don Henry, yet he was never weary of his purposed discoveries. At length a servant of his, named Gillianes, was the first that passed the cape Bajador, a place before terrible to all men; who brought word, that it was not so dangerous as was reported: for on the other side of it he landed; and, in a manner of taking possession, he set up a cross of wood, to remain as a mark or token of his discovery so far.

In the year 1433, in the month of August, don John died; and his son don Duarte, or Edward, succeeded him in the kingdom.

In the year 1434 don Henry set out one Alphonso Gonfales Baldaja, and Gillianes aforesaid, and they went to another cape, which was beyond the former; and going on land, perceived the country to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfy don Henry with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voyage, and went forward, till they came to a certain point of land, from whence they turned back again.

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* This tree is mentioned by *Du Perier* in his History of Voyages, and has been described, by a Mr. Lewis Jackson. An engraving of the tree appears in *De Bry*. See also *Linschoten*, p. 177. and *Aisley's Collection*, vol. i. p. 544.

† Here Galvano is again guilty of an inaccuracy. *Edward* was the eldest, and *Pedro* the third son.

‡ This circumstance is noticed by Bruce, vol. ii. p. 96. Dr. Vincent considers this as a copy of Marco Polo's map, which was exhibited in the church of St. Michael di Murano at Venice. (*Periplus Erythrean*, p. 105. n. 345.)

§ If this is really fact, it still, as Dr. Vincent observes, proves nothing: the Cape of Good Hope was inserted from the imagination of the draftsman. (*Periplus*, p. 200.) See also preceding page, 65.

Barros
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l. 1. c. 4.

Ib. c. 5.

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In the year 1438 king Edward, called don Duarte, died; and don Alphonso, the prince, being young, don Pedro, his uncle, governed the kingdom.

In the year 1441, don Henry sent out two ships; and the captains were, in the one Trifan, and Antonio Gonfales in the other. Being put to sea, they took a prize upon the coast, and sailed on to cape Blanco, that is, the White Cape, standing in 20 degrees; and informed don Henry of the state of the country, by the Moors which they brought from thence. Whereupon he sent one Fernan Lopez de Savado, to give knowledge thereof to pope Martin, trusting to make these things commodious to the Holy Church. Upon which knowledge the pope granted indulgences, and everlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, unto those which should die in this enterprize.

Barros
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 6.

After this, in the year 1443, don Henry commanded Antonio Gonfales to carry back the slaves which he had brought, and to ransom them in their country; which he did, and the Moors gave in exchange for them again, black Moors with curled hair, and some gold; so that now that place is called Rio del Oro, that is, the Golden River; whereby the desire of the discovery might be the more increased.

Ib. c. 7.

Not long after he sent out another named Nunnez Trifan, who came unto the islands of Arguin, where he took more slaves, and brought them to Portugal in the year 1444.

Hereupon also one Lanfarte, a groom of don Gilian's chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certain ships, which went coasting till they came to the islands of Garze, where they took two hundred slaves: which were the first that were brought from thence to Portugal.

In the year 1445, there went as captain of a barque, one Gonfalo de Syntra, an esquire belonging to don Henry, into those parts; and he went on land, where he was taken with six or seven more of his company, which place was therefore called after his name, Angra de Gonfalo de Syntra. This was the first loss, which the Portuguese received in their discoveries.

Ib. c. 9.

In the year following don Henry sent out three caravels, wherein went as captains Antonio Gonfales, Diego Aloizio, and Gomes Perez, who had their direction, not to enter into Rio del Oro, nor to bear themselves disorderly; but to travel in peace, and to convert as many infidels as they could to Christianity: but none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act.

In the same year 1446, another esquire belonging to the king of Portugal, called Denis Fernandes, of the city of Lisbon, entered into these discoveries, more to win fame than to reap commodity by them. And he, being in his voyage, came to the river Sanaga, standing between fifteen and sixteen degrees of latitude towards the north, where he took certain Negroes; and not contented therewith, he went forward, and discovered Cape Verde, standing in fourteen degrees on the same side; and there he set up upon the land a cross of wood, and then returned with great content.

Ib. c. 9. and
c. 13.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 4.
c. 14.

In the year 1447 one Nunnez Trifan went forth to discover in a caravel, and he passed the aforefaid Cape Verde, and Rio Grande, and went past it unto another, standing beyond it in twelve degrees, where he was also taken, with eighteen Portugals more; but the ship came home again in safety, conducted by four or five which escaped, the hands of the Negroes.

In this year also, 1447, it happened that there came a Portugal ship through the streight of Gibraltar; and, being taken with a great tempest, was forced to run westward more than willingly the men would, and at last they fell upon an island which had seven cities, and the people spake the Portugal tongue; and they demanded if the Moors did yet trouble Spain, whence they had fled for the loss which they received by the death of the king of Spain, don Roderigo. The boatswain of the ship brought home a little of the sand, and sold it unto a goldsmith of Lisbon, out of which he had a good quantity of gold. Don Pedro, understanding this, being then governor of the realm, caused all the things thus brought home, and made known, to be recorded in the house of justice.

There be some that think, that those islands whereunto the Portugals were thus driven, were the Antiles, or New Spain, alleging good reasons for their opinion; which here I omit, because they serve not to my purpose. But all their reasons seem to agree, that they should be that country, which is called Nova Spagna.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1449, the king don Alfonso gave licence unto his uncle don Henry to inhabit the islands of the Açores, which were long before discovered. And in the year 1458, this king went into Africa, and there he took the town called Alcaçer. And in the year 1461, he commanded Signior Mendez, a gentleman of his house, to build the castle of Arguin, whereof he gave unto him the government, as to his lieutenant.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1462, there came into the realm of Portugal three Genoese of good parentage, the chief of whom was called Antony de Noli, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew; and each of these had his several ship, craving liberty of don Henry to discover the islands of Cape Verde, which was granted them. Others say, that the places which they discovered, were those which antiquity called the *Gorgades*, *Hesperides*, and *Dorcadæ*: but they named them Mayo, Saint Jago, and Saint Philip, because they discovered them on those saints' days: but they are also called by some the islands of Antonio.

In the year following, 1463, this good nobleman don Henry died; leaving from Cape de Non discovered unto the mountain called Sierra Leona, standing on this side the line, in eight degrees of latitude, where no man had been before that time.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1.

In the year 1469, the king of Portugal did let out for yearly rent the trade of Guiney, unto one called Fernan Gomez, which country was afterwards called *The Mine*. He let it out for five years, for two hundred thousand reys by the year; which is of our English money 138l. 17s. 9d. ob.; and added unto his lease this condition, that every year he should discover an hundred leagues.

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In the year following, which was 1470, this king went into Africa with his son prince John, where they took the town of Arzila; and the people of the city of Tangier fled out for fear, and that he took also. It seemeth that good fortune followeth a courageous attempt.

In the year 1471, Fernan Gomez gave command, that the coast should be discovered as it lay: which was undertaken by John de S. Aren, and John de Scovar; and they went and found the Mine in five degrees of latitude.

And the next year, which was 1472, one Fernando da Poo discovered the island now called after his name. Also about this time the islands of Saint Thomas and del Principe were discovered, standing under the line; with the firm land also, wherein is the kingdom of Benin, reaching to the Cape de Santa Catarina, standing on the south side of the line, in three degrees. The man that made this discovery was a servant of the king's, and his name was Sequetra.

Many suppose, that then also there were those places, countries, and islands discovered, which before were never known to us since the flood.

In the year 1480, the valiant king don Alphonso died, and left many things worthy of memory behind him; and his son don John the second succeeded him; who in the year 1481, gave direction for the building of the * castle de Mina to one Diego d'Azambuxa; who did so, and was made captain of it. Barros decad. 1. l. 1. c. 2.

In the year 1484, the aforesaid king John sent out one Diego Caon, a knight of his court, to discover; and he went to the river of Congo, standing on the south side in seven or eight degrees of latitude; where he erected a pillar of stone, with the royal arms and letters of Portugal, wherein he wrote the command that he had received from the king, with the time and day of his being there. From thence he went unto a river near the tropic of Capricorn, setting still up pillars of stone where he thought it convenient; and so came back again unto Congo, and to the king of that country; who thereupon sent an ambassador and men of credit into Portugal. Ib. l. 3. c. 3.

In the next year, or the second following, one John Alonso d'Aveiro, came from the kingdom of Benin, and brought home pepper † with a tail; which was the first of that kind seen in Portugal.

In the year 1487, king John sent to discover India over land; in which journey went one Pedro de Covillan, a servant of the king's, and Alfonso de Payva, because they could speak the Arabian tongue. They went out in the month of May, and the same year they took shipping at Naples, and arrived in the isle of Rhodes, and lodged in the house that was provided for the Portugal knights of that order: from thence they went to Alexandria, and so to Cairo, and thence to the haven of Toro, in the company of the caravans or carriers, which were Moors. There they took shipping, and, being on the Red sea, they arrived at the city of Aden, and there they separated themselves: for Alfonso de Payva went towards Ethiopia, and Pedro de Covillan into India, who came unto the cities of Cananor and Calicut, and came back unto Goa; where Ib. l. 3. c. 5.

* St. George del Mina, see PLATE the second.

† Long pepper.

where he took shipping unto Sofala, being on the coast of Africa, in the southern latitude of twenty degrees, to see the mines that were of so great name. From Sofala he turned back to Mofambique, and unto the cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinde, till he came back again unto the city of Aden; where he and Alfonso de Payva divided themselves; and thence he sailed again through the Red sea unto the city of Cairo, where he thought to have met with his companion: but there he heard that he was dead, by the letters that he received from king John his master, in which letters he was farther commanded to travel into the country and dominions of Presbyter John.

Upon this command he provided for his farther journey, and from Cairo went back again to the haven of Toro, and from thence to Aden, where he had been twice before; and there hearing of the fame of the city of Ormuz, he determined to go thither; and therefore went along the coast of Arabia, unto the cape Razalgate, standing under the tropic of Cancer; and from thence he went to Ormuz, standing in twenty-seven degrees on that side. There he learned and understood of the streight of Persia, and of that country: and entered there into the Red sea, and passed over to the realm of the Abassini, which is commonly called Presbyter John's country, or Ethiopia; and there he was detained till the year 1520, when there came thither the ambassador don Roderigo de Lima. This Pedro de Covillan was the first Portugal that ever knew and saw the Indies and those seas, and other places adjoining thereunto.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 3.
c. 9.

In the year 1490, the king sent unto Congo one Gonzalo de Sofa, a gentleman with three ships; and in them sent home the ambassador to Congo, which was sent into Portugal, whom Diego Caon had brought from thence: who, at his being in Portugal, was baptized, both himself, and others of his company.

The aforesaid Gonzalo de Sofa died in that journey by the way, and in his room they chose his nephew Ruy de Sofa for their captain; and so being come unto Congo, the king was very glad of their coming, and yielded himself, and the greater part of his realm, to be baptized: whereof the Portuguese had good cause to rejoice, seeing by them so many infidels were converted from gentility, and paganism, to Christianity.

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THE DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS,

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CONTINUATION OF THOSE MADE BY THE PORTUGUESE.

IN the year 1492, in the time of don Ferdinando king of Castile, he being at the siege of Granada, dispatched one Christopher Columbus, a Genoesse, with three ships, to go and discover Nova Spagna; who first had offered his service for a western discovery unto king John of Portugal, but he would not entertain him.

He being sufficiently furnished for this enterprize, departed from the town of Palos the third day of August, having with him as captains and pilots Martin Alfonso Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother, with an hundred and twenty persons more in his company: and some affirm, that they were the first that sailed by latitudes. They took the Canaries in their way, and there refreshed themselves, taking their course thence towards * Cipango; but finding the sea by the way full of weeds, they were amazed, and with great fear arrived at the Antilles the tenth day of October, and the first island that they descried was called Guanahany, where they went on land, and took possession of it, and named it San Salvador. This island standeth in 25 degrees of northerly latitude. And after that they found many islands, which they called the Princes, because they were the first that they had discovered.

The savages of those parts call these islands by the name of Lucaios, having indeed several names for them; and they stand on the north side, almost under the tropic of Cancer. As for the island of St. James, or Jamaica, it standeth between 16 and 17 degrees.

Thence they went to the island which the natives of the country call Cuba, and the Spaniards call it Ferdinandina, because their king's name was Ferdinando, standing in 22 degrees: from whence the Indians conducted them unto another island, which they call Hayti, and the Spaniards called it Isabella, in the memory of the queen of Castile, who was so called, and they named it also Hispaniola. In that island the admiral ship of Columbus was cast away; with the timber and planks whereof they made a fort, wherein they left thirty-eight men, and a captain called Roderigo de Arana, to learn the language and customs of the country. They brought from thence musters and shews of gold, pearls, and other things, which that country yielded; and ten Indians also, whereof six died, the rest were brought home and baptized.

Hereupon

* See chap. the second, for the discovery of Porto Santo, and Madeira.

Hereupon there grew such a common desire of travel among the Spaniards, that they were ready to leap into the sea to swim if it had been possible, into those new found parts. The aforesaid company of Columbus, at their coming home, took in their way the isles of the Açores; and the fourth day of March in the year 1493 they entered into the bar of Lisbon, which discovery pleased not the king of Portugal: whereupon rose a contention between those two kings.

Christopher Columbus, being arrived, went presently into Castile, with the news of all things, and acquainted king Ferdinando with the discontentedness of the king of Portugal. Whereupon he, and the queen Isabella his wife, sent word thereof unto pope Alexander VI. whereat he and the Italians were in great admiration, marvelling that there was any more land besides that which was under the Romans. But the end of this matter was this: Alexander the pope gave these countries by his judgment unto the kingdoms of Leon and Castile; with this condition, that they should labour to extirpate idolatry, and plant the holy Faith in those countries.

Fernando the king, having received this answer, was glad of it; and sent Christopher Columbus again on the former voyage, having made him admiral, and given him other honours, with particular arms, and a posy written about his arms to this effect—

For Castile and for Leon
A new world found out Colon.

In the year 1493, the twenty-fifth of the month of October, Christopher Columbus went back unto the Antiles; and from Cadiz he took his course, having in his company seventeen ships, and fifteen hundred men in them, with his brethren Bartholomew Columbus, and Diego Columbus, with other knights, gentlemen, men of law, and religious men—with chalices, crosses, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignity from pope Alexander; and the tenth day after their setting forth, they arrived at the Canaries; and from thence, in twenty-five or thirty days, they sailed unto the Antiles: the first island that they saw standing in 14 degrees towards the north, due west from Cape Verde on the coast of Africa. They say that the distance from thence to the Canaries is 800 leagues. The name they gave it was Descada, that is, the Desired or Wished Island, for the great desire which the company had to come to sight of land. After that they discovered many more, which they named the Virgins, which the natives of the country call the Caribees, for that the men of that country are good warriors, and shoot well with bows: they poison their arrows with an herb, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himself like as a mad dog doth.

From these islands, and others, they went unto the principal island there, which they of the country call Boriquen, and the Spaniards call it St. John; and thence to Hispaniola or Isabella, where they found all the men dead which they had left there. Here the admiral left the most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to be governors there; and so took two ships, and went to discover the other side of the island of Cuba, and from thence to Jamaica. All these islands stand from

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16 unto 20 degrees of northerly latitude. In the mean time that the admiral failed about, his brethren, and they that were left with them, were much troubled, because the savages did rise against them. So that Christopher Colon went back again into Spain, to tell the king and queen of his adventures.

In the year 1494, and in the month of January, there was an agreement made of the differences which were between the two kings of Spain and Portugal. For the which agreement there were sent out of Portugal Ruy de Sofa, and Don John his son, and the doctor Ayres de Almada; and for the king of Spain there were Don Henry Henriques, Don John de Cardenas, and the doctor Maldonado. All these met in the town of Tordeillas, and they divided the world from the north to the south, by a meridian which standeth west from the islands of cape Verde 300 leagues: so that the one half which lay unto the east should belong unto Portugal, and that which lay to the west, to the king of Spain; whereby, notwithstanding, liberty to travel was left equal unto both.

In the year following, 1495, John (the second) king of Portugal died, and Emanuel his cousin began to reign.

In the year 1496, there was a Venetian in England called John Cabota, who having knowledge of such a new discovery as this was, and perceiving, by the globe, that the islands before spoken of stood almost in the same latitude with his country, and much nearer to England than to Portugal, or to Castile, he acquainted king Henry the seventh, then king of England, with the same; wherewith the said king was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two ships, and three hundred men: which departed and set sail in the spring of the year; and they sailed westward till they came in sight of land, in 45 degrees of latitude toward the north, and then went strait northward till they came into 60 degrees of latitude, where the day is 18 hours long, and the night is very clear and bright. There they found the air cold, and great islands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms sounding; and so from thence, finding the land to turn eastward, they trended along by it, discovering all the bay and river named Deseado, to see if it passed on the other side. Then they sailed back again till they came to 38 degrees toward the equinoctial line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which say, that he went as far as the cape of Florida, which standeth in 25 degrees.

In the year 1497, the king of Spain, don Fernando, sent out Christopher Columbus with six ships, and he himself provided two ships at his own cost; and, sending his brother before, he made sail from the bay of Cadiz, carrying with him his son, don Diego Colon. It was then reported, that he went to take the island of Madeira, because he mistrusted the Frenchmen, and therefore sent thither three ships: others say it was to the Canaries. But however it was, this is true, that he and three more went unto the islands of cape Verde, and ran along by the line, finding great calms and rain; and the first land which they came unto of the Antiles was an island, standing in * nine

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historiæ l. 1.
c. 21.

* Galvano, considering the time when he wrote, in general fixes the situation of different places with more accuracy than might be expected: though he seldom, if ever, is entirely free from error. The N.E. point of La Trinidad lies in lat. 20 degrees, 45 min. N.

degrees of latitude, towards the north, joining fast unto the main land, which they called La Trinidad; and so he entered into the gulf of Paria, and came out of the mouth, which they name Bocca de Dragone, or *the Dragon's mouth*; and they took their course hard by the coast, where they found three small islands, which they named Los Testigos, that is to say, *The Witnesses*, beyond which standeth the island of Cubagua, where is great fishing of muscic-pears; where also, as they say, there springeth a well of oil: and beyond that island they came to the isles of Frailes, Roques, Aruba, and Curacao, with other small ones all along the bay: and they came to the point of Cabo de Vela, and discovered along the coast almost 200 leagues: from whence they crossed over to Hispaniola, having had also sight of the island called Beata.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 4.
c. 2. and to
the end of the
11. chapter.

In this same year, 1497, on * the 20th day of the month of June, one VASQUES DE GAMA sailed from Lisbon, by king Emmanuel's command, to India, with three ships; wherein there went for captains—Vasques de Gama, Paulus de Gama his brother, and Nicolas Coello, with 120 men; with whom also there went one ship, laden only with provisions; and, in fourteen days, they came unto cape Verde, unto the island of Saint Jago, where they refreshed themselves: and from thence they went along the coast, beyond the cape of Bona Sperança, whereupon they erected certain pillars of stone, and so came unto Mosambique, standing in 15 degrees to the south of the line: where they staid not long, but went from thence to Mombaza, and unto Melinde; where the king of that place gave them pilots, which conducted them into India; in which discovery they found out Los Baxos do Padua, that is to say, the flats of Padua.

In the year 1498, in the month of May, they came to an anchor before the city of Calicut, and Panama, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set sail towards the north, discovering the coast all along till they came to the island of Angediva, which standeth on that side in 15 degrees of latitude, where they came to an anchor in the beginning of October: and so they departed from Angediva in February in the year 1499, and came in sight of the coast of Africa, about Melinde, toward the north three or four degrees; and from thence they sailed unto the said city, and so unto Mosambique again, and to the cape of Bona Sperança, sailing along by the coast; and then they came to the islands of cape Verde, and last of all to the city of Lisbon, in the month of September, having been in the voyage twenty-six months.

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In the year 1499, on the 13th of the month of November, there departed from Palos one Vincent Yannez Pinson, and his nephew Aries Pinson, with four ships, well appointed, at their own cost and charges, to discover the new world, under the licence of the king of Castile; and with command not to touch there, where the admiral Columbus had been. And so they went to the islands of cape Verde, and passed the line to the southward, and discovered the cape of Saint Augustine, standing on that side, in eight degrees of latitude; and there they wrote on the rinds of pine-trees the names of the king and queen, also the year and day when they arrived there.

* OSORIO, on the contrary, says it was on the ninth of July.

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there. They fought with the people of Brasil, but got nothing; they took their course all along the coast towards the west, unto the river Maria Tambal; and at that time they had taken thirty and odd prisoners. The chief places where they touched were the cape of Saint Augustine, and the angle or point of Saint Luke, and Tierra de los Humos; the rivers of Marannon, and of the Amazonas, and Rio dulce, or the sweet river, and other places along the coast: and they came to ten degrees of latitude on the north side, where they lost two ships and their company, and remained in that voyage of discovery ten months and fifteen days.

In the year 1500, and in the month of March, one Pedro Alvarez Cabral sailed out of Lisbon with thirteen ships, with command not to come near the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he, losing the sight of one of his ships, went to seek her; and in seeking her lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of the land. The general was so long in seeking his ship, that the company were weary of it, and intreated him to leave his enterprize. The next day they fell in sight of the coast of Brasil: whereupon the general commanded a bark to go to land, and seek an haven; which they did, and found a good and safe haven, and they named it Puerto Seguro, that is to say, the safe haven, standing on the south side in 17 degrees of latitude. From thence they sailed towards the cape of Bona Sperança, and Melinde, and crossed over to the river of Cochin, which before was not known, where they laded themselves with pepper; and, at their return, Saicho de Thovar discovered the city of Sofala upon the coast of Africa.

Baros de-
cad. 1. l. 5.
c. 2.

In this same year 1500, it is reported, that Gaspar Cortereal craved a general licence of the king Emmanuel to discover the Newfoundland. He went from the island Tercera with two ships, well appointed, at his own cost; and he sailed unto that climate which standeth under the north in 50 degrees of latitude, which is a land now called after his name; and he came home in safety unto the city of Lisbon: and, making another time this voyage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came back to Portugal. Wherefore his brother Michael Cortereal went to seek him, with three ships, well appointed, at his own cost; and when they came unto that coast, and found so many entrances of rivers and havens, every ship went into her several river, with this rule and order, that they all three should meet again the 20th of August. The two other ships did so; and they, seeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certain time, returned back to Portugal, and never heard any more news of him, nor yet any other memory. But that country is called, the land of Cortereal, unto this day.

In the year 1501, in the month of March, John de Nova departed from the city of Lisbon with four ships, and passed the line on the south side, into eight degrees of latitude, and he discovered an island, which he called the Isle de Ascension: and he went unto Mosambique, and to Melinde, and from thence he crossed over to the other side, where they took lading; and so came back, and doubled the Cape, and found an island called Saint Helena, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof.

Ib. l. 5. c. 10.

In this same year 1501, and in the month of May, there departed out of Lisbon three ships, by the order of Emmanuel the king, to discover the coast of Brasil: and they sailed in the sight of the Canaries, and from thence to cape Verde, where they refreshed themselves in the town of Bezequiche; and passed from thence beyond the line southward, and fell in with the land of Brasil, in five degrees of latitude; and so went forward till they came in 32 degrees, little more or less, according as they accounted it; and from thence they came back in the month of April, because it was there, at that time, cold and tempestuous. They were in that voyage fifteen months, and came to Lisbon again in the beginning of September 1502.

Gomera hist. In the year 1502, one Alfonso Hoieda went to discover *Terra firma*, and followed
torin general. his course till he came to the province of Uraba.
L. 2.

The next year following also one Roderigo Bastidas, of Sevil, went out with two caravels, at his own cost; and the first land of the Antiles that he saw was an island, which he named *Isla Verda*, that is, the Green Island, standing fast by the island of Guadalupe, towards the land; and from thence they took their course towards the west to Santa Martha, and cape De la Vela, and to Rio Grande or the great river: and they discovered the haven of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagena, and the islands of S. Bernard of Baru, and *Islas de Arenas*; and went forward unto *Isla Fuerta*, and to the point of Caribana, standing at the end of the gulf of Uraba, where they had sight of the *Farrallones*, standing on the other side, hard by the river of Darien: and from cape De la Vela unto this place are two hundred leagues; and it standeth in nine degrees and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed over unto the island of Jamaica, where they refreshed themselves. In Hispaniola they grounded their ships, because of the holes which certain worms of the water had eaten in the planks. In that country they got four hundred marks of gold, although the people there be more warlike than in Nova Spania: for they poison their arrows which they shoot.

Ib. l. 1. c. 24. In this same year 1502, Christopher Columbus entered the fourth time into his discovery, with four ships, by the command of don Fernando, to seek the streight, which, as they say, did divide the land from the other side; and he carried with him Ferdinando his son. They went first to the island of Hispaniola; to Jamaica, to the river Azua, to the cape of Higueras, to the islands Gamares, and to the cape of Honduras, that is to say, *the Cape of the depths*. From thence they sailed towards the east, unto the cape Gracias a Dios, and discovered the province and river of Feragua, and Rio Grande, and others, which the Indians call Hienra: and from thence he went to the river of Crocodiles, which now is called Rio de Chagres, which hath its springs near the South Sea, within four leagues of Panama, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went unto the island which he called *Isla de Bastimentos*, that is, *the isle of victuals*; and then to Porto Bello, that is, *the fair haven*; and so unto Nombre de Dios, and to Rio Francisco, and so to the haven of Retreat; and then to the gulph of Cabesa Cattiva, and to the islands of Caperosa, and, lastly, to the cape of Marble, which is two hundred leagues upon the coast: from whence they began to turn again unto the island of Cuba, and from thence to Jamaica, where he grounded his ships, being much spoiled and eaten with worms.

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In this year also, 1502, don Vasques de Gama being now admiral, went again into Barros de-
India with nineteen or twenty caravels. He departed from Lisbon the 10th day of ^{cad. 1. l. 6.}
February, and by the last day of that month he came to an anchor at cape Verde; and ^{c. 8.}
from thence went to Mofambique, and was the first that crossed from that island into
India, and he discovered another in four degrees of latitude, which he called the
island of the admiral; and there he took in his lading of pepper and drugs, and left
there one Vincent Sodre to keep the coast of India with five ships.

These were the first Portuguese that, with an army, ran along the coast of Arabia
Felix. It is there so barren, that their cattle and camels are only maintained with
dry fish brought from the sea; whereof there is such plenty and abundance, that the
cats of the country usually take them.

In the year following, as it is reported, one Antonio de Saldania discovered the
island which formerly was called Coradia, and now Socotora, and the cape of Guar-
dasu, which adjoineth to that country.

In the year 1504, Roderigo de Bastidas obtained licence of king Ferdinando, and
by the means of John de Ledesma, and others of Seville, armed and furnished out two
ships, having for his pilot one John de Cosa, of Saint Mary Port; and he went and
discovered that part of *terra firma* where now standeth Carthagenæ, being in ten de-
grees and an half of northerly latitude: and it is said that they found captain Lewis
de la Guerra; and they together took land in the island of Codego, where they took
600 persons of the savages: and, going farther along the coast, they entered into the
gulph of Uraba, where they found sand mingled with gold, being the first that was
brought to king Ferdinando. From thence they returned to Santo Domingo, laden
with slaves, without victuals, because they of the country would not bargain with
them, which added to their great trouble and grief.

In the latter end of this year died lady Isabella, queen of Castile; which queen,
while she lived, would not suffer any man of Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, nor any
born in the country of don Fernando her husband, to enter into these discoveries, save
those which were their servants, or by special command, but only the Castilians,
Biscadians, and those which were of their own signiories, by whom all the lands afore-
said were discovered.

In the year 1505, upon our lady-day in March, Francisco de Almeida, viceroy of ^{Ib. l. 2. c. 3.}
India, took his course, with twenty-two sail, towards India, as now is accustomed.
He came to the city of Quiloa, where he built a fort, appointing one Peter Fereira
to be captain thereof: and beyond Melinde he traversed to the island of Anguediva,
where he placed, as captain, one Emmanuel Passavia. In Cananor also he built an-
other fort, giving the captainship of it to Laurence de Brito. In Cochín he did the
like, where don Alphonso de Noronia was made captain. This year one Peter de
Anahay built the fortress of Sofala, whereof also himself was made captain.

In the latter end of this year the Viceroy commanded his son, whose name was don
Laurenço, to make some entry upon the islands of Maldiva; and, with contrary
weather, he arrived at the islands, which of ancient time were called Traganæ, but
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the Moors called them Ytterubenero, and we call them Ceilan; where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and after went back to Cochín, sailing along the coast, and fully discovering it. In the midst of this island there stands a rock of stone, very high, having the sign of the foot of a man on the top of it, which they say to be the footstep of Adam; and the Indians have it in great reverence.

In the year 1506, after the death of the queen of Spain, king Philip and queen Joan his wife came into Spain to take possession thereof, and king don Fernando went into Arragon, being his own patrimony. In this same year the said king Philip died, and then Fernando came again to govern Spain, and gave licence to all Spaniards to go to the new land, and to the Antiles, but not to the Portuguese. In this year, and in the month of May, Christopher Columbus died, and his son don Diego Columbus succeeded in his room.

Barros de-
cad. 2. l. 1.
c. 1.

In the year 1506, and entering into the month of March, Tristán de Acunha, and Alphonso de Albuquerque, went into India, with fourteen ships in their company, and sailed till they came to an anchor at the town of Bezequiche, where they refreshed themselves; and before they came to the Cape of Bona Sperança, in 37 degrees they found certain islands, which now are named the Isles of Tristán de Acunha, where they had such a tempest that therewithal the fleet was dispersed. Tristán de Acunha and Alphonso de Albuquerque went to Mosambique; and Alvaro Telez ran so far, that he came to the island of Sumatra, and so back again to the cape of Guardafu; having discovered many islands, seas, and lands, never seen before that time by any Portuguese. Emmanuel Telez de Meneses was also driven without the great island of Saint Laurence, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arrived at last at Mosambique, and there met with Tristán de Acunha, who was the first captain that wintered there; and by them it was told, that in this island were much ginger, cloves, and silver; whereupon he went and discovered much of it within the land; but finding nothing, he came back again unto Mosambique; from whence he sailed to Melinde, and ran along that coast, and entered into Brava; and from thence they crossed over to the island of Socotora, where they built a fortress, and made one don Antonio de Noronia captain thereof.

Ib. l. 2. c. 1. In the year 1507, in the month of August, Tristán de Acunha took shipping for India, and Alphonso de Albuquerque remained there with five or six ships to keep the coast and entry of the streight; but being not therewith satisfied, he took his course over unto Arabia, and, running along that coast, he doubled the cape of Rosalgate, standing under the tropic of Cancer.

Ib. l. 4. c. 3. In the year 1509, one Diego Lopez de Sequeira went out of Lisbon with four sail, to the island of Saint Laurence, and continued in his voyage almost a year; and in the month of May, the same year, he arrived in Cochín, where the viceroy gave him another ship; and in the beginning of the month of September he took his course to Malacca, passing betwixt the islands of Nicubar, and many others. He went also to the land of Sumatra, to the cities of Pedir and Pacem, and all along by all that coast to the island of a Poluoreira, and the flats of Capacia: and from thence he went over to

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Malacca, standing in two degrees of latitude towards the north; but in that city the people killed and took prisoners some of his men; whereupon he turned back to India, having discovered in this voyage five hundred leagues. This island of Sumatra is the first land wherein we knew men's flesh to be eaten, by certain people which live in the mountains, called Bacas, who used to gild their teeth: they hold opinion, that the flesh of the black people is sweeter than the flesh of the white. The oxen, kine, and hens, which are in that country, are in their flesh as black as any ink. They say that there are certain people there, called Daraqui Dara, which have tails like sheep; and some of their wells yield oil.

The king of Pedir is reported to have a river in his land running with oil; which is a thing not to be marvelled at, seeing it is found written, that in Bactria there is also a well of oil: it is farther said, that there groweth here a tree, the juice whereof is strong poison, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dieth immediately; but if a man drinks of it, it is a sovereign remedy against poison, so serving both for life and death. Here also they coin-pieces of gold, which they call drachms, brought into the land, as they say, by the Romans; which seemeth to have some resemblance of truth, because from that place forward there is no coined gold: but that which is thus coined, runs current in the buying of merchandise, and other things.

In the year 1508, one Alfonso de Hojeda, with the favour of don Fernando, purposed to go to *terra firma*, to conquer the province of Darien. He went forth at his own charges, and discovered the firm land, where it is called Uraba, which he named Castilia del Oro, that is, Golden Castilia, because of the gold which they found among the sand along the coast: and they were the first Spaniards that did this. Alfonso de Hojeda went first from the island of Hispaniola and the city of San Domingo, with four ships and three hundred soldiers, leaving behind him the bachelor Anciso, who afterwards compiled a book of these discoveries. And after him there went also a ship with victuals, ammunition, and 150 Spaniards. He went on land to Carthagena; but there the people of the country took, slew, and eat seventy of his soldiers; whereupon he grew very weak.

In the year 1508, one Diego de Niquefa prepared seven ships in the port of Beata, Gom. hist. to go to Veragua, and carried in them almost 800 men. When he came to Cartha- gen. l. 3. c. 7. gena, he found there Alfonso de Hojeda much weakened by his former loss; but then they joined together, and went on land, and avenged themselves on the people. In this voyage Diego de Niquefa went and discovered the coast called Nombre de Dios, and went unto the sound of Darien, and called it Puerto de Misas, which is upon the river Pito. When they were come unto Veragua, he went on shore with Ib. c. 6. his army, his soldiers being out of hope to return to Hispaniola. Alfonso de Hojeda began a fortress in Caribana against the Caribbees; which was the first town that the Spaniards builded on the firm land: and in Nombre de Dios they built another, and called it Nuestra Senora de la Antigua. They builded also the town of Uraba. And there they left for their captain and lieutenant, one Francis Pizarro, who was there

there much troubled. They builded other towns also, whose names I here omit: but, these captains had not that good success which they hoped for.

In the year 1509, the second admiral Don Diego Columbus went into the island of Hispaniola, with his wife and household; and she being a gentlewoman, carried with her many other women of good families, who were there married, and so the Spaniards and Castilians began to people the country: for Don Fernando the king had given them licence to discover and people the towns of Hispaniola, so that the same place grew to be famous, and much frequented. The foresaid admiral also gave order to people the island of Cuba, which is very great and large; and placed there as his lieutenant one Diego Velasques, who went with his father in the second voyage.

Barros de-
cad. 2. l. 5.
c. 10. and
l. 6. c. 2.
Ibid. de-
cad. 2. l. 6.
c. 5.

In the year 1511, in the month of April, Alfonso de Albuquerque went from the city of Cochín unto Malacca; in which year and month the Chineseans went from Malacca into their own country, and Alfonso sent with them, for master, a Portugal called Duarte Fernandes, with letters also, and order unto the king of the Mantias, which now is called Sian, standing in the south. They passed through the streight of Cincapura, and sailed towards the north, went along the coast of Patane, unto the city of Cuy, and from thence to Odia, which is the chief city of the kingdom, standing in 14 degrees of northerly latitude. The king greatly honoured and welcomed Duarte Fernandes, being the first Portugal that he had seen, and with him he sent back ambassadors to Albuquerque: they passed over land towards the west unto the city of Tanagerim, standing upon the sea on the other side in 12 degrees, where they embarked themselves in two ships, and sailed along the coast unto the city of Malacca, leaving it all discovered. The people of this country of Sian are people that eat of all kind of beasts, or vermin*: this kingdom hath in length 250 leagues, and in breadth 80.

After that Duarte Fernandes had been with the Mantales or people of Sian, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent thither a knight called Ruy Nunnez de Acunha, with letters and embassage unto the king of the Seguias, which we call Pegu. He went in a junk of the country, in sight of the cape Rachado; and from thence unto the city of Pera, which standeth fast by the river Salano, and many other villages standing all along this river, (where Duarte Fernandes had been before,) unto the cities of Tanagerim and of Martavan, standing in 15 degrees toward the north, and the city of Pegu standeth in 17. This was the first Portugal which travelled in that kingdom; and he gave good information of that country, and of the people.

Ibid. c. 7.

In the end of this year 1511, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three ships to the islands of Banda and Malacca: and there went as general of them one Antonio de Breu, and with him also went one Francis Serrano; and in these ships there were an hundred and twenty persons. They passed through the streight of Sahán, and along the island of Sumatra, and others; leaving them on the left hand, towards the east, and they

* I have in this, as in some other instances, omitted remarks not immediately connected with the subject.

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MARITIME DISCOVERY.

they called them the Salites. They went also to the islands of *Palimbam* and *Lu Suparam*; from whence they sailed by the noble island of *Java*, and they ran their course east, sailing between it and the island of *Madura*: the people of this island are very warlike and strong, and do little regard their lives; the women also are there hired for the wars.

Beyond the island of *Java* they sailed along by another called *Bali*; and then came also unto others called *Avajave*, *Sambaba*, *Solor*, *Galao*, *Malva*, *Vitara*, *Rosalanguin*, and *Arus*, whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers; they came also to other islands lying in the same parallel on the south side in 7 or 8 degrees of latitude: and they are so near the one to the other, that they seem at the first to be one intire and main land. The course by these islands is about 500 leagues. The antient cosmographers call all these islands by the name of *Javas*: but late experience hath found their names to be very diverse, as you see. Beyond these there are other islands toward the north, which are inhabited with whiter people, going arrayed in shirts, doublets, and slops like unto the Portuguese, having also money of silver. The governors among them carry in their hands red staves, whereby they seem to have some affinity with the people of China. There are other islands, and people about this place which are red; and it is reported, that they are of the people of China.

Antonio de Breu, and those that went with him, took their course toward the north, where is a small island called *Gunnape* or *Ternate*, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the sea flakes or streams like unto fire; which is a wonderful thing to behold. From thence they went to the islands of *Burro* and *Ambeyna*, and came to an anchor in an haven called *Guliguli*, where they went on land, and took a village standing by the river; where they found dead men hanging in the houses, for the people there are eaters of man's flesh. Here the Portuguese burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side, standing in 8 degrees toward the south, where they laded cloves, nutmegs, and mace, in a junk or barque, which Francis Serrano bought here.

They say that not far from the islands of *Banda*, there is an island, where there breedeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one cave in the midst of the land. This is a thing not much to be wondered at; forasmuch as in the Levant sea, hard by the isles of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, there is another island, of old named *Ophiussa*, and now *Formentera*, wherein is abundance of these vermin; and in the rest of the islands lying by it there are none.

In the year 1512, they departed from *Banda* toward *Malacca*, and on the baxos or flats of *Luçapinho* Francis Serrano perished in his junk or barque, from whence escaped unto the isle of *Mindanao*, nine or ten Portuguese, which were with him, and the kings of *Malacca* sent for them. These were the first Portuguese that came to the

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* Probably, the bird of paradise.

the *islands of cloves*, which stand from the equinoctial line towards the north in one degree, where they lived seven or eight years.

The island of *Gumnap*, now called *Ternate*, is much to be admired; for that it casteth out fire. There were some princes of the Moors, and courageous Portuguese, which determined to go near to the fiery place to see what it was; but they could never come near it. But Antonio Galvano, hearing of it, undertook to go up to it, and did so; and found a river so extreme cold, that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water in his mouth: and yet this place standeth under the line, where the sun continually burneth.

Barros dec.
cad. 2. l. 7.
c. 1.

In the year 1512, in the month of January, Alfonso de Albuquerque went back from Malacca unto Goa, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his company. Simon de Andrada, and a few Portuguese, were driven unto the islands of *Maldiva*, being many, and full of palm-trees; and they stand low, by the water: who stayed there till they knew what was become of their governor. These were the first Portuguese that had seen those islands, wherein there grow *cocos*, which are very good against all kind of poison.

In this year 1512, there went out of Castile one John de Solis born in Lisbon, and chief pilot unto Don Fernando; and he having licence went to discover the coast of Brasil. He took the like course that the Pinsons had done: he went also to the cape of St. Augustine, and went forwards to the south, coasting the shore and land, and he came unto the port De Lagoa: and in 35 degrees of southerly latitude he found a river, which they of Brasil call *Paranaguacu*, that is, *the great water*. He saw there signs of silver, and therefore called it *Rio de Plata*, that is *the river of silver*. And it is said, that at that time he went farther, because he liked the country well; but he returned back again into Spain, and made account of all things to Don Fernando, demanding of the king the government thereof, which the king granted him. Whereupon he provided three ships, and with them, in the year 1515, he went again into that kingdom; but he was there slain. These SOLISES were great discoverers in those parts, and spent therein their lives and goods.

Pet. Martyr
decad. 3.
c. 10.

Ib. decad. 2.
c. 10.
Gomara hist.
gen. l. 2.
c. 10.

In the same year 1512, John Ponce of Leon, who had been governor of the isle of St. John, armed two ships, and went to seek the isle of Boyuca; where the natives of the country reported to be a well, which maketh old men young. Whereupon he laboured to find it out, and was in searching for it the space of six months, but could find no such thing. He entered into the isle of *Bimini*; and discovered a point of the firm land standing in 25 degrees towards the north, upon Easter-day, and therefore he named it *Florida*. And because the land seemed to yield gold and silver, and great riches, he begged it of the king Don Fernando, but he died in the discovery of it, as many more have done.

Pet. Martyr
decad. 3.
c. 10.

Ib. c. 1.

In the year 1513, Vasco Nunnes de Valboa hearing speech and news of the *South Sea*, determined to go thither, although his company dissuaded him from that action: but being a man of good valour, with those soldiers that he had, being two hundred and ninety, he resolved to put himself into that jeopardy. He went therefore from

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Darien the first of September, carrying some Indians of the country with him to be his guides, and he marched across the land, sometimes quietly, sometimes in war: and in a certain place, called Careca, he found Negroes, captives, with curled hair. This Valboa came to the sight of the South Sea on the twenty-fifth day of the said month, and on St. Michael's day came unto it: where he embarked himself against the will of Chiapes, who was the lord of that coast; who wished him not to do so, because it was very dangerous for him. But he, desirous to have it known, that he had been upon those seas, went forwards, and came back again to land in safety, and with great content, bringing with him good store of gold, silver, and pearls, which there they took: for which good service of his Don Ferdinando, the king, greatly favoured and honoured him.

This year 1513, in the month of February, Alonsus de Albuquerque went from the city of Goa towards the streight of Mecha, with twenty ships: they arrived at the city of Aden, and battered it, and passed forward, and entered into the streight. They say that they saw a cross in the element, and worshipped it: they wintered in the island of Camaran. This was the *first Portuguese captain* that gave information of *those seas*, and of that of *Persia*, being things in the world of great account.

In the year 1514, and in the month of May, there went out of St. Lucar one Pedro Arias de Avila, at the command of Don Ferdinando. He was the fourth governor of Castilia del Oro, or *golden Castile*: for so they named the countries of Darien, Carthage, and Uraba, and that country which was newly conquered. He carried with him his wife, the lady Elizabeth, and fifteen hundred men, in seven ships; and the king appointed Vasco Nunnes de Valboa governor of the South Sea, and of that coast.

In the beginning of the year 1515, the governor Pedro Arias de Avila sent one Gaspar Morales with an hundred and fifty men, unto the gulph of St. Michael, to discover the islands of Tararequi, Chiapes, and Tumaccus. There was a Casique, Valboa's friend, which gave him many canoes or boats made of one tree, to row in, wherein they passed unto the island of Pearls; the lord whereof resisted them at their coming on land. But Chiapes and Tumaccus did pacify him, in such order that the captain of the isle had them home unto his house, and made much of them, and received baptism at their hands, naming him Pedro Arias, after the governor's name; and he gave unto them, for this, a basket full of pearls, weighing an hundred and ten pounds, whereof some were as big as hazel nuts, of twenty, twenty-five, twenty-six, or thirty-one carats: and every carat is four grains: there was given for one of them one thousand two hundred ducats. This island of Tararequi standeth in five degrees of latitude towards the north.

In this year, 1515, in the month of March, the governor sent one Gonfalso de Badajos, with eighty soldiers, to discover new lands, and they went from Darien to Nombre de Dios; where came unto them one Lewis de Mercado, with fifty men more, which the governor sent to aid him: they determined to discover toward the south, saying that country was the richest. They took with them Indians to be

Barros de-
cad. 2. l. 7.
c. 7.

Pet. Martyr
decad. 3.
c. 5.

Ib. decad. 3.
c. 10.
Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 6. c. 2.

Pet. Martyr
decad. 3.
c. 10.

GALVANO'S PROGRESS OF

their guides, and, going along the coast, they found slaves marked with irons as the Portuguese do use; and, having marched a good way through the countries with great travel, they gathered together much gold, and forty slaves to do them service: but one Casique named Pariza did set upon them, and slew and took the most part of them.

The governor, hearing of this news, the same year 1515, sent forth his son John Arias de Avila to be revenged, and to discover also by sea and by land. They went westward to cape De Guerra, standing in little more than six degrees towards the north, and from thence unto Punta de Borica, and to cape Blanco, or *the white cape*, standing in eight degrees and an half: they discovered 250 leagues, as they affirm, and peopled the city of Panama.

Barros,
decad. 2.
l. 10. c. 5.
Olorius l. 10.
p. 277.

In this very year 1515, in the month of May, Alphonso de Albuquerque, governor of India, sent from the city of Ormuz one Fernando Gomes de Lemos as ambassador unto Xec, or Shaugh Ismael, king of Persia; and it is declared, that they travelled in it 300 leagues, and that it is a pleasant country like unto France: and this year the worthy viceroy Alphonso de Albuquerque died.

In the year 1516, and one hundred years after the taking of *Centa* in Barbary, Lopez Suares being governor of India, there was a dispatch made by the command of the king's highness unto one Fernando Perez de Andrada to pass to the great country and kingdom of *China*: he went from the city of Cochim in the month of April. They received pepper, being the principal merchandise to be sold in all China, of any value: and he was farther commanded by the king Don Emmanuel to go also to *Bengala*, with his letter and dispatch to a knight called John Coelo. This was the first Portuguese, as far as I know, who drank of the water of the river Ganges. This year 1516, died Don Ferdinando, king of Spain.

Ib. l. 11.
fol. 312.

In the year 1517, Fernando Perez went unto the city of Malacca; and in the month of June he departed from thence towards China, with eight ships, four Portuguese, and the other Malahans. He arrived in China: and because he could not come on land without an embassy, there was one Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went from the city of Canton, where they came to an anchor: they went by land 400 leagues, and came unto the city of Pekin, where the king was: for this province and country is the biggest that is in the world. It beginneth at Sailana, in 20 degrees of latitude towards the north, and it endeth almost in 50 degrees, which must be 500 leagues in length; and they say, that it containeth 300 leagues in breadth. Fernando Perez was fourteen months in the isle De Veniaga, learning as much as he could of the country, according as the king his master had commanded him. And although one Raphael Perestrello had been there in a junk, or barque, of certain merchants of Malacca, yet unto Fernando Perez there ought to be given the praise of this discovery; as well for that he had command from the king, as in discovering so much with Thomas Perez by land, and George Mascarenhas by sea; and for coasting unto the city of Foquiem standing in 24. degrees of latitude.

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In this same year 1517, Charles, which afterward was emperor, came into Spain, and took possession thereof. And in the same year Francis Fernandes de Cordova, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa, armed three ships at their own proper charges, from the island of Cuba. They had also with them a barque of Diego Velasques's, who then was governor: they came on land in Jucatan standing in 20 degrees of latitude, at a point which they called Punta de las duennas, that is to say, the point of ladies; which was the first place wherein they had seen temples, and buildings of lime and stone. The people here go better apparelled than in any other place. They have crosses which they worship, setting them upon their tombs when they are buried; whereby it seemeth, that in times past they had in that place the faith of Christ among them: and some say, that thereabouts were *the seven cities*. They went round about it towards the north, which is on the right hand; from whence they turned back unto the island of Cuba, with some samples of gold, and men which they had taken. And this was the first beginning of the discovery of New Spain.

In the year 1518, Lopez Suares commanded Don John de Silveira to go to the islands of Maldiva; and he made peace with them: and from thence he went to the city of Chatigam, situate on the mouth of the river Ganges, and tropick of Cancer. For this river, and the river Indus which standeth 120 leagues beyond the city of Diu, and that of Canton in China, do all fall into the sea, under one parallel or latitude: and although, before that time, Fernando Perez had been commanded to go to Bengala, yet notwithstanding *John de Silveira* ought to bear away the commendation of this discovery; because he went as captain-general, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the country, and manners of the people.

In the said year 1518, the first day of May, Diego Velasques, governor of the island of Cuba, sent his nephew John de Grifalva, with four ships and two hundred soldiers, to discover the land of Jucatan: and they found in their way the island of Columel, standing towards the north in 19 degrees, and named it Santa Cruz, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the land lying upon the left hand of the gulph, and came to an island called Ascension, because they came unto it upon Ascension day; they went unto the end of it standing in 16 degrees of latitude: from whence they came back, because they could find no place to go out at; and from hence they went round about it to another river, which they call the river of Grifalva, standing in 17 degrees of latitude: the people thereabout troubled them fore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some gold, silver, and feathers, being there in great estimation; and so they turned back again to the island of Cuba.

In the same year 1518, one Francis Garay armed three ships in the isle of Jamaica, at his own charges, and went towards the point of Florida, standing in 25 degrees towards the north, seeming to them to be an island most pleasant; thinking it better to people islands than the firm land, because they could best conquer them and keep them. They went there on land, but the people of Florida killed many of them, so that they durst not inhabit it: so they sailed along the coast, and came unto the river of Panuco, standing 500 leagues from the point of Florida, in sailing along the coast;

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 3. c. 2.

Castagneda
l. 4. c. 36
& 37.
Olorius l. 11.
f. 315. p. 2.

Pet. Martyr
decad. 4. c. 4.
Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 2.
c. 14. & 17.

Gomar. hist.
gen. lib. 1.
c. 12. & 61.

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but the people resisted them in every place. Many of them also were killed in Chila, whom the savages flayed and eat, hanging up their skins in their temples, in memorial of their valour. Notwithstanding all this Francis de Garay went thither the next year, and begged the government of that country of the emperor, because he saw in it some shew of gold and silver.

Pet. Martyr
decad. 4. c. 6.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 2.
c. 18, &c.

In the year 1519, in the month of February, Fernando Cortes went from the island of Cuba, to the land which is called Nova Spagna, with eleven ships and five hundred and fifty Spaniards in them. The first place where he went on the land was the island of Cofumel; where they immediately destroyed all the idols, and set crosses on the altars, and the images of the virgin Mary. From this island they went, and arrived on the firm land of Yucatan, at the point De las duennas, or the point of ladies; and went thence to the river of Tavaasco, and set upon a city hard by, called Potoncion, environed with wood, and the houses were built with lime and stone, and covered with tile: they fought there eagerly; and there appeared unto them St. James on horseback, which increased their courage. They called that city *Victoria*: and they were the first people which were subdued to the Spaniards' obedience in all New Spain. From hence they went discovering the coast till they came unto a place named St. John de Vilhua, distant as they said from Mexico, where the king Mutequma was, 60 or 70 leagues; and there was a servant of his that governed that province, named Tendilli, which gave them good entertainment, although they understood not one another.

Ib. l. 2. c. 21,
22, 23, 24.

Because St. John de Vilhua was then no place for a navy to ride in, Cortes sent Francis de Montejo, and the pilot Antonio Alaminos, in two brigantines, to discover that coast; who came to a place where they might ride without danger. They came to Panuco, standing in 23 degrees northward; from whence they came back, upon an agreement to go to Culvacan, being an haven of more safety. They set sail, but Cortes went by land westward, with the most part of his men, on horseback, and they came unto a city called Zempoallan, where they were well received. And from thence he went to another town, called Chiavitztan: with the lord of which town, as with all the country besides, he made league to be against Mutequma. And when he knew that his ships were come, he went unto them, and there built a town, and called it *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*: from whence he sent unto Charles the emperor a present, and made report of all that he had done, and that he had determined to go to Mexico, and to visit Mutequma: and besought the emperor to give him the government of that country. And because his people should not rise in mutiny, as they began, he destroyed all his ships.

Cortes presently went from Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, leaving there one hundred and fifty Spanish horsemen, and as many Indians, to serve them; and the villages round about became his friends. He went unto the city of Zempoallan: there he heard news that Francis Garay was on the coast with four ships, to come to land: and by subtilty he got nine of his men; of whom he understood, that Garay had

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been in Florida, and came unto the river Panuco, where he got some gold, determining to stay there, in a town which is now called Almeria.

Cortes overthrew the idols in Zempoallan, and the tombs of their kings, whom Gomara they worshipped as Gods; and told them that they were to worship the true God, ^{historie} From thence he went toward Mexico the 16th day of August 1519, and travelled ^{l. 2. c. 25-} three days journey, and came to the city of Zalapan, and to another beyond it named Sicuchimatl, where they were well received, and offered to be conducted to Mexico, because Muteçuma had given such command. Beyond this place he passed, with his company, a certain hill, of three leagues high, wherein there were vines: in another place they found above a thousand load of wood ready cut; and beyond they met with a plain country, and in going through the same, he named it Nombre de Dios. At the bottom of the mountain he rested, in a town called Teuhixuacan; and from thence they went through a desolate country, and so came to another mountain, that was very cold, and full of snow; and they lay in a town named Zaclotan: and so from town, to town, they were well received and feasted, till they came into another realm, named Tlaxcallan, which waged war against Muteçuma; and, being valiant, they skirmished with Cortes; but in the end they agreed, and entered into league with him against the Mexicans; and so they went from country to country till they came within sight of Mexico. The king Muteçuma fearing them, gave them good entertainment, with lodging and all things necessary: and they were with this for a time contented; but mistrusting that he and his should be slain, he took Muteçuma prisoner, and brought him to his lodging with good guard. Cortes demanded how far his realm did extend, and sought to know the mines of gold and silver that were in it, and how many kings, neighbours to Muteçuma, dwelled therein, requiring certain Indians to be informed thereof, whereof he had eight provided: and he joined to them eight Spaniards, and sent them, two and two, into four countries, namely, into Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tututepec. They which went unto Zucolla went 80 leagues; for so much it was from Mexico thither: they which went to Malinaltepec went 70 leagues, seeing goodly countries, and brought samples of gold, which the natives of the country took out of great rivers: and all this province belonging to Muteçuma.

The country of Tenich, and up the river, were not subject to Muteçuma, but had war with him, and would not suffer the Mexicans to enter into their territory. They sent ambassadors unto Cortes with presents, offering him their estate and amity; whereof Muteçuma was nothing glad. They which went to Tututepec, standing near the South Sea, did also bring with them samples of gold, and praised the pleasantness of the country, and the multitude of good harbours upon that coast; shewing to Cortes a cloth of cotton wool, all woven with goodly works, wherein all the coast, with the havens and creeks, were set forth. But this thing then could not be prosecuted, by reason of the coming of Pamphilus de Narvaez into the country, who set all the kingdom of Mexico in an uproar. ^{Ib. l. 2. c. 48.}

In.

Gomara hist.
toriz general.
l. 4. c. 2.

In this year 1519, the 10th day of August, one *Fernando de Magellanes* departed from Sevil, with five ships, toward the islands of Malacca: he went along the coast of Brasil, till he came unto the river of Plate, which the Castilians had before discovered. From thence therefore he began his discovery, and came to an haven, which he called the port of Saint Julian, standing in 49 degrees; and there he entered and wintered: they endured much cold by reason of snow and ice: the people of that country they found to be of great stature, and of great strength; taking men by the legs, and rending them in the midst, as easily as one of us will rend an hen: they live by fruits and hunting. They call them Patagones, but the Brasilians call them Morcas.

Th. l. 4. c. 3.
Pet. Martyr.
decad. 3. c. 7.

In the year 1520, in the beginning of the month of September, growing then somewhat temperate, they went out of the port and river of Saint Julian, having lost in it one of their ships; and, with the other four, he came to the freights, named after the name of Magellanes, standing in 52 degrees and an half. From thence one of the ships returned back to Castile, whereof was captain and pilot one Stephen de Porto, a Portugal; and the other three went forward, entering into a mighty sea, called *Pacificum*, without seeing any inhabited land till they came in 13 degrees, towards the north of the equinoctial; in which latitude they came unto islands which they called Los Jardines; and from thence they sailed to the Archipelagus of S. Lazarus; and in one of the islands, called *Matan*, Magellanes was slain, and his ship was burnt; and the other two went to Borneo; and so from place to place they went back, until they came to the islands of Maluccas; leaving many others discovered, which I rehearse not, because I find not this voyage exactly written.

Gomara l. 4.
c. 17.
Ramusius
1 vol. fol.
374.

About this time pope Leo the tenth sent one Paulus Centurio, as ambassador to the great duke of Muscovy, to wish him to send into India an army along the coast of Tartary: and, by the reasons of this ambassador, the said duke was almost persuaded to that action, if other inconveniences had not prevented him.

Ramusius
1 vol. fol.
190.

In this same year 1520, in February, Diego Lopes de Sequeira, governor of India, went towards the streight of Mecca, and carried with him the ambassador of *Presbyter John*, and Roderigo de Lima, who also went as ambassador to him. They came unto the island of Maçus, standing in the Red Sea, on the side of Africa, in 17 degrees towards the north; where he set the ambassadors on land, with the Portugals that should go with them. Peter de Covillan had been there before, being sent thither by king *John the second* of Portugal: but yet Francis Alvarez gave principal light and knowledge of that country.

Gomara hist.
gen. l. 2. c. 7.

In the year 1520, the licentiate Lucas Vasques de Aillon, and other inhabitants of S. Domingo, furnished two ships, and sent them to the isles of Lucayos to get slaves; and finding none, they passed along by the firm land beyond Florida, unto certain countries called Chicora and Gualdape, unto the river Jordan and the cape of Saint Helena, standing in 32 degrees toward the north. They of the country came down to the sea-side to see the ships, as having never before seen the like. The Spaniards went on land, where they received good entertainment, and had given unto them
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such things as they were in need of: but they brought many of them into their ships, and then set sail, and brought them away for slaves, but in the way one of their ships sunk, and the other was also in great danger. By this news the licentiate Aillon, knowing the wealth of the country, begged the government thereof of the emperor, and it was given him, whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

About this time Diego Velasques, governor of Cuba, hearing the good success of Cortes, and that he had begged the government of New Spain, which he held to be his, he furnished out thither, against Cortes, 18 ships, with 1000 men and 80 horses, whereof he sent as general one *Pamphilus de Narvaez*. He came unto the town, called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, where he took land, and commanded those of the country to receive him as governor thereof; but they took his messenger prisoner, and sent him to Mexico, where Cortes was. Which thing being known by Cortes, he wrote letters unto Narvaez, not to raise any uproar in the country which he had discovered, offering him obedience, if he had any commission from the emperor; but he corrupted the people of the country with money. Whereupon Cortes went from Mexico, and took Narvaez prisoner in the town of Zempoallan, and put out one of his eyes.

Narvaez being thus taken prisoner, his army submitted themselves to Cortes, and obeyed him: whereupon presently he dispatched 200 soldiers unto the river of Garay, and he sent John Vasquez de Leon, with other 200, unto Coscalco; and withal sent a Spaniard, with the news of his victory, unto Mexico. But the Indians, being in the mean time risen, hurt the messenger. Which being known to Cortes, he mustered his men, and found 1000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, with which he went towards Mexico; where he found Peter de Alvarado, and the rest which he had left there, alive and in safety; wherewith he was greatly pleased, and Mutezuma made much of him. But yet the Mexicans ceased not, but made war against him: and the war grew so hot, that they killed their king Mutezuma with a stone. And then there rose up another king, such an one as pleased them, till such time as they might put the Spaniards out of the city; being no more than 504 footmen, and 40 horsemen. The Spaniards, with great loss, being driven out of Mexico, retired themselves with much ado to the Tlaxcallan; where they were well received; and there they gathered together 900 Spaniards, 80 horsemen, and 200,000 Indians, their friends and allies; and they went back again to take Mexico, in the month of August, in the year 1521.

Cortes obtaining still more and more victories, determined to see farther within the country: and for this purpose, in the year 1521, and in October, he sent out one Gonfalo de Sandoval, with 200 footmen, and 35 horsemen, and certain Indians, his friends, unto Tochtepec and Coazacoalco, which had rebelled, but at length yielded. And they discovered the country, and built a town 120 leagues from Mexico, and named it *Medelin*: and another town they made, naming it *Santo Spirito*, four leagues from the sea, upon a river: and these two towns kept the whole country in obedience.

Oforius l. 12. This year 1521, in December, *Emmanuel king of Portugal died*; and after him his son king *John the third* reigned.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 4. c. 2. In the year 1521, there went from Malacca one of *Magellan's* ships, laden with cloves; they victualled themselves in the island of Burro, and from thence went to Timor, which standeth in 11 degrees of southerly latitude. Beyond this island, 100 leagues, they discovered certain islands, and one named *Ender*, finding the places from thenceforward peopled. Afterward passing without Sumatra, they met with no land, till they fell in with the cape of Bona Sperança, where they took in fresh water and wood: so they came by the islands of cape Verde, and from thence to Sevil, where they were notably received, as well for the cloves that they brought, as that they had compassed about the world.

Ib. l. 6. c. 4. In the year 1522, in January, one *Gilgonzales* armed four ships in the island of Tararequi, standing in the South Sea, with intent to discover the coast of *Nicaragua*; and especially a streight or passage from the South Sea, into the North Sea: and sailing along the coast, he came unto an haven, called S. Vincent, and there landed with 100 Spaniards and certain horsemen, and went within the land 200 leagues; and he brought with him 200 pesos of gold, and so came back again to S. Vincent; where he found his pilot *Andrew Nigno*, who was as far as *Tecoantepec*, in 16 degrees to the north, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to Panama, and so over land to Hispaniola.

Castagneda historia della Indie Orientali l. 6. c. 41. Gomara hist. gen. l. 4. c. 8. & 12.

In the same year 1522, in the month of April, the other ship of *Magellan*, called The Trinity, went from the island of Tidore, wherein was captain *Gonzala Gomez de Espinosa*, steering their course toward Nova Spania; and because the wind was scant, they steered toward the north-east, into 16 degrees, where they found two islands, and named them the *isles of Saint John*: and in that course they came to another island, in 20 degrees, which they named *La Griega*, where the simple people came into their ships; of whom they kept some to shew them in Nova Spania: they were in this course four months, until they came into 42 degrees of northerly latitude, where they saw sea fishes, called seals and tunnies. And the climate seemed to them coming newly out of the heat, to be so cold and intemperate, that they could not well bear it; and therefore they turned back again to Tidore, being thereunto enforced also by contrary winds: these were the *first* Spaniards which had been in so high a latitude toward the north. And there they found one *Antonio de Britto* building a fortress; who took from them their goods, and sent forty-eight of them prisoners to Malacca.

Ib. l. 6. c. 12. In this year 1522, *Cortes*, desirous to have some havens on the South Sea, and to discover the coast of Nova Spania on that side, whereof he had knowledge in *Muteguma's* time (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from Malacca and Banda, and the spices from Java, with less travel and danger), he sent four Spaniards, with their guides, to *Tecoantepec*, *Quahutemallan*, and other havens; where they were well received, and brought some of the people with them to Mexico: and *Cortes* made much of them; and afterwards sent ten pilots thither to search the seas thereabout.

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theresabout. They went 70 leagues in the sea, but found no haven. One Casique, or lord called Cuchataquir, used them well; and sent with them to Cortes two hundred of his men, with a present of gold and silver, and other things of the country; and they of Tecoaatepec did the like. And, not long after, this Casique sent for aid to Cortes against his neighbours, which did war against him.

In the year 1523, Cortes sent unto him for his aid Peter de Alvarado, with two hundred footmen, and forty horsemen; and the Casiques of Tecoaatepec and Quahutemallan asked them for the *monsters of the sea*, which came thither the year past, meaning the ships of Gil Gonfalez de Avila, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and wondering much more when they heard that Cortes had bigger than those; and they painted to them a mighty carake, with six masts, and sails and shrouds, and men armed on horseback. This Alvarado went through the county, and built there the city of *Saint Jago* or *Saint James*, and a town which he called *Segura*, leaving certain of his people in it.

In the same year 1523, in the month of May, Antonio de Britto, being captain of Castag. hist. the isles of Malacca, sent his chosen Simon de Bru to learn the way, by the isle of Borneo, to Malacca: they came in sight of the islands of *Manada* and *Panguenfara*: they went through the streight of Treminao and Taguy, and to the islands of Saint Michael, standing in seven degrees; and from thence discovered the islands of *Borneo*, and had sight of *Pedra Branca*, or the *White Stone*; and passed through the streight of *Cincapura*, and so to the city of Malacca.

In this same year, 1523, Cortes went with 300 footmen, 150 horsemen, and 40,000 Mexicans, to Panuco, both to discover it better, and also to inhabit it; and withal to be revenged on them that had killed and eaten the soldiers of *Francis Garay*. They of Panuco resisted him; but Cortes in the end overthrew them, and conquered the country: and hard by Chila, upon the river, he built a town, and named it *Santo Stephano del Puerto*, leaving in it 100 footmen and 30 horsemen, and one Peter de Valleio for lieutenant. This journey cost him 76,000 Castilians, besides the Spaniards, horses, and Mexicans which died there.

In the year 1523, *Francis de Garay* made nine ships, and two brigantines, to go to Panuco and Rio de las Palmas, to be there as governor; for that the emperor had granted to him from the coast of Florida unto Panuco, in regard of the charges which he had been at in that discovery. He carried with him 850 soldiers, and 140 horses, and some men out of the island of *Jamaica*, where he furnished his fleet with ammunition for the war; and he went to Xagua, an haven in the island of Cuba, where he understood that Cortes had peopled the coast of Panuco: and that it might not happen to him as did to Pamphilus de Narvaez, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the doctor Zuazo to go to Mexico, and procure some agreement between Cortes and him; and they departed from Xagua, each one about his business. Zuaza came in great jeopardy, and Garay went not clear without. Garay arrived in Rio de las Palmas on Saint James's day, and then he sent up the river one Gonfalso de Ocampo, who at his return declared that it was an evil and desert country:

try: but, notwithstanding, Garay went there on land with 400 footmen and some horsemen; and he commanded one John de Grijalva to search the coast, and he himself marched by land towards Panuco, and passed a river, which he named *Rio Montalto*; he entered into a great town, wherein they found many hens, wherewith they refreshed themselves, and he took some of the people of Chila, which he used for messengers to certain places; and, after great travel, coming to Panuco, they found no victuals there, by reason of the wars of Cortes, and the spoil of the soldiers. Garay then sent one Gonçalo de Ocampo to Saint Istevan del Puerto, to know whether they would receive him or no; and received a good answer: but Cortes's men privately lay in ambush, and took 40 of Garay's horsemen, alleging that they came to usurp the government of another: and besides this misfortune, he lost four of his ships, whereupon he left off to proceed any farther.

Gomara en
la Conq. de
Mex. f. 226.

While Cortes was preparing to set forward to Panuco, Francis de las Casas, and Roderigo de la Paz, arrived at Mexico, with letters patents, wherein the emperor gave the government of New Spain, and all the country which Cortes had conquered, to Cortes, and namely Penuco; whereupon he staid his journey: but he sent Diego de Ocampo with the said letters patents, and Pedro de Alvarado with store of footmen and horsemen. Garay, knowing this, thought it best to yield himself into Cortes's hands, and go to Mexico; which thing he did, having discovered a great tract of land.

Ib. f. 242.

In the year 1523, Gil Gonçalves de Avila made a discovery, and peopled a town called *San Gil de Buena Vista*, standing in 14 degrees towards the north, and almost in the bottom of the bay called the Ascension, or the Honduras. He began to conquer it, because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich country.

Ib. f. 229.
& in seq.

In this year 1523, the 6th day of December, Peter de Alvarado went from the city of Mexico by Cortes's command, to discover and conquer *Qualiutemallan, Utlatlan, Chiapa, Xochnuxco*, and other towns towards the South Sea. He had with him 300 soldiers, 170 horsemen, four field-pieces, and some noblemen of Mexico, with people of the country to aid him, as well in the war, as by the way being long. He went by Tecoaatepec to Xochnuxco, and other places abovesaid, with great travel, and loss of his men; but he discovered and subdued all the country. There are in those parts certain hills that have alum in them, and out of which distilleth a certain liquor, like unto oil; and sulphur or brimstone, whereof the Spaniards made excellent gunpowder. He travelled 400 leagues in this voyage, and passed certain rivers which were so hot, that they could not well endure to wade through them. He built a city, calling it *Saint Jago de Quabutemallan*. Peter de Alvarado begged the government of this country; and the report is, that it was given him.

Ib. f. 230.

Ib. f. 233.

In the year 1523, the 8th day of December, Cortes sent Diego de Godoy, with 100 footmen and 30 horsemen, two field-pieces, and many of his friends, Indians, unto the town of Spiritu Santo; he joined himself with the captain of that town, and they went to Chamolla, the head city of that province, and that being taken, all the country grew quiet.

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In the year 1524, in February, Cortes sent one Roderigo Rangel, with 150 Spaniards, and many of the Tlaxcallans and Mexicans, against the Zapotecas and Nixticas, and to other provinces and countries not so well discovered; they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the worst, and kept them for ever after in subjection.

Gomara en la Conq. de Mex. f. 234.

In the same year 1524, one Roderigo de Bastidas was sent to discover, people, and govern the country of *Santa Maritba*; where he lost his life, because he would not suffer the soldiers to take the spoil of a certain town. They joined with Peter Villaforte; and he, being sometimes his intire friend, helped to kill him with daggers, lying in his bed. Afterward don Pedro de Lugo, and don Alfonso his son, were governors of that place, who behaved themselves like covetous tyrants, and grew very troublesome.

Ib. hist. gen. l. 3. c. 21.

In this same year also, 1524, after the licentiate *Lucas Vasques de Aillon* had obtained of the emperor the government of Chicora, he armed for that purpose certain ships from the city of Santo Domingo, and went to discover the country, and to inhabit it; but he was lost, with all his company, leaving nothing done worthy of memory. And I cannot tell how it comes to pass, except it be by the just judgment of God, that of so much gold and precious stones as have been gotten in the Antiles by so many Spaniards, little or none remains, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done.

Ib. l. 2. c. 7.

In this year 1524, Cortes sent one Christopher de Olid, with a fleet, to the island of Cuba, to receive the victuals, and ammunition, which Alonso de Contreras had prepared, and to discover and people the country about *cape De Higuera*s and the *Honduras*; and to send Diego Hurtado de Mendoza by sea, to search the coast from thence even to Darien, to find out the *streight* which was thought to run into the South Sea, as the emperor had commanded. He sent also two ships from Panuco, to search along the coast unto Florida: he commanded also certain brigantines to search the coast from Zacatullan to Panama. This Christopher de Olid came to the island of Cuba, and made a league with Diego Velasquez against Cortes, and so set sail, and went on land hard by Puerto de Cavallos, standing in 10 degrees to the north, and built a town, which he called *Triumpbo de la Cruz*. He took Gil Gonzales de Avila prisoner, and killed his nephew, and the Spaniards that were with him, saving one child; and shewed himself an enemy to Cortes, who had spent in that expedition 30,000 Castellans of gold, to pleasure him.

Ib. l. 2. c. 65. & en la Conq. de Mex. f. 243.

Cortes understanding hereof the same year, 1529, in the month of October, he went out of the city of Mexico to seek Christopher de Olid to be revenged of him, and also to discover, carrying with him 300 Spanish footmen and horsemen, and Quahutimoc, king of Mexico, and other great lords of the same city; and coming to the town called La Villa del Spiritu Santo, he required guides of the lords of Tavasco and Xicalanco; and they sent him ten of their principal men for guides; who gave him also a map of cotton-wool, wherein was painted the situation of the whole country, from Xicalanco to Naco and Nito, and even as far as Nicaragua; with their mountains,

Ib. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 66. & en la Conq. de Mex. f. 246. & 251.

mountains, hills, fields, meadows, valleys, rivers, cities, and towns; and Cortes, in the mean time, sent for three ships which were at the haven of Medellin, to follow him along the coast.

Gomara hist.
gen. l. 2.
c. 66. & en
la Conq. de
Mex. f. 257.

In this year, 1524, they came to the city of Izancanac, where he understood that the king Quahutimoc, and the Mexicans that were in his company, were conspired against him, and the Spaniards; for which he hanged the king, and two others of the chiefs; and so came to the city of Mazatlan, and after that to Piaca, the head city of a province so called, standing in the midst of a lake: and hereabout they began to find the train of the Spaniards, which they went to seek; and so they went to Zuzullin, and at length came to the town of Nito. From Nito, Cortes, with his own company, and all the Spaniards that he found there, departed to the shore, or strand, called La Baja de Saint Andres; and, finding there a good haven, he built a town in that place, and called it *Natividad de nuestra Señora*.

Ib. in the
Conquest of
Mexico,
f. 268.

From hence Cortes went to the town of Truxillo, standing in the haven of the Honduras, where the Spaniards that inhabited there entertained him well; and while he was there, there arrived a ship which brought news of the stir in Mexico in Cortes's absence: whereupon he sent word to Gonzalo de Sandoval, to march with his company from Naco to Mexico by land, towards the South Sea, unto Quahutemellán, it being the usual, plain, and safest way; and he left as captain in Truxillo, Ferdinando de Saavedra his cousin, and he himself went by sea along the coast of Yucatan to Chalechioeca, now called Saint Juan de Ullhua; and so to Medellin, and from thence to Mexico, where he was well received, having been from thence eighteen months, and gone 500 leagues, travelling often out of his way, and suffering many hardships.

Ib. hist. gen.
l. 5. c. 1, 2.

In the year 1525, Francis Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro, went from Panama to discover Peru, standing beyond the line toward the south, which they called *Nueva Castilla*. The governor Pedro Arias would not intermeddle with this expedition, because of the evil news which his captain Francis Vezerra had brought.

Francis Pizarro went first in a ship, having with him 124 soldiers; and Almagro went after him in another ship with 70 men. He came to Rio de San Juan, standing in three degrees, where he got 2000 pesos of gold; and, not finding Pizarro, he went to seek him, repenting his doings, by reason of a mishap that he had. But he went first to an island called *Isla del Gorgona*, and afterwards to another called *Isla del Gallo*, and to the river called *Rio del Peru*, standing in two degrees northward, wherefrom so many famous countries take their name. From thence they went to *Rio de San Francisco*, and to *Cabo de Passaro*, where they passed the equinoctial line, and came to Puerto Vejo, standing in one degree to the south of the line: from whence they sailed to the rivers of Chinapanpa, Tumbes, and Payta, standing in four or five degrees, where they had knowledge of king Atabalipa, and of the exceeding wealth and riches of his palace: which news moved Pizarro speedily to return home again to Panama, and so into Spain, and to request the government of that country of the emperor, which he also obtained. He had spent above three years before in this discovery, not without enduring great labour and perils.

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In the same year 1525, there was sent out of Spain a fleet of seven ships, whereof don Garfia de Loaifa was captain-general, to the islands of Malucca: they went from the city of the Groine and passed by the islands of the Canaries, and went to Brasil, where they found an island in two degrees, and named it *Saint Matthew*; and it seemed to be inhabited, because they found in it orange-trees, hogs, and hens in caves; and upon the rinds of most of the trees there were ingraven *Portugal letters*, shewing that the Portuguese had been there *seventeen* years before that time. A patch, or pinnace, of theirs passed the streight of Magellan, having in her one John de Refaga, and ran all along the coast of Peru and Nova Spagna; they declared all their success unto Cortes, and told him, that frier Garfia de Loaifa was passed to the Islands of Cloves. But, of this fleet, the admiral only came thither, wherein was captain one Martin Mingues de Carchova; for Loaifa and the other captains died by the way: all the Moors of Malucca were found well-affectioned to the Spaniards.

Pet. Mart.
dec. 8. c. 9.
Gomara hist.
gen. l. 4.
c. 12.

Gomara in
the Conquest
of Mexico,
p. 281.

In the same year 1525, the pilot Stephen Gomez went from the port of the Groin toward the north, to discover *the streight* to Maluccas *by the north*, to whom they would give no charge in the fleet of frier Garfia de Loaifa: but yet the Earl don Ferdinando de Andrada, and the doctor Beltram, and the merchant Christopher de Sarro, furnished a galleon for him; and he went from the Groin in Galicia to the island of Cuba, and to the point of Florida, sailing by day, because he knew not the land: he passed the bay Angra, and the river Enseada, and so went over to the other side. It is also reported, that he came to *cape Razo*, in 46 degrees to the north; from whence he came back again to the Groin, laden with *slaves*. The news hereof ran presently through Spain, that he was come home laden with *cloves* (mistaking the word), and it was carried to the court of Spain: but when the truth was known, it turned to a pleasant jest. In this voyage Gomez was ten months.

Pet. Mart.
decad. 8.
p. 601.
Gomara hist.
gen. l. 1. c. 5.

In this year 1525, don George de Meneses, captain of Malucca, and with him don Garcia Henriques, sent a foist to discover land towards the north, wherein went as captain one Diego de Rocha, and Gomez de Sequiera for pilot. In nine or ten degrees they found certain islands standing close together, and they called them the islands of *Gomez de Sequiera*, he being the first pilot that discovered them: and they came back again by the island of Batochina.

In the year 1526, there went out of Seville one *Sebastian Cabota*, a Venetian by his father, but born at Bristol in England, being chief pilot to the emperor, with four ships, towards Malucca: they came to Pernambuco, and staid there three months for a wind to double the cape of Saint Augustine. In the bay of Patos, or of ducks, the admiral's ship perished; and, being without hope to get to the isles of Malucca, they made a pinnace to enter up the river of Plate, and to search it. They ran 60 leagues up before they came to the bar, where they left their great ships; and with their small pinnaces passed up the river *Parana*, which the inhabitants count to be the principal river. Having rowed up 120 leagues, they made a fortress, and staid there above a year; and then rowed farther till they came to the mouth of another river, called *Paragua*; and, perceiving that the country yielded gold and silver, they kept

Ib. l. 3.
c. 39.

on their course, and sent a brigantine before, but those of the country took it: and Cabota understanding of it, thought it best to turn back unto their fort, and there took in his men which he had left there, and so went down the river where his ships rode; and from thence he sailed home to Seville in the year 1530, leaving *discovered above 200 leagues within this river*, reporting it to be very navigable, and that it springs out of a lake named Bombo: it standeth in the firm land of the kingdom of Peru, running through the valleys of Xauxa, and meets with the rivers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this lake runneth the river called *Rio de San Francisco*; and by this means the rivers come to be so great: for the rivers that come out of lakes, are bigger than those which proceed from a spring.

Ramusio, v. 3.
f. 310.

In the year 1527, one Panfilo de Narvaez * went out of Saint Lucar de Barameda, to be general of the coast and land of Florida, as far as Rio de las Palmas; and had with him five ships, 600 soldiers, 100 horses, besides a great sum and quantity of victuals, armour, cloathing, and other things. He could not go on land where his desire was, but went on land somewhat near to Florida, with 300 of his company, some horses, and some victuals, commanding the ships to go to Rio de las Palmas; in which voyage they were near all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst, in an island called *Xamo*, and by the Spaniards, *Malhada*, being very dry and barren, where the Spaniards killed one another, and the people of the country did the like. Narvaez, and those which went with him, saw some gold with certain Indians, and he demanded of them where they gathered it: and they answered, that they had it at *Apalachen*. They therefore searched for this gold; and, in searching, came to the said town, where they found neither gold nor silver; but they saw many bay trees, and almost all other kind of trees, with beasts, birds, and such like. From *Apalachen* they went to a town called *Aute*; and from thence to *Xamo*, a poor country, with small sustenance. Here the people desired the Spaniards to cure their sick, for they had many: and certain of the Spaniards, being in extreme poverty, attempted it, and used prayer; and it pleased God that they did indeed recover, as well those that were hurt, as those which were diseased; insomuch that one that was thought verily to be dead, was by them restored to life, as they themselves report. They affirm, that they passed through many countries, and many strange people, differing in language, apparel, and customs: and because they played the physicians, they were, as they passed, greatly esteemed, and held as Gods; and the people offered them no violence, but would give them part of such things as they had. Therefore they passed quietly, and travelled so far till they came to a people that use continually to live in herds with their cattle, as the Arabians do. They are poor, and eat snakes, lizards, spiders, ants, and all kind of vermin; and herewith they live so well contented, that commonly they sing and dance. These Spaniards travelled above 800 leagues; and there escaped alive in this journey not above seven or eight

* Ramusio gives a long, an excellent account of this voyage, intitled, *Relatione che fece Alvaro Nunez detto capo di vacca; di quello che intervenne nell' Indie all'armata, della qual era gouernatore Pamphilo Narvaez, dell' anno 1527, fino al 1536, che ritorno in Sibillia con tre soli suoi compagni.*

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eight of them: they came upon the coast of the South Sea to a city called Saint Michael of Calvacan, standing in upwards of 23 degrees towards the north.

This year 1527, when Cortes understood by the pinnace aforesaid, that don Garcia de Loaísa was passed by the streight of Magellan toward the *islands of Cloves*, he provided three ships to seek him, and to discover by that way of New Spain, as far as the isles of Malacca. There went as governor in those ships one Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, cousin to Cortes, a man fit for that purpose: he made sail from Civatlancejo, now named St. Christopher, standing in twenty degrees toward the north, on All Saints day. They arrived at the islands which Magellan named *The Pleasures*; and from thence sailed to the islands which Gomez de Sequeira had discovered; and, not knowing thereof, they named them *Isas de los Reyes*, that is to say, *The isles of the kings*, because they came unto them on twelfth-day: in the way Saavedra lost two ships of his company, of which they never after heard news. But from island to island he still sailed, and came to the island of Candiga, where he bought two Spaniards for seventy ducats, which had been of the company of frier Loaísa, who was lost thereabout.

Gom. hist.
gen. l. 2.
c. 72. and in
the Conquest
of Mexico,
f. 282.

In the year 1528, in March, Saavedra arrived at the islands of Malacca, and came to an anchor before the isle of Gilolo: he found the sea calm, and wind at will, without any tempests; and he took the distance from thence to Nova Spagna to be two thousand and fifty leagues. At this time Martin Yniguez de Carquigano died, and Fernando de la Torre was chosen their general; who then was in the city of Tidore, had there erected a gallows, and had fierce war with Don George de Meneses, captain of the Portuguese; and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May, Saavedra took from him a galleot, and slew the captain there, called Fernando de Baldaya; and in June he returned towards New Spain, having with him one Simon de Brito Patalin, and other Portuguese; and, having been certain months at sea, he was forced back unto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

In this year 1528, Cortes sent two hundred footmen and sixty horsemen, and many Mexicans, to discover and plant the country of the *Chichimecas*; for it was reported to be rich of gold. This being done, he slipped himself, and came into Castile with great pomp, and brought with him two hundred and fifty thousand marks of gold and silver: and, being come to Toledo, where the emperor then lay, he was entertained according to his deserts; and the emperor made him *marquis Del Valle*, and married him to the lady Jane de Zuniga, daughter to the earl de Aguilar; and then the emperor sent him back again to be general of New Spain.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 2.
c. 73.

In the year 1529, in May, Saavedra returned back again toward New Spain, and he had sight of land toward the south in two degrees; he ran east along by it above five hundred leagues till the end of August. The coast was clean, and of good anchor-ground; the people black, and of curled hair.

ib. l. 2. c. 72.

Saavedra, having sailed four or five degrees to the south of the line, returned unto it, and passed the equinoctial towards the north; and discovered an island which he

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called

called *Isla de los Pintados*, that is to say, *the isle of painted people*; for the people there of are white, and all of them marked with an iron: and by the signs which they gave, he conceived that they were of China. There came to them from the shore a kind of boat full of these men, making tokens of threatenings to the Spaniards; who, seeing that the Spaniards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones; but Saavedra would suffer no shot to be fired at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harm.

A little beyond this island, in ten or twelve degrees, they found many small low islands, full of palm-trees and grafs, which they called *Los Jardineros*; and they came to an anchor in the midst of them, where they tarried certain days. The people seemed to descend from them of China; but, by reason of their long continuance there, they are become so brutish, that they have neither law, nor yet give themselves to any honest labour. They wear white clothing, which they make of grafs; they stand in great fear of fire, because they never saw any; they eat cocos instead of bread, breaking them before they are ripe, and putting them under the sand, and then after certain days they take them out, and lay them in the sun, and then they will open: they eat fish, which they take in a kind of boat called a *para*, which they make of pine-wood, which is driven thither at certain times of the year, they know not how, nor from whence; and the tools wherewith they make their boats are of shells.

Saavedra, perceiving that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made sail toward the firm land and city of Panama, where he might unlade the cloves and merchandize which he had; that so in carts it might be carried four leagues to the river of Chagre, which they say is navigable, running out into the north sea, not far from Nombre de Dios, where the ships ride, which come out of Spain: by which way all kind of goods might be brought unto them in shorter time, and with less danger, than to sail about the Cape of Bona Sperança. For, from Malacca unto Panama, they sail continually between the tropics and the line; but they never found wind to serve that course, and therefore they came back again to Malacca very sad, because Saavedra died by the way: who, if he had lived, meant to have opened the land of *Castilia del Oro* and *New Spain*, from sea to sea. Which might have been done in four places: namely, from the gulph of *St. Michael* to *Uraba*, which is 25 leagues; or from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*, being 17 leagues distance; or through *Xaquatar*, a river of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a lake three or four leagues from the South Sea, and falleth into the North Sea; whereupon sail great barques and crayers. The other place is from *Tecoantepec* through a river to *Verdadera Cruz*, in the bay of *Honduras*, which also might be opened in a streight. Which if it were done, then they might sail from the Canaries unto the Malaccas, under the climate of the Zodiac, in less time, and with much less danger, than to sail about the Cape De Bona Sperança, or by the streight of Magellan, or by the northwest: and yet, if there might be found a streight there, to sail into the sea of China, as it hath been sought, it would do much good.

Gomara hist.
gen. l. 4.
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In this year 1529, one *Damiano de Goes*, a Portugal, being in Flanders, after that he had travelled over all Spain, was yet desirous to see more countries, and fashions, and diversities of people; and therefore went over into England and Scotland, and was in the courts of the kings of those parts: and after that came again into Flanders, and then travelled through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxenburg, Switzerland, and so through the cities of Colen, Spires, Argentine, Basil, and other parts of Germany, and then came back again into Flanders: and from thence he went into France through Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, the dukedom of Bourbon, Gascoign, Languedoc, Dauphiné, the dukedom of Savoy; and passed into Italy, into the dukedom of Milan, Ferrara, Lombardy, and so to Venice; and turned back again to the territory of Genoa, and the dukedom of Florence, through all Tuscany: and he was in the city of Rome, and in the kingdom of Naples, from the one side to the other.

From thence he went into Germany to Ulm, and other places of the empire, to the dukedom of Suevia and of Bavaria, and the archdukedom of Austria; the kingdom of Bohemia, the dukedom of Moravia, and the kingdom of Hungary, and so to the confines of Greece. From thence he went to the kingdom of Poland, Prussia, and the dukedom of Livonia, and came into the great dukedom of Moscovy: from whence he came back into High Germany, and through the countries of the Landgrave, the dukedom of Saxony, the countries of Denmark, Gotland, and Norway; travelling so far, that he found himself in 70 degrees of latitude towards the north. He did see, speak, and was conversant with all the kings, princes, nobles, and chief cities of all Christendom, in the space of twenty-two years: so that by reason of the greatness of his travel, I thought him a man worthy to be here remembered.

In the year 1529 or 1530, one *Melchior de Sousa Tavares* went from the city of Ormuz unto Balsora, and the islands of Gissara, with certain ships of war; and passed up as far as the place where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates meet each other. And although other Portuguese had discovered and sailed through that streight, yet never any of them sailed so far upon the fresh water till that time, when he discovered that river from the one side to the other; wherein he saw many things which the Portuguese knew not.

Not long after this one *Ferdinando Coutinho*, a Portuguese, came unto Ormuz; and being desirous to see the world, he determined to go into Portugal from thence over land, to see Asia and Europe; and, to do this the better, he went into Arabia, and up the river Euphrates, the space of a month; and saw many kingdoms and countries, which in our time had not been seen by the Portuguese: he was taken prisoner in Damascus, and afterward crossed over the province of Syria, and came unto the city of Aleppo. He had been at the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem, and in the city of Cairo, and at Constantinople with the great Turk; and, having seen his court, he passed over unto Venice, and from thence into Italy, France, Spain, and so came again to Lisbon. So that he, and *Damiano de Goes*, were in our time the most noble

Portuguese, that had discovered and seen most countries and realms for their own satisfactions.

Oomar. hist. In the same year 1530, little more or less, one Francis Pizarro, who had been in gen. l. 5. c. 3. Spain, to obtain the government of Peru, turned back again to the city of Panama, with all things that he desired; he brought with him four brethren, Ferdinand, John, Gonfalso, and Francis Martines de Alcantara: they were not well received by Diego de Almagro, and his friends; for that Pizarro had not so much commended him to the emperor as he looked for, but omitted the discovery, wherein he had lost one of his eyes, and spent much: yet in the end they agreed, and Diego de Almagro gave Pizarro seven hundred pezoës of gold, victuals, and ammunition, wherewith he prepared himself the better for his journey.

Not long after this agreement Francis Pizarro, and his brethren, went in two ships, with the most of their soldiers and horses; but he could not arrive at Tombez, as he was minded, and so they went on land in the river of Peru; and went along the coast with great pains, because there were many bogs and rivers in their way, wherein some of his men were drowned: they came to the town of *Coache*, where they rested, and found much gold and emeralds, of which they brake some, to see if they were perfect. From thence Pizarro sent to Diego de Almagro twenty thousand pezoës of gold, to send him men, horses, ammunition, and victuals; and so he went on his journey to the haven named *Porto Viejo*: and thither came unto him one Sebastian de Benalcazar, with all such things as he had sent for, which pleased and gratified him very much.

Ib. l. 5. c. 4. In the year 1531, he, having this aid, passed over into a rich island called *Puna*, where he was well received of the governor; yet at last he conspired to kill him, and all his men: but Pizarro prevented him, and took many of the Indians, and bound them with chains of gold and silver. The governor caused those that kept his wives, to have their noses and arms cut off, so jealous was he.—Here Pizarro found above six hundred men prisoners belonging to the king Attabalipa, who waged war against his eldest brother Guafcar to win reputation: these he set at liberty, and sent them to the city of Tombez, who promised to be a means that he should be well received in those parts: but when they saw themselves out of bondage, they forgot their promise, and incited the people against the Spaniards. Then Pizarro sent three Spaniards to Tombez, to treat for peace, whom they took, and slew, and sacrificed; and their priests wept not for pity, but of custom. Pizarro, hearing of this cruel fact, passed over to the main, and set upon the city one night suddenly, and killed many of them; so that they presented him with gifts of gold and silver, and other riches, and so became friends. This done, he builded a town upon the river Cira, and called it *St. Michael of Tangarara*, which was the first town inhabited by Christians in those parts; whereof Sebastian de Benalcazar was appointed captain. Then he searched out a good and sure haven for his ships, and found that of *Payta* to be an excellent harbour.

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In this same year 1531, there went one Diego de Ordaz to be governor in the river of Maragnon, with three ships, six hundred soldiers, and thirty-five horses. He died by the way, so that the intention came to none effect. After that, in the year 1534, there was sent thither one Hierom Artal, with an hundred and thirty soldiers; yet he came not to the river, but peopled *St. Michael de Neveri*, and other places in Paria. Also there went unto this river Maragnon, a Portuguese gentleman, named Aries D'Acugna; and he had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portuguese, and an hundred and thirty horses: he spent much, but he that lost most was one *John de Barros*. This river standeth in three degrees toward the south, having at the entrance of it fifteen leagues in breadth, and many islands inhabited, wherein trees grow that bear incense of a greater bigness than in Arabia;—gold, rich stones, and one emerald was found there as big as the palm of a man's hand. The people of the country make their drink of a kind of oats, which are as big as quinces.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 3.
c. 37.

In the year 1531, one Nunnez de Gusman went from the city of Mexico, towards the northwest, to discover and conquer the countries of Xalisco, Ceintilquipac, Ciometlan, Tovalla, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places: and, to do this, he carried with him two hundred and fifty horses, and five hundred soldiers. He went through the country of Mechuacan, where he had much gold, ten thousand marks of silver, and six thousand Indians to carry burdens. He conquered many countries, and called that of Xalisco, *Nueva Galicia*, because it is a ragged country, and the people strong. He builded a city, which he called *Compostella*, and another named *Guadalajara*, because he was born in Guadalajara in Spain: he likewise builded the towns of *Santo Espirito*, *de la Concepcion*, and *de San Miguel*, standing in 24 degrees of north latitude.

Ib. l. 6. c. 16.

In the year 1532, Ferdinando Cortes sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoza unto Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a small fleet to discover the coast of the South Sea, as he had promised the emperor: and finding two ships ready, he went into them, and sailed to the haven of Xalisco, where he would have taken in water and wood; but Nunnez de Gusman caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutinied against him, and he put them all into one of his ships, and sent them back into New Spain: they wanted water, and going to take some in the bay of the Vandas, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado sailed two hundred leagues along the coast, yet did nothing worth the writing.

Ib. l. 2. c. 74.

In the year 1533, Francis Pizarro went from the city of Tombez to Caxamalca, where he took the king Attabalipa, who promised for his ransom much gold and silver: and to accomplish it there went to Cusco, standing in 17 degrees on the south side, Peter de Varco, and Ferdinando de Sotto, who discovered that journey, being 200 leagues, all causeways of stone, and bridges were made of it; and from one journey to another, lodgings made for the *Yngas*; for so they call their kings. Their armies are very great and monstrous; for they bring above an hundred thousand fighting men to the field. They lodge upon these causeways, and have there provision sufficient.

Ib. l. 5. c. 6,
7, & 8.

Gomar. hif-
toria general.
l. 5. c. 11.

Ibid. l. 5.
c. 18.

Ibid. l. 5.
c. 19.

Ibid. l. 5.
c. 16.

Ib. l. 2.
c. 74. and
l. 2. c. 98.

cient and necessary, after the use and custom of China, as it is said. Ferdinando Pizarro, with some horsemen, went unto Paciacama, 100 leagues from Caxamalca, and discovered that province; and, coming back, he understood how Guascar, brother to Attabalipa, was, by his command, killed; and that his captain Ruminaguy rose up in arms with the city of Quito. After this Attabalipa was, by the command of Pizarro, strangled.

In the year 1534, Francis Pizarro, seeing that the two kings were gone, began to enlarge himself in his signiories, and to build cities, forts, and towns, to have them more in subjection. Likewise he sent Sebastian de Benalcazar, the captain of St. Michael of Tangarara, against Ruminaguy, unto Quito. He had with him two hundred footmen, and eighty horsemen: he went discovering and conquering an hundred and twenty leagues, from one city to the other, east, not far from the equinoctial line; where Peter Alvarado found mountains full of snow, and so cold, that seventy of his men were frozen to death. When he came unto Quito, he began to inhabit it, and named it *St. Francis*. In this country there is plenty of wheat, barley, cattle, and plants of Spain, which is very strange. Pizarro went strait to the city of Cusco, and found by the way the captain Quisquiz risen in arms, whom shortly he defeated. About this time there came unto him a brother of Attabalipa, named Mango, whom he made *Ynga*, or king of the country. Thus marching forward on his journey, after certain skirmishes he took that exceeding rich and wealthy city of Cusco.

In this same year 1534, a Briton called *Jaques Cartier*, with three ships, went to the land of Corterealis, and the bay of St. Laurence, otherwise called *Golfo Quadrato*, and fell in 48 degrees and an half towards the north; and so he sailed till he came unto 51 degrees, hoping to have passed that way to China, and to bring thence drugs and other merchandize into France. The next year after he made another voyage into those parts, and found the country abounding with victuals, and good habitations, with many and great rivers. He sailed in one river toward the southwest, 300 leagues, and named the country thereabout *Nova Francia*: at length finding the water fresh, he perceived he could not pass through to the South Sea; and having wintered in those parts, the next year following he returned into France.

In the year 1535, or in the beginning of the year 1536, Don Antony de Mendoza came unto the city of Mexico, as viceroy of New Spain. In the mean while Cortes was gone for more men, to continue his discovery, which immediately he set in hand, sending forth two ships from Tecoautepec, which he had made ready. There went as captains in them, *Fernando de Grijalva*, and *Diego Bezerra de Mendoza*; and for pilots there went a Portuguese named Acofta, and the other Fortunio Ximenez, a Biscaine. The first night they divided themselves: Fortunio Ximenez killed his captain Bezerra, and hurt many of his confederates; and then he went on land to take water and wood in the bay of Santa Cruz; but the Indians there slew him, and above twenty of his company. Two mariners which were in the boat escaped, and went unto Xalisco, and told Nunnes de Gusman, that they had found tokens of pearls; he went into the ship, and so went to seek the pearls: he discovered along the coast

above

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Tecoantepec with
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In this year 1535, the inhabitants of X in 12 degrees of of *Truxillo* to be on that side. He along the coast, kine, hogs, goats, mary, oranges, k grains: radishes, thither, to be for

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In this year 240 Spaniards to Malacca; b Perez de Andr thence to the

above 150 leagues. They said that Ferdinando de Grijalva sailed 300 leagues from Tecoaatepec without seeing any land, but only one island, which he named the island of *St. Thomas*, because he came unto it on that saint's day: it standeth in 20 degrees of latitude.

In this year 1535, Pizarro built the city *de los Reyes*, upon the river of Lima. The inhabitants of Xauxa went to dwell there, because it was a better country, standing in 12 degrees of southward latitude. In this same year of 1535, he caused the city of *Truxillo* to be built, on a river side, upon a fruitful soil, standing in eight degrees on that side. He built also the city of *Saint Jago* in Porto Viejo; besides many others along the coast, and within the land, where there breed many horses, asses, mules, kine, hogs, goats, sheep, and other beasts; also trees and plants, but principally rosemary, oranges, lemons, citrons, and other sour fruits; vines, wheat, barley, and other grains: radishes, and other kind of herbage and fruits, are brought out of Spain thither, to be sown and planted. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 4. c. 23.

In the same year 1535, one *Diego de Almagro* went from the city of Cusco to the provinces of Arequipa and Chili, reaching beyond Cusco towards the south unto thirty degrees. This voyage was long, and he discovered much land; suffering great hunger, cold, and other extremities, by reason of the abundance of ice, which stoppeth the running of the rivers; so that men and horses die in those parts of the cold. About this time Ferdinando Pizarro came out of Spain to the city de los Reyes, and brought with him the title of marquise of Atanillos for his brother Francis Pizarro; and to Diego de Almagro he brought the government of 100 leagues, over and besides that which was discovered; and named it, *The new kingdom of Toledo*. Pizarro went strait to the city of Cusco: and one John de Rada went to Almagro into Chili, with the emperor's patents. L. 5. c. 24.

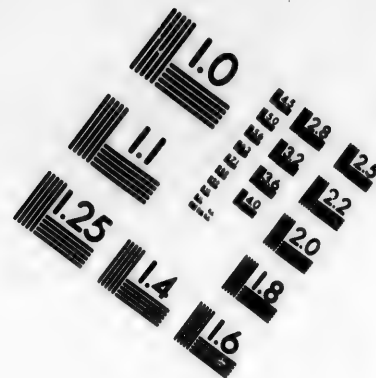
Diego de Almagro, having received the letters patents which the emperor had sent him, went strait from Chili unto Cusco, to have it, seeing it did appertain unto him: which was the cause of a civil war. They were mightily oppressed with want of victuals, and other things, in this their return; and were enforced to eat the horses, which had died four months and an half before, when they passed that way. Ib. c. 27.

In this same year 1535, Nunnez D'Acunha being governor of India, while he was making a fortress at the city of Diu, he sent a fleet to the river of Indus, being from thence 90 or 100 leagues toward the north, under the tropic of Cancer. The captain's name was *Vasquez Perez de San Paio*: also he sent another army against Badu, king of Cambaia, the captain whereof was Cofesofar, a renegado. They came to the bar of that mighty river in the month of December, of the water whereof they found such trial as Quintus Curtius writeth of it, when Alexander came thither.

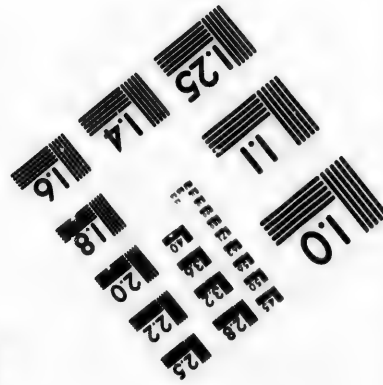
In this year 1535, one Simon de Alcazava went from Seville with two ships, and 240 Spaniards in them: some say they went to New Spain; others, that they went to Malacca; but others also say, to China, where they had been with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. Howsoever it was, they went first unto the Canaries, and from thence to the streight of Magellan, without touching at the land of Brasil, or any Ib. l. 4. c. 13.

part





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part of that coast: they entered into the streight in the month of December, with contrary winds, and cold weather. The soldiers would have had him turn back again; but he would not: he went into an haven on the south side, in 53 degrees; there the captain Simon, of Alcazava, commanded Roderigo de Isla, with sixty Spaniards, to go and discover land: but they rose up against him, and killed him; and appointed such captains and officers as pleased them, and returned: coming thwart the Brasil, they lost one of their ships upon the coast; and the Spaniards that escaped drowning, were eat by the savages. The other ships went to Saint Jago in Hispaniola; and from thence to Seville in Spain.

Gomar. hist.
gen. lib. 3.
c. 39.

In this same year 1535, *don Pedro de Mendoza* went from Cadiz toward the river of Plata, with twelve ships, and had with him 2000 men; which was the greatest number of ships and men that ever any captain carried into the Indies. He died by the way returning homewards. The most part of his men remained in that river, and built a great town, containing now two thousand houses, wherein great store of Indians dwell with the Spaniards. They discovered and conquered the country till they came to the mines of Potosi, and to the town La Plata, which is 500 leagues distant from them.

Ib. l. 2.
c. 74, 98.

In the year 1536, Cortes understanding that his ship, wherein Fortunio Ximenez was pilot, was seized on by Nunnez de Guzman, he sent forth three ships to the place where Guzman was; and he himself went by land, well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought, all spoiled and rifled. When his three other ships were come about, he went on board himself, with the most part of his men and horses, leaving for captain of those which remained on land, one Andrew de Tapia. So he set sail; and, coming to a point the 1st day of May, he called it *Saint Philip* and an island that lieth close by it, he called *Saint Jago*. Within three days after, he came into the bay where the pilot Fortunio Ximenez was killed, which he called *La Plata de Santa Cruz*, where he went on land, and commanded Andrew de Tapia to discover. Cortes took shipping again, and came to the river now called *Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo*, where, by a tempest, the ships were separated; one was driven to the bay de Santa Cruz; another to the river of Guajaval; and the third was driven on shore near Xalisco, and the men thereof went by land to Mexico.

Ib. in the
Conquest of
Mexico,
f. 290, 291,
292.

Cortes long expected his two ships that he wanted; but they not coming, he hoisted sail, and entered into the gulph now called *Mar de Cortes*, *Mar Vermejo*, or the gulph of *California*, and shot 50 leagues within it; where he espied a ship at anchor; and, sailing towards her, he had been lost, if that ship had not succoured him. But having graved his ship, he departed with both the ships from thence. He bought victuals, at a very dear rate, at Saint Michael of Culvacan; and from thence he went to the haven of Santa Cruz, where he heard that Don Antonio de Mendoza was come out of Spain to be viceroy: he therefore left to be captain of his men one *Francis de Ulloa*, to send him certain ships to discover that coast. While he was at Acapulco, messengers came to him from don Antonio de Mendoza the viceroy, to certify him of his arrival; and also sent him the copy of a letter, wherein Francis

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Pizarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was risen against him, and was come to the city of Cusco, with an hundred thousand fighting men; and that they had killed his brother John Pizarro, and above 400 Spaniards, and 200 horses, and he himself was in danger; so that he demanded succour and aid. Cortes being informed of the state of Pizarro, and of the arrival of don Antonio de Mendoza, because he would not as yet be at obedience; first, he determined to send to Malacca, to discover that way under the equinoctial line, because the islands of Cloves stand under that parallel: and for that purpose he prepared two ships, with provision and men, besides all other things necessary. He gave the charge of one of these ships to Ferdinando de Grijalva, and of the other to one Alvarado, a gentleman: they went first to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru, to succour Francis Pizarro; and from thence to Malacca, all along near the line, as they were commanded: and it is declared, that they sailed above a thousand leagues without sight of land either on the one side, or yet on the other, of the equinoctial: and in two degrees towards the north they discovered an island named *Asen*, which seemeth to be one of the islands of Cloves. Five hundred leagues, little more or less, as they sailed, they came to the sight of another, which they named *Isla de los Pescadores*. Going still in this course, they saw another island, called *Hayme*, towards the south, and another, named *Apia*; and then they came to the sight of *Seri*: turning towards the north one degree, they came to anchor at another island, named *Coroa*; from thence they came to another under the line, named *Meusum*, and from thence unto *Busu*, standing in the same course.

From these islands they came to others, named *the Guelles*, standing one degree towards the north, east, and west, from the isle of Ternate, wherein the Portuguese have a fortress: these men are haired, like the people of the Malaccas. These islands stand 124 leagues from the island named Moro, and from Ternate betwixt 40 and 50. From thence they went to the isle of Moro, and the islands of Cloves, going from the one to the other: but the people of the country would not suffer them to come on land; saying unto them, *Go unto the fortress, where the captain Antonio Galvano is, and we will receive you with a good will*: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence; for he was factor of the country, as they stiled him. A thing worthy to be noted; that those of the country were so affectioned to the Portuguese, that they would venture for them their lives, wives, children, and goods!

In the year 1537, the licentiate John de Vadillo, governor of Carthagena, went out with a good army from a port of Uraba, called Saint Sebastian de Buena Vista, being in the gulph of Uraba, and from thence to Rio verde; and from thence by land, without knowing any way, nor yet having any carriages, they went to the end of the country of Peru, and to the town La Plata, by the space of 1200 leagues; a thing worthy of memory: for, from this river to the mountains of Abibe, the country is full of hills, thick forests of trees, and many rivers; and for want of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The mountains of Abibe, as it is recorded, have 20 leagues in breadth: they must be passed over in January, February, March, and April; for

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Peru, c. 9, 10.

from that time forward it raineth much, and the rivers will be so greatly increased, that you cannot pass for them. Moreover they declared the diversities of the people, tongues, and apparel that they observed in the countries, kingdoms, and provinces through which they passed; and the great perils and dangers that they were in till they came to the town called Villa de la Plata, and to the sea thereunto adjoining. This was the greatest discovery that hath been heard of by land, and in so short a time; and if it had not been done in our days, the credit thereof would have been doubtful.

Ramusius
3 vol. fol.
356.

In the year 1538, there went out of Mexico certain friars, of the order of Saint Francis, towards the north, to preach to the Indians the catholic faith. He that went farthest was one friar Mark de Nizza, who passed through Culvacan, and came to the province of Sibola, where he found seven cities; and the farther he went, the richer he found the country with gold, silver, precious stones, and sheep bearing very fine wool. Upon the fame of this wealth, the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza, and Cortes, determined to send a power thither: but when they could not agree thereupon, Cortes went over into Spain in the year 1540, where he afterwards died.

In this year 1538, began the civil war between Pizarro and Almagro, wherein, at last, Almagro was taken, and beheaded.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 5.
c. 34.

In the same year 1538, *Antonio Galvano* being chief captain in the isles of Malacca, sent a ship towards the north, whereof one Francis de Castro was captain, having command to convert as many as he could to the faith: he himself christened many; as the lords of the Celebes, Maccafares, Amboyas, Moros, Moratax, and divers other places. When Francis de Castro arrived at the island of Mindanao, six kings received the water of baptism, with their wives, children, and subjects; and the most of them Antonio Galvano gave command to be called by the name of John, in remembrance that king John the third reigned then in Portugal.

Ib. l. 2. c. 74.
Ramusius
3 vol. fol.
329.

In the year 1539, Cortes sent three ships with *Francis Ulloa*, to discover the coast of Culvacan northward: they went from Acapulco, and touched at Saint Jago de buena Esperança, and entered into the gulph that Cortes had discovered; and sailed till they came in 32 degrees, which is almost the farthest end of that gulph, which place they named *Ancon de Saint Andres*, because they came thither on that saint's day. Then they came out along the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of California, and entered in between certain islands and the point, and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32 degrees; from whence they returned to New Spain, forced thereto by contrary winds, and want of victuals, having been out about a year. Cortes, according to his account, spent 200,000 ducats in these discoveries.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 6.
c. 17.

From Cabo del Enganno, to another cape called *Cabo de Liampo*, in China, there are 1000 or 1200 leagues sailing. Cortes and his captains discovered New Spain, from 12 degrees to 32, from south to the north, being 700 leagues; finding it more warm than cold, although snow lay upon certain mountains most part of the year. In New Spain there are many trees, flowers, and fruits of divers sorts, and profitable for many things. The principal tree is named *Mull*, growing neither very high nor thick:

they plant and dress it as we do our vines. They say it hath forty kind of leaves, like woven cloth, which serve for many uses; when they are tender, they make conserves of them, paper, and a thing like unto flax: they also make of it mantles, mats, shoes, girdles, and cordage. These trees have certain prickles, so strong and sharp, that they sew with them: the roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make exceeding good ley. They open the earth from the root, and scrape it; and the juice which cometh out is like a syrup. If you seeth it, it will become honey; if you purify it, it will become fugar: also you may make wine and vinegar of it: it beareth the *Coco*. The rind roasted, and crushed upon sores and hurts, healeth and cureth. The juice of the tops and roots, mingled with incense, are good against poison, and the biting of a viper. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable tree known to grow in those parts.

In the year 1538 and 1539, after that Diego de Almagro was beheaded, the marquis Francis Pizarro was not idle: for he immediately sent one Peter de Baldivia, with a good company of men, to discover and conquer the country of Chili. He was well received of those of the country, but afterwards they rose against him, and would have killed him by treason. Yet, for all the war that he had with them, he discovered much land, and the coast of the sea toward the south-east, till he came into 40 degrees and more in latitude. While he was in these discoveries, he heard news of a king called *Lucengolma*, who commonly brought to the field two hundred thousand fighting men, against another king his neighbour; and that this *Leucengolma* had an island, and a temple therein, with two thousand priests; and that beyond them were the Amazons, whose queen was called *Guanomilla*, that is to say, *The golden Heaven*: but as yet there are none of these things discovered. About this time Gomez de Alvarado went to conquer the province of Guanuco; and Francis de Chavez went to subdue the Conchincos, which troubled the town of Truxillo, and the countries adjoining. Peter de Vergara went to the Bracamores, a people dwelling toward the north from Quito; John Perez de Vergara went against the Ciapiapians; Alfonso de Mercadiglio went unto Mulubamba; Ferdinando and Goncalvo Pizarros went to subdue Collao, a country rich in gold; Peter de Candia went to the lower part of Collao; Peranzures also went to conquer the said country: and thus the Spaniards dispersed themselves, and conquered above 700 leagues of country in a very short space, though not without great travels and loss of men.

The countries of Brasil and Peru stand east and west, almost 800 leagues distant. The nearest is from the cape of St. Augustine unto the haven of Truxillo; for they stand both almost in one parallel and latitude: and the farthest is 950 leagues, reckoning from the river of Peru to the streights of Magellan, which places lie directly north and south, through which country pass certain mountains called the *Andes*, which divide Brasil from the empire of the *Yngas*: after this manner the mountains of Taurus and Imaus divide Asia into two parts; which mountains begin in 36 and 37 degrees of northerly latitude, at the end of the Mediterranean sea, over-against the isles of Rhodes and Cyprus, running still towards the east unto the sea of

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 5.
c. 35.

Cieça, c. 103.

China: and so likewise the mountains of Atlas in Africa divide the tawny Moors from the black Moors, which have frizzled hair; beginning at mount Meies about the desert of Barca, and running along under the tropic of Cancer unto the Atlantic Ocean.

The mountains of the Andes be high, ragged, and in some places barren, without trees or grass, whereon it raineth and snoweth most commonly: upon them are winds, and sudden blasts; there is likewise such scarcity of wood, that they make fire of turfs, as they do in Flanders. In some places of these mountains and countries the earth is of divers colours, as black, white, red, green, blue, yellow, and violet, wherewith they dye colours without any other mixture. From the bottoms of these mountains spring many small and great rivers, principally from the east side; as appeareth by the rivers of the Amazons, of St. Francis, of Plata, and many others which run through the country of Brasil, being larger than those of Peru, or those of Castilia del Oro. The country of Peru, adjoining unto the mountains of Andes westward, toward the sea, and containing 15 or 20 leagues in breadth, is all of very hot sand, yet fresh, bringing forth many good trees and fruits, because it is well watered; where there grow abundance of flage, rushes, herbs, and trees, so slender and loose, that, laying your hands upon them, the leaves will fall off: and among these herba and fresh flowers the men and women live and abide, without any houses or bedding, even as the cattle do in the fields, and some of them have * tails. They are grose, and wear long hair: they have no beards, yet have they divers languages.

Those which live on the tops of these mountains of Andes, between the cold and the heat, for the most part are blind of one eye, and some altogether blind; and scarce you shall find two men of them together, but one of them is half blind. Also there groweth in these fields, notwithstanding the great heat of the sand, good maiz, and potatoes, and an herb which they name *cocosa*, which they carry continually in their mouths (as in the East India they use another herb named *betele*), which also, they say, satisfieth both hunger and thirst.

Likewise they affirm, that from Tumbes southward, it doth neither rain, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of five hundred leagues of land: but sometimes there falleth some little shower.—There are certain beasts which those of the country call *macos*, and the Spaniards sheep, because they bear wool like unto a sheep, but are made much like unto a deer, having a saddle-back like unto a camel: they will carry the burden of an hundred weight. The Spaniards ride upon them; and, when they are weary, they will turn their heads backward, and void out of their mouths a wonderful stinking water.

From the river of Plata and Lima southward, there breed no crocodiles, nor lizards, no snakes, nor any kind of venomous vermin, but great store of good fish breed in those rivers. On the coast of St. Michael, in the South Sea, there are many rocks of

salt

* This idea, ever since the time of Lord Monboddó, has been renewed, and occupies the attention of the explorers of Africa: links may exist, in creation, with which we are yet unacquainted.

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salt covered with eggs. On the point of St. Helena are certain well-springs, which cast forth a liquor, *that serveth instead of pitch and tar*. They say, that in Chili there is a fountain, the water whereof will convert wood into stone. In the haven of Truxillo there is a lake of fresh water, the bottom whereof is good hard salt. In the Andes beyond Xauxa there is a river of fresh water, in the bottom whereof there lieth white salt.

In the year 1540, the captain *Ferdinando Alorcon* went, by the command of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça, with two ships, to discover the bottom of the gulph of California, and divers other countries. Ramusius, vol. 3. f. 303

In this year 1540, Goncalvo Pizarro went out of the city of Quito to discover the country of *Canell*, or *Cinnamon*, a thing of great fame in that country. He had with him two hundred Spaniards, horsemen and footmen, and three hundred Indians to carry burdens: he went forward till he came to *Guinas*, which is the farthest place governed by the *Yngas*; where there happened a great earthquake, with rain and lightning, which sunk seventy houses. They passed over cold and snowy hills, where they found many Indians frozen to death, marveling much of the great snow that they found under the equinoctial line. From hence they went to a province called *Cumaco*, where they tarried two months, because it rained continually; and beyond they saw the cinnamon-trees, which are very great, the leaves thereof resembling bay-leaves; both leaves, branches, roots, and all, tasting of cinnamon; the roots have the whole taste of cinnamon: but the best are certain knobs like unto *alcornoques*, or acorns, which are good merchandize. It appeareth to be wild cinnamon, and there is much of it in the East Indies, and in the islands of *Java* or *Javn*. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 5. c. 36.

From hence they went to the province and city of Coca, where they rested fifty days. From that place forwards they travelled along by a river's side, being sixty leagues long, without finding of any bridge, nor yet any ford to pass over to the other side. They found one place of this river, where it had a fall of 200 fathoms deep, where the water made such a noise, that it would make a man almost deaf to stand by it: and not far beneath this fall, they say they found a chanel of stone, very smooth, of two hundred foot broad, and the river runneth by; and there they made a bridge to pass over on the other side, where they went to a country called *Guema*, which was so poor, that they could get nothing to eat, but only fruits and herbs. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certain cloathing made of cotton-wool, where they built a brigantine; and there they found also certain canoes, wherein they put their sick men, and their treasure, and best apparel, giving the charge of them to one Francis de Orellana: and Goncalvo Pizarro went by land with the rest of the company along by the river's side, and at night went into the boats; and they travelled in this order two hundred leagues, as it appeareth. When Pizarro came to the place where he thought to find the brigantine and canoes, and could have no sight of them, nor yet hear of them, he thought himself out of all hope; because he was in a strange country, without victuals, cloathing, or any thing else: wherefore they were fain to eat their horses, yea, and dogs also, because the country

country was poor and barren, and the journey long; to go to Quito. Yet, notwithstanding, taking a good heart to themselves, they went on forwards in their journey, travelling continually 18 months; and it is reported, that they went almost five hundred leagues, wherein they did neither see fun, nor any thing else whereby they might be comforted: wherefore, of two hundred men which went forth at the first, there returned not more than ten unto Quito; and these so weak, ragged, and disfigured, that they knew them not. Orellana went five or six hundred leagues down the river, seeing divers countries and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to be Amazons; he came into Castile, excusing himself, that the water and streams drove him down by force: this river is named the river of Orellana, and others name it the river of the Amazons, because there are women there who live like unto them.

In the year 1540, Cortes went with his wife into Spain, where he died seven years after.

In the year 1541, it is recorded, that *Don Stephen de Gama*, governor of India, failed toward the streight of Mecca. He came with all his fleet to an anchor in the island of Maçua, and from thence upwards, in small shipping, he went along the coast of the Abassins and Ethiopia, till he came to the island of Suachen, standing in 20 degrees towards the north, and from thence to the haven of Costir, standing in 27 degrees; and so he crossed over to the city of Toro, standing on the shore of Arabia; and along by it he went unto Stiez, which is the farthest end of the streight; and so he turned back the same way, leaving that country and coast discovered so far as never any other Portuguese captain had done: although Lopez Suarez, governor of India, went to the haven of Juda, and the haven of Mecca, standing on the coast of Arabia, in 23 degrees of latitude, and 150 leagues from the mouth of the streight. Don Stephen de Gama, crossing over from Costir to the city of Toro, as it is reported, found an island of brimstone, which was dispeopled by the hand of Mahomet.

In the same year 1541, Don Diego de Almagro killed the marquis Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Martinez of Alcantara, in the city de los Reyes, otherwise called Lima; and made himself governor of that country.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 6.
c. 17.

In the year 1540, the viceroy Don Antony de Mendoza sent one Francis Vasquez do Coronado by land, unto the province of Sibola, with an army of Spaniards and Indians: they went out of Mexico, and came to Culvacan, and from thence to Sibola, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude: they required peace with the people, and some victuals, being thereof destitute; but they answered, that they used not to give any thing to those that came unto them in warlike manner. So the Spaniards assaulted the town, and took it, and called it *Nueva Granada*, because the general himself was born in Granada. The soldiers found themselves deceived by the words of the friers, which had been in those parts before; and because they would not return back to Mexico again with empty hands, they went to the town of Acuco, where they had knowledge of Axa and Quivira, where there was a king very rich, that did worship a cross of gold, and the picture of the queen of heaven. They endured many

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extremities in this journey, and the Indians fled away from them, and in one morning they found thirty of their horses dead. From Cicuic they went to Quivira, which was 200 leagues off, according to their account, passing all through a plain country, and making by the way certain hillocks of cow-dung, because thereby they might not lose their way in their return: they had there hail stones as big as oranges. Now, when they were come to Quivira, they found the king called Tatarrax, which they fought for, with a jewel of copper hanging about his neck, which was all his riches. They saw neither any cross, nor any image of the queen of heaven, nor any other token of the Christian religion. It is written of this country, that it is poorly inhabited, principally in the plain and champagne places, because the men and women go in herds with their cattle, whereof they have great plenty, even as the Arabians do in Barbary; and they remove from place to place, as the season serveth, and the pastures to feed their cattle. In these parts are certain beasts almost as big as horses, they have very great horns, and they bear wool like unto sheep; and so the Spaniards call them. I pass over many things, because the order which I follow will not permit me to be long.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 6.
c. 18, & 19.

In the year of our Lord 1542, one Diego de Frietas being in the realm of Siam, and in the city of Dodra, as captain of a ship, there fled from him three Portuguese in a junk (which is a kind of ship) toward China. Their names were *Antonio de Mota*, *Francis Zeimora*, and *Antonio Pemoto*, directing their course to the city of Liampo, standing in thirty and odd degrees of latitude. There fell upon their stern such a storm, that it set them off the land; and in a few days they saw an island toward the east, standing in 32 degrees, which they name *Japan*, which seemeth to be the isle of *Zipangri*, whereof *Paulus Venetus* maketh mention, and of the riches thereof: and this island of Japan hath gold, silver, and other riches.

In this year 1542, *Don Antonio de Mendoga*, viceroy of Nova Spagna, sent his captains and pilots to discover the coast of cape del Engannon, where a fleet of Cortes' had been before: they sailed till they came to a place called *Sierras Nevadas*, or the *snowy mountains*, standing in 40 degrees toward the north, where they saw ships with merchandises, which carried on their stems the images of certain birds called *alcarrarzi*, and had their yards gilded, and their bow laid over with silver. They seemed to be of the isles of Japan, or of China; for they said, that it was not above thirty days sailing unto their country.

Ib. l. 6. c. 18.

In the same year 1542, *Don Antonio de Mendoga* sent unto the islands of Mindanao a fleet of six ships, with four hundred soldiers, and as many Indians of the country, the general whereof was one Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos; being his brother-in-law, and a man in great estimation. They set sail from the haven of Natividad, standing in 20 degrees toward the north, upon All Saints eve, and shaped their course toward the west: they had sight of the island of St. Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalva had discovered; and beyond, in 17 degrees, they had sight of another island, which they named *La Nublada*, that is, the *cloudy island*: from thence they went to another island named *Roca partida*, that is, the *cloven rock*. The third of December they found certain

Ibid. l. 4.
c. 12.
Ramuf. vol. 1.
f. 375. p. 2.

certain baxos or flats, of six or seven fathoms deep. The fifteenth of the same month they had sight of the islands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Alvaro de Saavedra, had discovered, and named them *Los Reyes*, because they came unto them on Twelfth-day. And beyond them they found other islands in 10 degrees, all standing round; and in the midst of them they came to an anchor, where they took fresh water and wood.

In the same year 1542, Don Diego de Almagro was slain in Peru, by the hands of one Don Vaca de Castro.

In the year 1543, in January, they departed from the aforesaid islands with all the fleet; and had sight of certain islands, out of which there came unto them men in a certain kind of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish tongue, saying, *Buenos dias, mateletes*, that is to say, *Good day, companions*; whereat the Spaniards much marvelled, being then so far out of Spain, to see the men of that country with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the Spanish tongue; and they seemed in their behaviour to incline somewhat to our catholic faith. The Spaniards not knowing that many thereabout had been christened by Francis de Castro, at the command of Antonio Galvano, some of them named these islands *Islas de las cruces*, and others named them *Islas de los mateletes*.

In the same year 1543, the first of February, Ruy Lopez had sight of that noble island *Mindanao*, standing in nine degrees: they could not double it, nor yet come to an anchor, as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, having given their obedience to Antonio Galvano, whom they had in great estimation; and there were five or six kings that had received baptism, who by no means would incur his displeasure. Ruy Lopez, perceiving this, and having a contrary wind, sailed along the coast, to find some aid; and in four or five degrees he found a small island, which they of the country call *Sarangani*, which they took by force; and in memory of the viceroy, who had sent them thither, they named it *Antonia*, where they remained a whole year, in which time there fell out things worthy to be written; but because there are more histories that treat of the same, I leave them, meaning to meddle with the discoveries only.

In the same year 1543, and in the month of August, the general Ruy Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la Torre in a small ship into New Spain, to acquaint the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza with all things. They went to the islands of *Siria*, *Gaonata*, *Bisaya*, and many others, standing in 11 and 12 degrees towards the north, where Magellan had been, and Francis de Castro also, who there baptized many; and the Spaniards called them the *Philippinas*, in memory of the prince of Spain. Here they took victuals and wood, and hoisted sails: they sailed for certain days with a fair wind, till it came upon the skanting, and came right under the tropick of Cancer. The twenty-fifth of September they had sight of certain islands, which they named *Malabrigos*, that is to say, *The evil roads*. Beyond them they discovered *Las dos Hermanas*, that is, *The two sisters*: and beyond them also they saw four islands more, which they called *los Volcanes*. The second of October they had sight of *Parfana*, beyond

The relation of John Gaician, in the first vol. of Ramus. f. 376.

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yond which there standeth an high-pointed rock, which casteth out fire at five places. So sailing in 16 degrees of northerly latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth; wanting wind, they arrived again at the islands of the Philippinas: they had sight of six or seven islands more, but they anchored not at them. They found also an archipelagus of islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees: the people are white, and the women well proportioned, and beautiful, and better arrayed than in any other of those parts, having many jewels of gold, which was a token, that there was some of that metal in the same country. Here were also barques of forty-three cubits in length, and two fathoms and an half in breadth, and the planks five inches thick, which barques were rowed with oars. They told the Spaniards, that they used to sail in them to China; and that, if they would go thither, they should have pilots to conduct them, the country not being above 5 or 6 days sailing from thence. There came unto them also certain barques or boats, handsomely decked, wherein the master and principal men sat on high, and underneath were very black Moors, with frizzled hair: and, being demanded where they had these black Moors, they answered, that they had them from certain islands, standing hard by *Sebut*, where there were many of them; a thing that the Spaniards much marvelled at, because from thence it was above 300 leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally born in that climate; but that they are in certain places scattered over the whole circuit of the world: for even so they are in the islands of Nicobar and Andaman, which stand in the gulph of Bengal; and from thence by the space of 500 leagues we do not know of any black people. Also Vasco Nunnez de Valboa declareth, that as he went to discover the South Sea, in a certain land named Quareca, he found black people, with frizzled hair; whereas there were never any other found either in Nova Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

In the year 1544, *Don Gutierrez de Vargar*, bishop of Placenza, sent a fleet from the city of Seville to the streights of Magellan; which is reported to have been done by the counsel of the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza his cousin. Some suspected that they went to Malacca; others to China; others, that they went only to discover the land betwixt the streight and of Peru, and the other side of Chili; because it was reported to be very rich in gold and silver. But this fleet, by reason of contrary winds, could not pass the streight: yet a small bark passed the same, and sailed along the coast, and discovered all the land till it came to Chirimai and Arquipa, which is above 500 leagues; for the rest was already discovered by Diego D'Almagro, Francis Pizarro, and their captains and people, at divers times. By this it appeareth, that from the streight to the equinoctial line, on both sides, is wholly discovered.

In the year 1545, and in the month of January, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos, and Giraldo, with the Castilians, came to the island of Moro, and the city of Camaso, where they were well received of the kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the country (because Antonio Galvano was gone); and they put the captain don George de Castro to great trouble, as appeared by those things which passed between him and the Portuguesse, and the great expences whereunto he put the fortrefs.

Gomar. hist.
gen. l. 4.
c. 14.

GALVANO'S PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY.

In the same year 1545, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos sent from the island of Tidora another ship towards New Spain, by the south side of the line, wherein was captain one *Ignatius Ortiz de Retba*, and for pilot one *Jasper Rios*. They sailed to the coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same; and because they knew not, that Saavedra had been there before, they challenged the honour and fame of that discovery; and because the people there were black, and had frizzled hair, they named it Nueva Guiney: for the memory of Saavedra then was almost lost, as all things else fall into oblivion, which are not recorded and illustrated by writing.

In this year 1545, and in the month of June, there went a junk from the city of Borneo, wherein went one *Pedro Fidalgo*, a Portuguese; but, by contrary winds, he was driven towards the north, where he found an island standing in nine or ten degrees, that stretched itself to 22 degrees of latitude, which is called, the Isle of the Lugones, because the inhabitants thereof were so named: it may have some other name and harbour, which as yet we know not. It runneth from the north to the south-west, and stagdeth between Mindanno and China. They say they sailed along by it 250 leagues, where the land was fruitful, and well covered: and there, they affirm, that they will give two pesos of gold for one of silver, and yet it standeth not far from the country of China.

In the year 1553, there went out of *England* certain shipping; and, as it appeared, they sailed northward along the coast of Norway and Finark, and from thence east till they came between 70 and 80 degrees to Muscovy, for so far one of the ships went; but I know not what became of the rest; and this was the last discovery made till this time. From this land of Muscovy, eastward, you sail to Tartary, and at the farther end of it stands the country and province of China. It is said, that between China and Tartary, there is a wall above 200 leagues in length, standing near to 50 degrees of latitude.

Now I gather by all the precedent Discoveries, that the whole Earth is in circuit 360 degrees, according to the geometry thereof; and to every degree antient writers allow 17 leagues and an half, which amount to 6300 leagues; yes, I take it that every degree is just 17 leagues: however it be, all is discovered, and sailed from the east to the west, almost even as the sun compasseth it; but from the south to the north there is great difference: for, towards the north pole, there is found discovered no more than 77 or 78 degrees, which come to 1326 leagues: and towards the south pole there is discovered from the equinoctial to 52 or 53 degrees; that is, to the streight which Magellan passed through, which amounts to about 900 leagues; and putting both these said main sums together, they amount to 2226 leagues. Now, take so many out of 6300 leagues, there remaineth as yet undiscovered, north and south, above the space of 4000 leagues.

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APPENDIX (B.)

MR. LOCKE'S

HISTORY OF NAVIGATION,

FROM ITS ORIGINAL TO THE YEAR 1704, WITH AN EXPLANATORY CATALOGUE
OF VOYAGES, PREFIXED BY THAT LEARNED WRITER TO CHURCHILL'S COLLEC-
TION, IN EIGHT VOLS. FOLIO.

. This learned Treatise was added to the last octavo edition of Mr. Locke's Works, in nine volumes, at the express recommendation of *Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle*; and probably was the concluding effort which the former made in literature, as Mr. Locke died during the same year on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704: Churchill's Collection of Voyages had been previously presented by Mr. Locke to the University of Oxford. In the modern part of this History of Navigation he appears to have been much assisted by the preceding work of Galvano; however, as Mr. Locke some times differs from him, has made considerable additions, and continued the subject to a much later period, I have thought it right to insert this Treatise, without alteration or abridgment, which would have taken considerably from its value. *

THE
HISTORY OF NAVIGATION,

BY THE CELEBRATED

JOHN LOCKE.

Pancir.
Part 2.
Tit. 10.
p. 233.

Schefferus de
Mil. Nav.
vet. p. 19.

Of all the inventions and improvements the wit and industry of man has discovered and brought to perfection, none seems to be so universally useful, profitable, and necessary, as the art of Navigation. There are those that will not allow it to be called the invention of man, but rather the execution of the direction given by Almighty God, since the first vessel we read of in the world, was the *Ark of Noah*, built by the immediate command and appointment of the Almighty. But this is not a place to enter upon such a controversy, where some will ask, Why it should be believed there were not ships before the flood, as well as after, since doubtless those first men extending their lives to eight or nine hundred years, were more capable of improving the world than we whose days are reduced to fourscore years, and all beyond them only misery or dotage?—It is impertinent to spend time upon such frivolous arguments, which only depend on opinion or fancy. If then we give any credit to History, on which all our knowledge of what is past depends, we shall find that Navigation had but a mean and obscure original, that it was gradually and but very leisurely improved, since in many ages it scarce ventured out of sight of land; and that it did not receive its final perfection till these latter times, if we may be allowed to call that perfect which is still doubtless capable of a further improvement: but I give it that epithet only, with regard to the infinite advancement it has received since its first appearance in the world.

The first Vessel ever known to have floated on the waters, was the Ark made by God's appointment, in which Noah and his three sons were saved from the universal deluge. But this Ark, Ship, or whatever else it may be called, had neither oars, sails, masts, yards, rudder, or any sort of rigging whatsoever; being only guided by Divine Providence, and having no particular port, or coast to steer to, only to float upon the waters; till those being dried up, it rested on the mountains of Ararat, as we read in Gen. viii. 4. From this time till after the confusion of tongues there was no use of Navigation, there being as yet no sufficient multitude to people the earth; and those men

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there were, having undertaken to build the tower of Babel, from thence were dispersed into all other parts of the known world. These first travellers doubtless met with many rivers before they came to the sea, as plainly appears by the situation of Babel, generally agreed upon by all that treat of scriptural geography; and those rivers they passed in an hollowed piece of timber, no better than a trough, or a sort of basket covered over with raw hides, being the easiest that occurred to invention, and sufficient for their present purpose; which was only to pass on in their way to other parts, without the prospect of trade or commerce, which cannot be supposed to have then entered into their thoughts. What Vessels they built when they came to the sea no history describes, and therefore it would be a rashness to pretend to any knowledge of them: that they were small, ill rigged, and only durst creep along the shores, is out of all dispute; if we consider that many succeeding ages were no better furnished, though they never failed from time to time to correct the defects they found in their shipping, and industriously laboured to improve the art of Navigation. Not to speak therefore of what is absolutely fabulous, or only supposititious, let us come to the first Sailors famed in history; and touching those times lightly, descend to matters of more certainty and better authority.

If we give credit to poets and poetical writers, we shall find Neptune covering the Mediterranean sea with his mighty fleets, as admiral under his father *Saturn*, supposed to be *Noah*, as *Neptune* is to be *Japheth*; and to him is ascribed the first building of ships, with sharp stems, or heads shod with iron or brass, to run against other ships, and split them, and with towers on them for men to fight when they came to lie board and board. Yet there are others that give the honour of inventing of ships, and steering them to *Glaucus*; affirming it was he that built, and piloted the ship *Argo*, in Jason's expedition against the Tyrrhenians; which others attribute to Argos, making him the builder and pilot. These notions, or rather poetical fictions, are rejected by the learned Bochartus in his *Geographia Sacra*, (p. 819, 820.) where he shews that the ship *Argo* ought properly to be called *Arco*, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies long; a name given it because it was the first long ship built by the Greeks, who learned it of the Phœnicians, and called it by their name, whereas all the vessels used by them before that time were round. This ship *Argo*, or rather galley, he says had fifty oars, that is twenty-five on each side, and therefore must be fifty cubits in length. Here it appears that the Greeks had round vessels before that time, and all we can reasonably conclude is, that this ship or galley *Argo*, or *Arco*, was larger, and perhaps better built and contrived than any before it, and might perform the longer voyage; which rendered it famous, as if it had been the first ship. But it is certain there were many fleets, such as they were, before this time; for the Argonauts' expedition was about the year of the world 2801, which was after the flood 1144 years: whereas we find *Semiramis* built a fleet of two thousand sail on the coasts of Cyprus, Syria, and Phœnicia, and had them transported on carriages and camels' backs to the river Indus; where they fought and defeated the fleet of Staurobates king of India, consist-

ing of four thousand boats made of cane, as Diodorus Siculus writes, (L. 2. Antiq. cap. 1.) About the year of the world 2622, and 965 after the flood, *Jupiter* king of Crete, or Candia, with his fleet stole away Europa the daughter of Agenor, king of the Sidonians. In 2700 of the world, and after the flood 1043, *Perseus* went on the expedition by sea against Medusa in Afric.—Now to return to the Argonauts so much celebrated by the poets; upon the strictest examination into truth, we shall only find them inconsiderable coasters in the Mediterranean, and sent out by the public to suppress pirates; though fabulous Greece has extolled their expedition beyond all measure. Next follows the *Trojan war* about the year of the world 2871, and 1214 after the flood, where we find a fleet of one thousand one hundred and forty sail of all sorts, still creeping along the shores, without daring to venture out of sight of land.

Now leaving the Greeks, it is fit we return to the *Phœnicians*, who are the same the scripture calls the Philistines or Canaanites, as is largely proved by Bochartus, certainly the earliest and ablest mariners in those first ages: they made the greatest discoveries of any nation, they planted colonies of their own in most of those countries so discovered, and settled trade and commerce in the most distant regions. There can be no greater testimony of their wealth and naval power, than what we find in holy writ, (Ezek. xxvii.) where the prophet speaking of Tyre, says *it is situate at the entry of the sea, is a merchant for many isles, its ship-boards are of fir-trees of Senir, their masts of cedars, their oars of oak of Basban, their benches of ivory, their sails of fine embroidered linen; and so goes on through most of the chapter, extolling its mariners, pilots, ships, and all things belonging to them.* This, though from the undeniable oracle of scripture, were no sufficient proof of their knowledge in this art, were not all histories full of their many expeditions. The first was on the coast of Afric, where they founded the most powerful city of Carthage, which so long contended with Rome for the sovereignty of the world: thence they extended their dominions into Spain, and not so satisfied, coasted it round, still pursuing their discoveries along the coasts of France, and even into this island of Great Britain; where they afterwards had a settled trade for tin, and such other commodities as the country then afforded: as may be seen at large in Procopius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and many other ancient authors. Pliny, (lib. 2. cap. 69.) with others affirms, that in the flourishing times of the republic of Carthage, *Hanno* being sent out from thence to discover southward, sailed quite round Afric into the Red Sea, and returned the same way; and that *Kimilco* setting out at the same time northwards, sailed as far as *Thule* or *Iceland*. Both these relations are in part rejected by most authors as fabulous; because it does not appear that the utmost extent of Afric was ever known, till the *Portugueses* in these latter times discovered it; and the very northern parts of Europe were not thoroughly discovered, even in the time of the Roman greatness. However, no doubt is to be made but that they sailed very far both ways, and might perhaps add something of their own invention, to gain the more reputation to their undertakings. Nor were they confined to the Mediterranean and westward Ocean, it

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was they that conducted Solomon's fleets to Ophir; and we read in 1 Kings ix. 27. that *Hiram* (who was king of Tyre, and consequently his men Phœnicians) *sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea*: and again, (chap. x. ver. 11.) *and the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir*. Thus we see the Phœnicians traded to Ophir before king Solomon, and for him.—To enter into the controversy where this *Ophir* was, is not proper for this place, but the most probable opinions conclude it to be some part of the *East Indies*, and indeed there is not the least shew of reason to place it elsewhere. How they performed these long voyages without the help of the Compass, or magnetical needle, would be another no less difficult inquiry; considering they could not always sail by day, and lie by at night, or continually keep within sight of land, whence tempests at least would often drive them into the open sea; but this is easily solved by all authors, who with one consent inform us, that they were directed by the course of the sun in the day, and by the stars at night. And in this knowledge of the heavens the Phœnicians exceeded all other nations, as may be gathered from Pliny, (lib. 5. c. 12, and 19.) where he shews that mankind is obliged to the Phœnicians for five things of the greatest use, *viz.* letters, the knowledge of the stars, the art of navigation, military discipline, and the building of many towns. By this their knowledge of the stars, they recovered themselves when lost in foul weather, and knew how to shape their course across spacious gulphs, and bays, which would have spent them much time in coasting round. However it must not hence be inferred that they were capable of traversing the vast Ocean betwixt Europe and America, as some would endeavour to make out; because it is well known that *Voyage*, even with the help of the compass, was at first thought impracticable; and when discovered, for some time proved very difficult and dangerous, till time and experience had made it more familiar. The very reason alleged for the possibility of their sailing to the West Indies, which is the certainty of the *trade winds* blowing always at east within the tropics, makes against them; because had those winds carried them thither, the vast difficulty in returning the same way would deter them from that enterprise: they being altogether ignorant, and we may say incapable of coming away north, which was accidentally found out many years after the discovery of the West Indies.

The *Greeks*, though occasionally mentioned before them, were the next in order to the Phœnicians in Maritime Affairs, and learned the art of them. They not only equalled their masters in this art, but soon excelled them, and gave them several notable overthrows on their own element; for we often find them, though much inferior in numbers, gaining glorious victories over the Persians, whose fleets were all managed by Phœnicians. One instance or two may serve for all—the first is the famous battle of *Salamis*, where the confederate Greeks, whose whole force consisted but of three hundred and eighty ships, defeated thirteen hundred of the Persians, with inconsiderable loss to themselves, and incredible to their enemies; as may be seen in *Plutarch's* lives of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, in *Diod. Sic.* lib. XI. *Herod.* lib. VII, and VIII. and others. Again, the Athenian fleet commanded by *Cimon*, lorded it

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along the coasts of Asia; where closely pursuing the Persian admiral *Tirraustes*, he obliged him to run his ships aground, of which he took two hundred, besides all that perished on the shore. And not so satisfied, *Cimon* proceeded to *Hydrope*, where he destroyed seventy sail, which were the peculiar squadron of the Phœnicians; for which particulars see *Thucyd.* (lib. I. cap. 11, and 12.) *Plutarch* in *vit. Cimon*, and *Diod. Sic.* lib. XII. These victories were the bane of Greece, which growing rich with the spoils of the Persians, fell into those vices it had before been a stranger to, and which broke that union which had preserved it against the common enemy. Hence followed the war betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and several others, where those little states confederating one against another, sent out many numerous Fleets, and strove for the sovereignty of the sea; till having sufficiently weakened themselves they at length became a prey to others. Yet during their flourishing times, and even in adversity, when driven from home by disasters, they never ceased sending out colonies upon all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly of Asia, Spain, France, Italy, and Sicily; in all which countries they so far extended their empire, that it would fill a volume to give but an indifferent account of them. Yet under *Alexander the Great*, the founder of the Grecian empire, there are some things so singular that they well deserve a place here. That these latter ages may not boast of the invention of *fireships*, we find in *Curtius*, (lib. IV.) that at the siege of Tyre, when a mole was carrying on to join that city to the continent, the inhabitants having loaded a large ship heavily astern with sand and stones, to the end the head might rise high above the water, and prepared it for their purpose with combustible matter, they drove it violently with sails and oars against the mole, where they set fire to it, the seamen in it escaping in their boats: the mole being in a great measure made of wood, with wooden towers on it, was by this device utterly destroyed. Thus we see the Tyrians successfully invented the first fireship we read of in history.—The next thing remarkable in this mighty conqueror's reign, in relation to Navigation, was his sailing down the river Indus into the Indian ocean; where we may by the bye observe the wonderful ignorance, not only of his landmen, but even of the sailors, who, as *Curtius*, (lib. IX.) testifies, were all astonished and beside themselves at the ebbing and flowing of the river. From hence, the same author tells us, Alexander sent his admiral *Nearchus* to coast along the Ocean as far as he could, and return to him with an account of what he should discover. *Nearchus* accordingly, keeping along the Indian and Persian shores, and entering the Persian Gulph, returned to him up the river Euphrates, which was then looked upon as a wonderful discovery, and a great masterpiece of that admiral, for which he received a crown of gold from Alexander. Thus much we have concerning this expedition in *Curtius* quoted above, and in *Plutarch* in *vit. Alex.*—*Purchas* in his first vol. (p. 86, 87, 88.) gives a very particular account day by day of this voyage of *Nearchus*, taken out of *Arianus*, lib. VIII. who delivers it as *Nearchus's* journal of the expedition.

Next to the Phœnicians and Greeks, the *Romans* became sovereigns of the sea; yet not all at once, but after hard struggling with the Carthaginians, then in the height

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of their power, having by their naval force made themselves masters of the greatest part of Spain, and the coast of Afric, of many islands in the Mediterranean, and being intent upon the conquest of Sicily. This island furnished these mighty cities with an occasion of trying their forces on pretence of protecting their allies, but in reality out of a desire of sovereignty. The Romans were altogether unacquainted with naval affairs, insomuch that they knew not how to build a galley, but that the Carthaginians cruizing on the coast of Italy, as we find in *Polybius*, (lib. I.) one of their *Quinquere* galleys happened to fall into the hands of the Romans; who by that model built an hundred of the same sort, and twenty *Triremes*. Whilst the galleys were building, they exercised the seamen in rowing upon the dry shore, causing them to sit in ranks as if they were aboard, with oars in their hands, and an officer in the middle; who by signs instructed them how they should all at once dip their oars, and recover them out of the water. When the fleet was launched, finding the galleys not artificially built, but sluggish and unwieldy, they invented an engine to grapple fast with the enemy at the first shock, that so they might come to handy-strokes, at which they knew themselves superior, and prevent being circumvented by the swiftness of the Carthaginian galleys, and experience of their mariners. This engine they called *corvus*; it consisted of a large piece of timber set upright on the prow of the vessel, about which was a stage of several ascents of boards well fastened with iron, and at the end of it two massive irons sharp-pointed: the whole could be hoisted or lowered by a pulley at the top of the upright timber. This engine they hoisted to the top when the enemy drew near, and when they came to shock ship to ship, they let it run down amain into the enemy's vessel, with which its own weight grappled it so fast that there was no breaking loose; and if the attack happened on the bow, the men went down two and two into the enemy's vessel, by the help of the afore-mentioned scaffold; all which may be seen more fully described in *Polybius* above quoted. By the help of these engines, *Duillius* the Roman admiral overthrew *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, though superior to him in number of vessels and experience in maritime affairs; taking his own *Septireme* and fifty other vessels, with great slaughter of his men, though he himself escaped in his boat: this was in the year of Rome 493. In 497, *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Volso*, consuls, commanded another fleet, in which were above one hundred and forty thousand men; the Carthaginians had then in their fleet, one hundred and fifty thousand men under the conduct of *Hamilcar*, who was intirely overthrown, fifty of his ships taken, and sixty-four sunk. Thus far the sea had proved favourable to the Romans; but in the year of Rome 499, having sent out a fleet of three hundred *Quinquere*mes, they lost one hundred and forty by storms; which made them resolve to lay aside all naval enterprises, keeping only seventy sail of ships to serve as transports; till in the year 503, perceiving their affairs in Sicily decline, the Carthaginians being absolute masters at sea, they again sent out two hundred sail, and the following year received a mighty overthrow with the loss of ninety-three galleys. Resolving now to put an end to the war, they again fitted out two hundred *Quinquere*mes, built by the model of a *Rhodian* they had before taken,

taken, and with them gave the Carthaginians such a fatal overthrow, as reduced them to accept of a dishonourable peace. This was the rise of the Roman power at sea, which they after not only held, but increased as long as their empire subsisted. Their actions are too many and too great for this place; those that desire to see more may read them in *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and many other authors who deliver them at large: thus much having been said only to deduce the succession of Navigation from one people to another. Now, though the Romans at this time gained the sovereignty of the seas, and held it for some ages, yet we do not find that they applied themselves to New Discoveries, or ever exceeded the bounds of what the Phœnicians had before made known; their greatest voyage being that which *Pliny*, (lib. VI. cap. 23.) gives an account of, being from Egypt to India, before-mentioned to have been frequently performed by the Phœnicians, and therefore had nothing new in it. What occurs in this place, is to say something of the several sorts of galleys called *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinquerèmes*, and so forth, whereof mention was made above. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus* agree, that *Aminocles* the Corinthian was the first that invented the *Trireme* galley, about three hundred years after the destruction of Troy. *Pliny* will have it, that *Aristotle* a Carthaginian first built a *Quadrirème*, and *Nesigiton* of Salamis a *Quinquerème*; but *Diodorus* contradicts it, attributing the invention of the *Quinquerèmes* to *Dionysius* the Sicilian. *Pliny* further adds, that *Zenagorus* the Syracusan, built the first vessel of six ranks; *Nesigiton* one of ten; *Alexander the Great* is reported to have proceeded to twelve; *Philostephanus* makes *Ptolomy Soter* the first that made one of fifteen ranks; *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonos* of thirty; *Ptolomy Philadelphus* of forty; and *Ptolomy Philopator* of fifty. Thus we have the original of them all; but what sort of vessels these were, that is, how the several degrees or ranks of oars were disposed, has been much controverted, and is a most difficult point to be determined. The shortness of this discourse will not allow much canvassing of the point; yet a few words out of two or three learned authors will give some satisfaction to the curious.—*Morifotus* in his *Orbis Maritimus*, (p. 608.) positively affirms, that each of these vessels had its name from the number of ranks of oars placed one above another, so that the *Trireme* had three, the *Quinquerème* five ranks; and so every one according to its name, even till we come to *Ptolomy Philopator's Tesseracteres*, which he asserts had forty ranks of oars placed one over another; wherein he agrees with *Boissus*, whom he quotes, as he does the emperor *Leo*, whose words are these: *Every ship of war must be of its due length, having two ranks of oars, the one higher, and the other lower*. This, which to him seems concluding, to others appears of no force; for allowing there might be vessels that had two ranks of oars one above another, that does not at all prove the possibility of having twenty or forty, which must of necessity rise to such a height as would look more like a mountain than a ship; and those upper oars must be so long, and in proportion so large and unwieldy, that no strength of hands could ever manage them. Others will have these several ranks of oars to be taken lengthways, and not in height; that is, so many in the prow, so many in the midships, and so many in the poop: whence will follow that *Ptolomy's* galley had

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forty several ranks in length, with intervals betwixt them, in one line from stem to stern; which, allowing but a small number of oars to each of these ranks, will quite outrun the length assigned that vessel, being two hundred and eighty cubits. This opinion is followed by *Stevocius*, *Cassilionius*, and several others: but sir *Henry Savil* is of another mind, and supposes these ranks not to lie in length from head to stern, nor in height one above another, but athwart; which must appear preposterous, because allowing so many ranks this way, that is athwart the galley, its breadth would exceed all proportion. The fourth solution of this difficulty, and that very much received, is, that the vessel had its name from so many men tugging at one oar; that is three in a *Trireme*, five in a *Quinquereme*, and so of the rest; which indeed as far as six or seven men to an oar, has the most resemblance of truth: but when we come to forty or fifty men to an oar, it will be difficult to reconcile either to the breadth of the vessel; not to be supposed capable of eighty men in a rank, or to the height of the men: because though the first man, next the side of the galley, had the oar under hand, yet the end of it, when it came to the fortieth, must of necessity rise above his reach. These two objections are again answered, the first by allowing each oar to reach quite athwart the galley, and so the forty men to fill up the whole breadth, rowing as they do in our wherries or barges; and the second by allowing an ascent from one side of the galley to the other, for each seat or standing of those that rowed; and, for the soldiers and sailors, we must imagine a deck over the heads of the slaves at the oar. This carries much of reason, but little of ancient authority, for we find no ancient monuments that describe any thing of this nature. We will conclude this matter with the opinion of *Schefferus de militia navali*, (lib. II. cap. 2.) where allowing a competent distance, according to the length of the vessel betwixt each bank of oars, he supposes the first row to be as in our galleys next the level of the water; then in the intervals another row, not distinguished by a deck, but raised so high by their seat that their feet rested against that which was the back of the bank below them; and so one above the other in those intervals, which takes off much of the height, that must have been, allowing them several decks, and consequently shortens the upper oars in proportion: yet cannot at all lessen the difficulty that will occur upon plying so many oars, which will come to dip so close together in the water, that it seems impracticable to avoid clattering of them, and falling into confusion, not to mention many more inconveniences obvious enough to every man's reason that has seen any vessels of this nature: and therefore it is best to determine nothing amidst such uncertainties, but leave every one to approve that which shall best suit with his notion of the matter. Therefore leaving these obscurities, it is better to proceed upon the history of Navigation where we left off, and see in what state it continued from the time of the Romans last spoken of, till the fortunate discovery of the magnetical needle; from which time is to be dated its greatest advancement, as will be visible in that place.

As long as the Roman empire continued in splendor, it supported what it had found of Navigation, but added little or nothing to it; that people being altogether intent upon making new conquests, and finding still more work than they were able to com-

pass upon dry land, without venturing far out to sea. But when the barbarous nations began to dismember that monarchy, this art instead of improving, doubtless declined, as did all others.—The first of these barbarians were the *Goths* and *Vandals*, of whom no great actions appear on the sea; their farthest expeditions on this element being in the Mediterranean, betwixt Italy and Afric, Spain and the islands, where nothing occurs worth mentioning. The *Saracens* were next to them as to order of time, though much superior in naval power, yet contained within the same bounds, and consequently did nothing more memorable. After the *Saracens* may be reckoned the *NORMANS*, who for several years infested the coasts of Britain and France with their fleets from Norway; till having settled themselves in Normandy, they ran out plundering all the coasts of Spain, and entering the straits conquered a great part of the kingdom of Naples, and the whole island of Sicily. Still these, though they undertook longer voyages, were but coasters; and satisfied with what they found, did not endeavour to add any thing to the art of Navigation, especially for that they were as then but rude and barbarous, war and rapine being their only profession. Other nations famous at sea were the *Genoese* and *Venitians*, betwixt whom there were bloody wars for several years; and the latter, till the *Portuguese* discovered the way by sea to the East Indies, had all the trade of those parts in their own hands; either brought up the Red Sea into Egypt, or by caravans to the sea-port towns of Asia. We might here mention the expeditions of English, French, Danes, Dutch, and other nations, but should find nothing new in them all. They all in their turns were powerful at sea; they all ventured sometimes far from home, either to rob, conquer, or trade: but all in the same manner creeping along the shores, without daring to venture far out to sea, having no guides out of sight of land but the stars, which in cloudy nights must fail them. It is therefore time to leave these blind sailors, and come to the Magnet or Loadstone, and to the Compass or magnetical needle, which has opened ways in the unknown ocean, and made them as plain and easy in the blackest night as in the brightest day: to come then to the point.

The Loadstone, or Magnet, so called from the Latin word *magnet*, had this name given it because found in the country of *Magnesia*, which is a part of *Lydia* in Asia; or because the *Magnesian* first discovered its virtue of attracting iron: for both these reasons are given by the learned *Bochartus* (*Geogr. Sacr.* p. 717.) What other virtues and qualities it has, does not belong to this place: but it is certain the magnet has two poles, answering to the two poles of the world, and to which they naturally incline (if nothing obstructs) to lie parallel. This property is not confined to itself, but communicative, as daily experience shews us in the nautical needles; which by the touch of this stone partake so much of its nature, that the point so touched, unless otherwise hindered, will always look towards the north pole. Let the learned Naturalist plunge himself into the inscrutable abyss of nature to find out reasons for this sympathy; it shall suffice here, to shew the benefits and advantages navigation, and in it mankind, has reaped by the discovery of this most wonderful secret. The *Magnesian*, as was said above, were counted the first discoverers of the Loadstone's virtue of attracting iron;

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iron; but this greater virtue of pointing out the North Pole, was never found till about the year 1300, if we will believe all the best modern inquirers into antiquity; who upon diligent search unanimously agree they cannot find the least ground to believe it was known before; rather than give credit to some few writers, who more suppose such a thing to have been used by the Phœnicians, than pretend to prove its having nothing but their own fancies, raised upon weak and groundless surmises, to build upon. The great advocate I find for this opinion (in *Bochart. Geog. Sac.* p. 716. and in *Purchas's pilgrims*, p. 26.) is *Fuller* in his miscellanies, (l. 4. c. 19.) yet neither of them mentions any proof, or strong argument, he brings to corroborate his opinion, and therefore they both with reason reject him. These two authors, and *Panciroli* lib. ii. tit. 11. do not forget the verse often urged out of *Plautus* in *Mercat.*

Hic secundus ventus nunc est, cape modo Versoriam.

Which *Versoria* some will have to be the compass. But there is nothing solid in this argument, it is only catching at straws, when all History and Practice of former ages make against it: History, because it could not but have made some mention of a thing so universally useful and necessary; and practice, because it is well known no such voyages were then performed, as are now daily by the help of the compass. It has sufficiently been proved before, that in all former ages they were but coasters, scarce daring to venture out of sight of land; that if out at night they had no other rule to go by but the stars: and what is still more, it is manifest they scarce ventured at all to sea in the winter months. That this is so, appears by *Vegetius*, (lib. IV.) where speaking of the months, he says,—the seas are shut from the third of the ides of November, to the sixth of the ides of March, and from that time till the ides of May, it is dangerous venturing to sea. Thus much may suffice to shew the Compass was not known to antiquity; let us see when it first appeared in the world.

Its ancient use being rejected by general consent, there have still been some who have endeavoured to rob the discoverer of this honour: among them *Goropius* quoted by *Morifotus*, will have this invention attributed to the Cimbrians, Teutonic, or Germans, for this weak reason; because the names of the thirty-two winds about it are Teutonic, and used by almost all Europeans. Others will not allow this to be the product of any part of Europe, and therefore go as far as China for it; alleging that *M. Paulus Venetus* brought it from thence about the year 1260: but this is asserted without any the least authority, only because *Paulus Venetus* travelled into China, and when afterwards the Portuguese came thither, they * found the use of the needle common among all those eastern nations, which they affirmed they had enjoyed for many ages. Not to dwell upon groundless suppositions, the general consent of the best authors on this subject is,—that the Magnetical needle or Compass was first found out in Europe by one *John Gioia*, whom others call *Flavio Gioia*, of the city of Amalfi, on the coast of that part of the kingdom of Naples called *Terra di Lavoro*. This happened about the year of our Lord 1300; and though the thing be of such stupendous advantage to the world, yet it did not prove so greatly profitable to the first

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* See Extract from *Ossorio's History*, article (H).

finder, whose bare name is all that remains to posterity; without the least knowledge of his profession, or after what manner he made this wonderful discovery. So wonderful that it seems to contradict the opinion of Solomon, who many ages since said there was nothing new under the sun; whereas this certainly appears, though so long after him, to be altogether new, and never so much as thought of before; which cannot so plainly be made out of any other of those we look upon as modern inventions or improvements. For to instance in a few things; we find the use of Fire-Ships among the Tyrians in the time of Alexander the Great, as was mentioned before out of Curtius, lib. IV. and therefore not repeated here. Our Sea-Charts, on which latter times have so much valued themselves, are of such ancient date, that we cannot find their original; yet Morisotus, p. 12. says that Eolus gave Ulysses a sea-chart drawn on a ram's skin, that is, a parchment. Again, p. 14. the same author out of Trogus observes, that Democedes the Cratonian, employed by Darius Hystaspes to view the coasts of Greece, sent him charts of them all, with the ports, roads, and strong-holds exactly marked down. Then, p. 215. he shews out of Ælianus and Aristophanes, that there were Maps of the world in Socrates's time. This, he says, was about the eightieth Olympiad, and then quotes Strabo, who from Eratosthenes affirms, that Anaximander the Mileſian was the first who made geographical tables about the fiftieth Olympiad. *Sheathing of ships* is a thing in appearance so absolutely new, that scarce any will doubt to assert it altogether a modern invention; yet how vain this notion is, will soon appear in two instances. *Leo Baptista Alberti* in his book of architecture, lib. V. cap. 12. has these words: *But Trojan's ship weighed out of the lake of Riccia at this time, while I was compiling this work, where it had lain sunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I observed, that the pine and cypress of it had lasted most remarkably. On the outside it was built with double planks, daubed over with Greek pitch, caulked with linen rags; and over all a sheet of lead fastened on with little copper nails.* Raphael Volaterranus in his geography says, this ship was weighed by the order of cardinal Prospero Colonna. Here we have caulking, and sheathing together, above sixteen hundred years ago; for I suppose no man can doubt that the sheet of lead nailed over the outside with copper nails was sheathing, and that in great perfection; the copper nails being used rather than iron, which, when once rusted in the water with the working of the ship, soon lose their hold and drop out. The other instance we find in Purchas's pilgrims, (vol. I. lib. 4.) in captain Saris's voyage to the court of Japan, p. 371. where the captain giving an account of his voyage says; that rowing betwixt Firando and Fuccate, about eight or ten leagues on this side Xemina-seque, he found a great town, where there lay in a dock a *junk* of eight or ten hundred tun burden, *sheathed all with iron.* This was in the year 1613, about which time the English came first acquainted with Japan; and it is evident, that nation had not learned the way of sheathing of them, or the Portugueses, who were there before, but were themselves ignorant of the art.

Now to return to the Magnetical Needle, or Sea-Compass; its discoverer, as has been said, appears to be Flavius, or John Gioia of Amalfi, and the time of its discovery about

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about the year 1300. The reason of its tending to, or pointing out the north, is what many natural philosophers have in vain laboured to find; and all their study has brought them only to be sensible of the imperfection of human knowledge: which when plunged into the inquiry after the secrets of nature, finds no other way to come off but by calling them *occult qualities*; which is no other than owning our ignorance, and granting they are things altogether unknown to us: yet these are not all the wonders of this magnetic virtue. The Variation of it is another as inscrutable a secret. This Variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or less either to the east or west; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the same in the same place, which is found by observing the sun or stars. The Cause of this Variation some philosophers ascribe to magnetical mountains, some to the pole itself, some to the Heavens, and some to a magnetical power even beyond the heavens; but these are blind guesses, and fond ostentations of learning, without any thing in them to convince one's reason. There is nothing of it certain but the Variation itself; nor is this Variation alone; there is a *variation of the variation*, a subject to be handled by none but such as have made it a peculiar study; and which deserving a peculiar volume, is daily expected from a most able pen.—But let us leave these mysteries, and come to the historical part, as the principal scope of this discourse; where we shall find, that though the use of the Needle was so long since found out; yet, either through its being kept private by some few persons at first as a secret of great value, or through the dullness of the sailors, at first not comprehending this wonderful phenomenon; or through fear of venturing too far out of the known shores; or lastly, out of a conceit that there could not be more habitable world to discover;—whether for these, or any other cause, we do not find any considerable advantage made of this wonderful discovery for above an age after it: nay, what is more, it does not appear how the world received it; who first used it upon the sea, and how it spread abroad into other parts. This is not a little strange, in a matter of such consequence, that the histories of nations should not mention when they received so great an advantage, nor what benefit they found at first by it. But so it is; and therefore to shew the advancement of Navigation since the discovery of the Magnetical needle, it will be absolutely necessary to begin several years after it, before which nothing appears to be done. This shall be performed with all possible brevity, and by way of Annals, containing a summary account of all Discoveries from year to year: yet, lest the distance and variety of places should too much distract the reader, if all lay intermixed, the *European northern discoveries* shall be first run through in their order of years; next to them, as next in order of time, shall follow the African, and so of the East India or Asiatic, the one being the consequence of the other; and in the last place shall appear the West Indian, or American.—The first part of the northern European discoveries is all taken out of *Hakluyt*, beginning with the nearest after the discovery of the Needle; quoting the authors out of him, and the page where they are to be found.

An.

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An. 1360, *Nicholas de Linne*, or of *Linn*, a friar of Oxford, who was an able astronomer, took a voyage with others into the most northern islands of the world; where leaving his company he travelled alone, and made draughts of all those northern parts, which at his return he presented to king Edward III. This Friar made five voyages into those parts: for this he quotes Gerardus Mercator, and Mr. John Der, (Hak. p. 122.) And this, though it is not there mentioned, being sixty years after the discovery of the Compass, we may look upon as one of the first trials of this nature, made upon the security of the magnetical direction in these northern seas. Yet after this for many years we find no other discovery attempted this way, but rather all such enterprises seemed to be wholly laid aside; till—

An. 1553, and in the reign of king Edward VI. Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was sent out with three ships to discover *Cathay* and other northern parts. He sailed in May, and having spent much time about the northern islands subject to Denmark, where he found no commodity but dried fish and train oil; he was forced about the middle of September, after losing the company of his other two ships, to put into an harbour in Lapland called *Arzina*, where they could find no inhabitants; but thinking to have wintered there, were all frozen to death. However the *Edward*, which was the second ship in this expedition, and commanded by *Richard Chancellor*, who was chief pilot for the voyage, having lost Sir Hugh Willoughby, made its way for the port of Wardhouse in Norway, where they had appointed to meet if parted by storms. Chancellor staid there seven days; and perceiving none of his company came to join him, proceeded on his voyage so fortunately, that within a few days he arrived in the bay of St. Nicholas on the coast of Muscovy; where he was friendly received by the natives, being the first ship that ever came upon that coast. Chancellor himself went to the court of Mosco, where he settled a trade betwixt England and Muscovy, with John Basilowitz the great duke, or *Czar*, then reigning. This done, Chancellor returned home with the honour of being the first discoverer of Russia.

An. 1556, *Stephen Burrough* was sent out in a small vessel to discover the river *Ob*: he sailed in April, and in May came upon the coast of Norway; whence continuing his voyage, in July he arrived at Nova Zembla, that is, the new land, where he received directions how to shape his course for the river *Ob*. He spent some time in search of it; but coming to the straits of *Weygats* found no passage, and the summer-season being almost spent, returned to Colmogro in Muscovy, where he wintered, designing to prosecute his voyage the next summer; but was countermanded, and so this was all the event of the expedition.

An. 1558, *Anthony Jenkinson* sailed for Muscovy with four ships under his command: he left his ships, and travelled by land to Mosco; where having been nobly entertained by the *Czar*, he obtained his pass, and continued his journey through Muscovy across the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan; where shipping himself on the river Volga he sailed down into the Caspian sea, having travelled by land about six hundred leagues in the *Czar's* dominions from Mosco. On the Caspian sea he spent twenty-seven days; after which landing, he proceeded five days journey by land among a fort
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of wild Tartars with a caravan of one thousand camels; then twenty days more through a desert, suffering much from hunger and thirst. This brought him again to another part of the Caspian sea, where formerly the river Oxus fell into it, which now he says runs into another river not far from thence, called *Ardock*, which runs towards the north, and under ground, above five hundred miles, after which it rises again, and unburdens itself in the lake of *Kitay*. Hence he continued his discovery amidst those countries of Tartars to Boghar in Bactria, whence he returned to Mosco.

Northern
European
Discoveries.

An. 1561, He returned to Muscovy with letters from *queen Elizabeth* to the *Cesar*, and taking the same way as before down to the Caspian sea, crossed over it into Hircania; where being nobly entertained, and conducted by the princes of that country, he passed through to the court of the king of Persia at Casbin, there he obtained several privileges for the English nation, and returned home in safety the same way he went.

An. 1580, Mr. *Arthur Pet* and Mr. *Charles Jackman* sailed in May from Harwich in two barks to make discoveries in the north-east beyond Weygats. In June they doubled the north cape of *Norway*, and having spent some days in that part of *Norway*, continued their voyage into the bay of *Petzora*; where Jackman's vessel being in no good sailing condition, he left *Pet*, who proceeded on to the coast of *Nova Zembla*; where in July he met with much ice, yet making his way through part of it, though with great difficulty, he at last came to the straits of Weygats: there he drew as close as the shoal water would permit, coming into two fathom and an half water, and sending his boat to sound till he found there was not water enough even for the boat in the strait, and therefore returned the same way he came. A few days after *Pet* met with Jackman again in some distress, as not being able to steer, his ship's stern-post being broken, and the rudder hanging from the stern. Having remedied this the best they could for the present, they both stood northward to endeavour to find some passage that way; but meeting with much ice, they despaired of success, and resolved to turn again to Weygats, there to consult what was further to be done. All the passage thither they met with such quantities of ice, that some days they were not able to make any progress. Being come again upon the Weygats, they made another attempt that way, but to as little purpose as before, the ice obstructing their progress. Wherefore winter now coming on, they found it necessary to quit their design for the present. Accordingly *Pet* being parted from Jackman, arrived safe in the river of *Thames* about the end of December this same year; Jackman put into a port in *Norway* betwixt *Tronden* and *Rustock* in October, where he wintered. In February following, he departed thence in company of a ship of the king of *Denmark's* towards *Iceland*, and was never more heard of.—The *English* having made these unsuccessful attempts, gave them over for many years; and the *Dutch* growing powerful at sea, resolved to try their fortune; hoping the failures of the *English* might help to point out to them what course they were to avoid, and what to follow; and accordingly,

Hitherto out
of Hakluyt.

An. 1594, the *States* fitted out three ships, commanded by *William Barentz*, *Cornelius Cornelissen*, and *John Hugens*: they all sailed together, but *Barentz* ran further

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up to the northward than the others, till he came into seventy-eight degrees of latitude; and in August met with much ice, and abundance of sea-monsters, at which the seamen being discouraged they resolved to return home. The other two ships discovered some islands; and at last a Strait or Passage capable of the greatest ships, and about five or six leagues in length: being passed it, they came into an open and warmer sea, and upon the coast of Tartary near the river Ob or Oby, a very fruitful country: this they called the *Strait of Nassau*, and might have gone further but for want of provisions. This done, they came back the same way very joyful to Holland. (*Meteren. hist. of the Low Countries, lib. XVIII.*) This we see positively delivered, but with how much of truth I dare not decide; only must think it strange, that if such a Strait had been once found, it should never be met with since, though often searched for; and once by the same persons that pretended to have been the first discoverers, as may be seen in the year 1596: yet we see this assertion repeated by the same author, who takes it from the relations of the sailors, and in the same place before quoted says, that—

An. 1595, the States being much encouraged by the relation of these discoverers, fitted out seven ships, six of them to proceed on their voyage to China, Japan, &c. this way, and the seventh to bring back the news of their being passed the Strait; but they met with too much ice at Strait Nassau, coming to it too late by reason of the contrary winds they had in their passage thither: yet the inhabitants of the place told them many particulars more than they knew before; but they returned *re infecta*, (*Meteren. ubi supra.*)

An. 1596, the Dutch not discouraged by the former disappointment, fitted out two ships under the command of *William Barentsen* and *John Cornelissen*, who sailed on the eighteenth of May, and on the nineteenth of June found themselves in the latitude of 80 degrees, and eleven minutes, where they found a country they supposed to be *Greenland*, with grass, and beasts grazing like deer, &c. and less cold and ice than in 76 degrees:—they turned back to an island they had before called the *Island of Bears*, because of the many bears they saw in it, and there parted company. Cornelissen went up again into 80 degrees of latitude, thinking to find a passage east of the land they had discovered, but returned home without doing any thing considerable. Barentsen made towards *Nova Zembla*, and coasted along it till he met with an island which he called *Orange*, in 77 degrees of latitude; thence he steered south and doubled a cape; but was stopped by ice, and making towards the land, on the last of August, was so inclosed that there was no stirring. They landed and built a house with timber and planks, into which they put all their provisions and goods, where they continued suffering much hardship all the winter. On the twenty-second of June they set out from thence in two boats they had repaired, leaving their ship among the ice, and an account in writing of their being there. Thus with much difficulty, they arrived at *Cola* in *Lapland* on the second of October 1597, where they found *Cornelissen*; who had made a voyage to Holland in the mean while, and was returned

returned thither. Barentsen died by the way, but the survivors arrived in Holland on the twenty-ninth of October; (Meteren. lib. XIX.)

Northern
European
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An. 1676, Captain *John Wood* in his majesty's ship the *Speedwell*, with the *Prosperous Pink* to attend him, sailed from the *Buoy of the Nore* to discover the North East Passage. June the fourth he anchored in the island of Shetland, and the tenth sailed out again, directing his course north-north-east, and north-east by east, till the twenty-second; when at noon he saw ice right a-head about a league from him, and sailed close to it, as they did the next day, entering into many openings which they perceived to be bays. Sometimes the weather proved foggy, and then they made little way; but as fast as the fog fell, it froze on their sails and rigging: they perceived the ice here joined to the land of Nova Zembla, and run out five leagues to sea. They continued coasting the ice to find a passage, till on the twenty-ninth of June at near midnight the *Prosperous Pink* fired a gun and bore down upon the man of war, crying out, *ice on the weather-bow*; whereupon he clapped the helm hard a-weather to come about, but, before she could be brought upon the other tack, struck upon a ledge of rocks that lay sunk: the *Pink* got clear, but the ship stuck fast, and there being no getting her off, the men got all ashore in their boats with what provision they could save, some arms and other necessaries; only two men were lost with the pinnace. Here they set up a tent, and saw no other inhabitants but white bears. The following days the ship broke and much wreck drove ashore, which was a great help to them, there being wood for firing, some meal, oil, brandy, and beer: they killed a white bear and eat her, which they said was very good meat.—Thus they continued, contriving to build a deck to their long-boat to carry off some of the men, the others to travel afoot towards the *Weygats*; till on the eighth of July, to their great joy, they discovered the *pink*, and making a fire for a signal, she sent her boat to help to bring them off, and by noon they all got aboard. They presently stood off to westward, and made the best of their way home, arriving on the twenty third of August at the *Buoy of the Nore*. (Taken out of captain Wood's own journal.)

These are the Principal Discoveries attempted and performed to the North East; which have proved unsuccessful, as failing of the main design of finding a passage that way to the East Indies.

Let us now leave the barren frozen North, where so many have miserably perished, and yet so little been discovered of what was intended; ice, shoals, rocks, darkness, and many other obstacles having disappointed the bold undertakings of so many daring sailors, and for so many losses made us no return but the bare trade of Russia; whilst our intentions were levelled at that of the mighty kingdom of Cathay, and a passage to China, Japan, and all the other eastern regions. Let us, I say, quit these unfortunate attempts, and come now to speak of those, so successful, made towards the South and South East, along the coast of Afric first, and then to those of the more frequented, as more profitable Asia. The first we find in this order, if the authority we have for it be good, is of an Englishman, by name *Macham*; who,

Western
Coast of
Africa.

Western
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Africa.

An. 1344, having stolen a woman, with whom he was in love, and intended to fly with her into Spain, was by a storm cast upon the island Madera, in 32 degrees of north latitude. Going ashore there with his mistress to refresh her after the toils of the sea; the ship, taking the opportunity of a favourable gale sailed away, leaving them behind. The lady soon died for grief of being left in that desolate island; and Macham with what companions he had, erected a little chapel and hermitage under the invocation of the name of Jesus, to bury her. This done, they contrived a boat made of one single tree, in which they got over to the coast of Africa; where they were taken by the Moors, and presented to their king for the rarity of the accident. He for the same reason sent them to the king of Castile; where giving an account of what had befallen them, it moved many to venture out in search of this Island. This story we find in Hakluyt, (vol. II. part 2. p. 1.) where he quotes Antonio Galvano a Portuguese author for it; and D. Antonio Manoel, in his works among his *Epanasforas*, has one on this particular subject, which he calls *Epanasfora Amorosa*. Upon this information, as was said, several adventurers went out, but to no effect that we can hear of; till

An. 1348, John Betancourt a Frenchman, obtained a grant of king John the second of Castile, and went to conquer the Canary islands long before discovered, and made himself master of five of them; but could not subdue the two greatest, as most populous and best defended. These were afterwards subdued by king Ferdinand, as may be seen in Mariana, (lib. XVI. p. 29.) These were small beginnings, and out of regular course: next follow the Gradual Discoveries made by the Portuguese, which may be said to have been the ground-work of all the ensuing Navigations, which happened in this manner.—King John of Portugal enjoying peace at home after his wars with Castile, was persuaded by his sons to undertake the conquest of Ceuta on the African shore. Prince Henry, his fifth son accompanied him in this expedition, and at his return home brought with him a strong inclination to discover new seas and lands; and the more, on account of the information he had received from several Moors concerning the coasts of Africa to the southward, which were as yet unknown to Europeans; who never pretended to venture beyond Cape Nao, which had therefore this name given it, signifying in Portuguese No, to imply there was no sailing further: and the reason was, because the Cape running far out into the sea, caused it to break and appear dangerous; and they, as yet not daring to venture too far from land, were ignorant that by keeping off to sea they should avoid that danger. PRINCE HENRY resolving to overcome all difficulties, fitted out two small vessels,

An. 1417, commanding them to coast along Africa, and doubling that Cape to discover further towards the equinoctial. They ventured to run sixty leagues beyond cape Nao, as far as Cape Bojador, so called because it stretches itself out almost forty leagues to the westward.—Here finding the difficulty of passing further, greater than at cape Nao, for the same reason of the sea's breaking upon the cape, they returned home satisfied with what they had done. The following year,

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An. 1418, The prince sent *John Gonzalez Zarco* and *Trifstan Vaz*, with orders to pass that Cape; but before they could come upon the coast of Afric they were carried away by a storm, and not knowing where, they accidentally fell in with an island, which they called *Porto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*, because of their deliverance there after the storm. It is a small island a little to the northward of the Madera: thither the prince, being informed of what had happened, sent Bartholomew Perestrello with seeds to sow, and cattle to stock the place; but one couple of rabbits put in among the rest, increased so prodigiously, that all corn and plants being destroyed by them, it was found necessary to unpeople the island.

Western
Coast of
Africa.

An. 1419, John Gonzalez and Trifstan Vaz making another voyage by order of the prince, discovered the island *Madera*, before mentioned to have been accidentally found by Macham the Englishman, and lost again till this time. The reason of calling it Madera was, because they found it all over-grown with trees, this word in Portuguese signifying wood. They set fire to the woods to clear them, which are said to have burnt seven years continually, and since the greatest want is of wood. The following years were employed in peopling and furnishing the islands discovered, till

An. 1434, Gilianez was sent by the prince to pass that dreadful *Cape Bojador*, though at the same time many blamed the attempt; imagining, that in case they should happen to pass much farther on those coasts, all that did it would turn black; others saying there was nothing there but deserts, like those of Lybia; others alleging equal absurdities of this nature, suitable to the ignorance the world was then in of all parts yet undiscovered. Gilianez was satisfied with sailing 30 leagues beyond the Cape, giving name there to the bay called *Angra de Ruyvas*, or *Bay of Gurnets*, because he there found many of that sort of fish. The next year,

An. 1435, The same commanders passed twelve leagues further, where they also landed, but the people fled from them: whereupon they proceeded twelve leagues further, where they found a vast multitude of sea-wolves, of which they killed many, and returned home with their skins; which was the greatest return made this voyage, they being valued for their rarity.

An. 1440, Antonio Gonzalez was sent to the place of the sea-wolves to load his vessel with their skins. He landed, took some of the natives, and killed others; then coasted on as far as *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, and returned to Portugal.

An. 1442, Antonio Gonzalez returned, and carrying those persons he had taken in his former voyage, exchanged them for some Guinea slaves and a quantity of gold dust; for which reason the river, that there runs into the country, was called *Rio del Oro*, or the *River of Gold*.

An. 1443, the Gold above mentioned sharpening men's appetites, Nuno Trifstan undertook the voyage, and passing further than the others, discovered one of the islands of *Arguim*, called *Adeget*, and another *De las Garzas*, or of the *Hérons*, because they saw many herons in it.

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An. 1444, a small Company was erected, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to those parts lately discovered, whither they sent six caravels; which coming to the isles of Arguim, took there about two hundred slaves, which yielded them good profit in Portugal.

An. 1445, *Gonzalo da Cintra* sailed to the island of Arguim, and venturing up a creek in the night to surprize the inhabitants, the tide left his boat ashore; so that two hundred Moors coming down upon him, he was killed with seven of his men, and from him the place was called *Angra de Gonzalo da Cintra*, fourteen leagues beyond Rio del Oro.

An. 1446, three Caravels sailed for the same river to settle commerce; but effected nothing, and only brought away one of the natives, and left a Portuguese there to view the country. But *Dinis Fernandez* the same year passed beyond the river *Sanaga*, which divides the *Azanagi* from *Jalof*, and discovered the famous cape called *Cabo Verde*, or the *Green Cape*.

An. 1447, three Caravels performed the same Voyage without doing any thing remarkable, more than taking up the Portuguese left there before; whom they found in good health, and he gave them some account of the country. This year likewise *Nuno Triflan* sailed sixty leagues beyond Cabo Verde, and anchoring at the mouth of *Rio Grande*, or the great river, ventured up in his boat, where he and most of his men were killed by the Blacks with their poisoned arrows. *Alvaro Fernandez* the same year went forty leagues beyond Rio Grande. Prince Henry, the great encourager, or rather undertaker in all these discoveries, dying, they were afterwards managed by his nephew, Alonso the fifth, king of Portugal. Under him,

An. 1449, *Gonsalo Vello* discovered the Islands called *Azores*, or of *Hawks*, because many of those birds were seen about them. They are eight in number, viz. *S. Michael*, *S. Mary*, *Jesus* or *Tercera*, *Graciosa*, *Pica*, *Fayal*, *Flores*, and *Corvo*. They are near about the latitude of Lisbon. In the last of them was found the Statue of a man on horseback with a cloak, but no hat, his left-hand on the horse's mane, the right pointing to the west, and some characters carved on the rock under it, but not understood.

An. 1460, *Antonio Nole*, a Genoese in the Portuguese service, discovered the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, the names whereof are *Fogo*, *Brava*, *Boavista*, *Sal*, *S. Nicholas*, *S. Lucia*, *S. Vincente*, and *S. Antonio*. They lie about an hundred leagues west of Cabo Verde, and therefore take name from that Cape. He also found the islands *Maya*, *S. Philip*, and *S. Jacob*. This same year *Pedro da Cintra* and *Suero da Costa* sailed as far as *Serra Leona*.

An. 1471, *John de Santarem* and *Peter de Escobar* advanced as far as the place they called *Mina*, or the *Mine*, because of the trade of gold there; and then proceeded to Cape S. Catharine, thirty-seven leagues beyond Cape Lope Gonzalez in two degrees and an half of north latitude. Ferdinand Po the same year found the island, by him called *Hermosa*, or *Beautiful*, which name is lost, and still keeps that of the discoverer. At the same time were found the Islands of *S. Thomas*, *Anno Bom*, and *Principe*.

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Some years passed without going beyond what was known; but in the mean time East Indian king *John the second*, who succeeded his father *Alonso*, caused a fort to be built at *Mina*, which he called fort *S. George*, and settled a trade there.

An. 1480, James Cam proceeded as far as the river *Congo* in the kingdom of the same name, called by the natives *Zayre*; whence he continued his Voyage as far as 22 degrees of south latitude, and thence home again.

An. 1486, King John being informed by an ambassador from the king of *Benin* on the coast of *Afric*, that there was a mighty prince two hundred and fifty leagues from his country, from whom his master received his confirmation in his throne; and imagining this to be the so much talked of *Prefter John*, he sent *Pedro de Covillam*, and *Alonso da Payva* by land, to get intelligence of this great potentate, and some account of *India*. They went together by the way of *Grand Cair* to *Tor* on the coast of *Arabia*, where they parted; *Covillam* for *India*, and *Payva* for *Ethiopia*, agreeing to meet by a certain time at *Grand Cair*: the first went to *Cananor*, *Calicut*, and *Goa*, passed thence to *Zofila* in *Afric*, then to *Aden* at the mouth of the *Red Sea* on the side of *Arabia*, and at last to *Grand Cair*, where he found his companion had died. Hence he sent an account to the king of his proceedings, by a Jew come from *Portugal*; and with another embarked for *Ormuz*, then went over into *Ethiopia*, where he was kindly entertained, but never suffered to return home. At the same time these were sent away by land, *BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ* put to sea with three ships, and out-going all that had been before him, an hundred and twenty leagues, discovered the mountains he called *Sierra Parda*, and passed on in sight of the bay called *De los Vaqueros*, or of the *Herdsmen*, because of the great herds of cattle they saw there; beyond which he touched at the small island *Santa Cruz*, entered the mouth of the river called *Del Infante*; and at last came to the now famous, and till then unknown Cape, which he called *Tormentoso*, because he there met with storms: but the king, in hopes of discovering the *East Indies*, changed its name to that of *Cabo da Buena Esperanza*, or Cape of *Good Hope*: this done he returned home, having discovered more than any man before him. The strange conceit which possessed the heads of the sailors, that there was no possibility of passing beyond *Cabo Tormentoso*, as they called it, and the constant employment the kings of *Portugal* found in their great discoveries on the coast of *Afric*, very much retarded the prosecution of further designs; so that nothing was advanced till,

An. 1497, King Emanuel, who with the crown of *Portugal* had inherited the ambition of enlarging his dominions, and the desire of finding a way by sea to the *East Indies*, appointed *VASCO DE GAMA*, a gentleman of an undaunted spirit, admiral of those ships he designed for this expedition; which were only three, and a tender: their names were the *S. Gabriel*, the *S. Raphael*, and *Berrio*; the captains *Vasco de Gama* admiral, *Paul de Gama* his brother, and *Nicholas Nunez*; and *Gonzalo Nunez* of the tender, which was laden with provisions. *Gama* sailed from *Lisbon* on the eighth of *July*, and the first land he came to after almost five months sail was the bay of *S. Helena*, where he took some Blacks. The twentieth of *November* he sailed thence, and doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*; and on the twenty-fifth touched at the bay of

S. Blas,

East Indian
Discoveries.

S. Blas, sixty leagues beyond the aforesaid Cape, where he exchanged some merchandise with the natives. Here he took all the provisions out of the tender, and burnt it, On Christmas day they saw the land, which for that reason they called *Terra da Natal*, that is, Christmas land; then the river they named *De los Reyes*, that is of the kings, because discovered on the feast of the Epiphany, and after that Cape *Corrientes*, passing fifty leagues beyond *Zofala* without seeing it, where they went up a river in which were boats with sails made of palm-tree leaves: the people were not so black as those they had seen before, and understood the Arabic character, who said that to the eastward lived people who sailed in vessels like those of the Portugueses. This river Gama called *De Bons Sinays*, or of good tokens, because it put him in hopes of finding what he came in search of. Sailing hence, he again came to an anchor among the islands of S. George opposite to *Mosambique*; and removing thence anchored again above the town of *Mosambique* in 14 degrees and an half of south latitude; whence after a short stay, with the assistance of a Moorish pilot, he touched at *Quiloa* and *Monbaza*; and having at *Melinde* settled a peace with the Moorish king of that place, and taken in a Guzarat pilot, he set sail for India; and crossing that great gulph of seven hundred leagues in twenty days, anchored two leagues below *Calicut* on the twentieth of May. To this place, had Gama discovered twelve hundred leagues beyond what was known before, drawing a straight line from the river *Del Infante*, discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, to the port of *Calicut*; for in sailing about by the coast it is much more. Returning home not far from the coast, he fell in with the islands of *Anchediva*, signifying in the Indian language five islands, because they are so many; and having had sight of *Goa* at a distance, sailed over again to the coast of *Africa*, and anchored near the town of *Magadoxa*. At *Melinde* he was friendly received by the king, but being again under sail, the ship *S. Raphael* struck ashore and was lost, giving her name to those sands: all the men were saved aboard the other two ships, which parted in a storm near *Cabo Verde*. *Nicholas Coella* arrived first at *Lisbon*, and soon after him *Vasco de Gama*, having spent in this voyage two years and almost two months. Of an hundred and sixty men he carried out, only fifty-five returned home, who were all well rewarded.

An. 1500, King Emanuel, encouraged by the success of *Vasco de Gama*, fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*, and in it twelve hundred men, to gain footing in India. He sailed on the eighth of March, and meeting with violent storms was cast off from the coast of *Africa* so far, that on Easter eve the fleet came into a port, which for the safety found in it was called *Seguro*, and the country at that time *Santa Cruz*; being the same now known by the name of *Brazil*, on the south continent of *America*. Hence the admiral sent back a ship to advertise the king of the accidental new discovery, leaving two Portugueses ashore to enquire into the customs and product of the land. Sailing thence on the twelfth of May for the Cape of Good Hope, the fleet was for twenty days in a most dreadful storm; in-somuch, that the sea swallowed up four ships, and the admiral arrived with only six at *Zofala* on the sixteenth of July, and on the twentieth at *Mozambique*; where hav-

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ing refitted, he prosecuted his voyage to Quiloa, and thence to Melinde, whence the fleet stood over for India, and reached Anchediva on the twenty-fourth of August: then coming to Calicut, peace and commerce was there agreed on with the Zamorin, the king of Calicut, but as soon broken; and the Portuguese entered into strict amity with the kings of Cochin and Cananor, where they took in their lading and returned to Portugal.

Portuguese
Asiatic
Discoveries.

An. 1501, *John de Nova* departed from Lisbon with four ships and four hundred men, and in his way discovered the island of *Conception*, in eight degrees of south latitude, and on the east side of *Afric* that, which from him was called the island of *John da Nova*. At Cananor and Cochin he took in all his lading, destroying many vessels of Calicut; and in his return home found the island of *St. Helena* in 15 degrees of south latitude, distant fifteen hundred forty-nine leagues from Goa, and eleven hundred from Lisbon, being then unpeopled, but since of great advantage to all that use the trade of India.

An. 1502, The king sent out a fleet of twenty sail commanded by the first discoverer of India, *Vasco da Gama*, whose second voyage this was. No new discoveries were made by him, but only trade secured at Cochin and Cananor; several ships of Calicut taken and destroyed; the king of Quiloa on the coast of *Afric* brought to submit himself to Portugal, paying tribute; and so *Vasco da Gama* returned home with nine ships richly laden, leaving *Vincent Sodre* behind with five ships to scour the coasts of India, and secure the factories there.

An. 1503, Nine ships were sent under three several commanders, *Alonso de Albuquerque*, *Francis d'Albuquerque*, and *Antonio da Saldanha*, each of them having three ships. The *Albuquerque*s, with permission of that king, built a port at Cochin, burnt some towns, took many ships of Calicut, and then returned richly laden homewards; where *Alonso* arrived safe with his ships, but *Francis* and his were never more heard of. *Saldanha*, the third of these commanders, gave his name to a bay short of the cape of Good Hope, where he endeavoured to water; but it cost the blood of some of his men, and therefore the place was called *Aguada da Saldanha*, or *Saldanha's* watering place. Thence proceeding on his voyage, he obliged the king of *Monbaza* on the other coast of *Afric* to accept of peace; and then went away to cruize upon the Moors at the mouth of the Red Sea, which was the post appointed him.

An. 1504, Finding no good was to be done in India without a considerable force, king *Emanuel* fitted out thirteen ships, the biggest that had been yet built in Portugal, and in them twelve hundred men, all under the command of *Lope Soarez*; who made no further discoveries, only concluded a peace with the Zamorin, and returned rich home.

An. 1505, *D. Francisco d'Almeida* was sent to India, with the title of viceroy, carrying with him twenty two ships, and in them fifteen hundred men; with whom he attacked and took the town of Quiloa on the east coast of *Afric*, and in about 9 degrees of south latitude, where he built a fort;—then burnt *Monbaza* on the same coast in four degrees, and sailing over to India erected another fort in the island *Anchediva*, and a third at Cananor on the Malabar coast.

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An. 1506, *James Fernandez Pereira* commander of one of the ships left to cruise upon the mouth of the Red Sea, returned to Lisbon with the news of his having discovered the island *Zocotora*, not far distant from the said mouth, and famous for producing the best aloes, from it called *succotrina*. In March this year sailed from Lisbon *Alonso d'Albuquerque*, and *Tristan da Cunha*, with thirteen ships, and thirteen hundred men; the former to command the trading ships, the latter to cruise on the coast of Arabia: in their passage they had a sight of cape S. Augustin in *Brasil*; and standing over from thence for the cape of Good Hope, *Tristan da Cunha* ran far away to the south, and discovered the islands which still retain his name. Sailing hence, some discovery was made upon the island of *Madagascar*, that of *Zocotora* subdued, and the fleet sailed part for the coast of Arabia, and part for India. In the former *Albuquerque* took and plundered the town of *Caluyate*, the same he did to *Mafate*; *Saar* submitted, and *Orfuzam* they found abandoned by the inhabitants. This done, *Albuquerque* sailed away to *Ormuz*, then first seen by Europeans: this city is seated in an island called *Gerum*, at the mouth of the Persian gulph, so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur, but it is one of the greatest marts in those countries. Hence *Albuquerque* sailed to India, where he served some time under the command of the viceroy *Almeyda*, till he was himself made governor of the Portuguese conquests in those parts, which was in the year 1510; during which time the whole business was to settle trade, build forts, and erect factories along those coasts already known—that is, all the east side of Afric, the shores of Arabia, Persia, Guzarat, Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar; and indeed they had employment enough, if well followed, to have held them many more years: but avarice and ambition know no bounds. The Portuguese had not yet passed cape *Comori*, the utmost extent of the Malabar coast, and therefore,

(An. 1510,) *James Lopez da Sequeira* was sent from Lisbon with orders to pass as far as Malaca: this is a city seated on that peninsula, formerly called *Aurea Chersonesus*, running out into the Indian sea from the main land, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of land on the north, and on the south separated from the island of *Sumatra* by a small strait or channel; Malaca was at that time the greatest emporium of all the farther India. Thither *Sequeira* was sent to settle trade, or rather to discover what advantages might be gained; but the Moors who watched to destroy him, having failed of their design to murder him at an entertainment, contrived to get thirty of his men ashore on pretence of loading spice, and then falling on them and the ships at the same time, killed eight Portuguese, took sixty, and the ships with difficulty got away. However here we have Malaca discovered, and a way open to all the further parts of India. In his way to Malaca, *Sequeira* made peace with the kings of Achem, Pedir, and Pacem, all at that time small princes at the north-west end of the island *Sumatra*. Whilst *Sequeira* was thus employed, *Albuquerque* assaults the famous city of *Goa*, seated in a small island on the coast of Decan, and taking the inhabitants unprovided, made himself master of it, but enjoyed it not long; for *Middlecan* the former owner returning with sixty thousand men, drove him out of it

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after a siege of twenty days: yet the next year he again took it by force, and it has ever since continued in the hands of the Portuguese, and been the metropolis of all their dominions in the east; being made an archbishop's see, and the residence of the viceroy who has the government of all the conquests in those parts. Albuquerque, flushed with this success, as soon as he had settled all safe at Goa, sailed for Malaca with fourteen hundred fighting men in nineteen ships: by the way he took five ships, and at his arrival on the coast of Sumatra was complimented by the kings of Pedir and Pacem.—It is not unworthy relating in this place, that in one of the ships taken at this time was found *Nebonda Bequea*, one of the chief contrivers of the treachery against Sequeira; and though he had received several mortal wounds, yet not one drop of blood came from him; but as soon as a bracelet of bone was taken off his arm, the blood gushed out at all parts. The Indians said this was the bone of a beast called *Cabis*, which some will have to be found in Siam, and others in the island of Java, which has this strange virtue, but none has ever been found since. This being looked upon as a great treasure, was sent by Albuquerque to the king of Portugal, but the ship it went in was cast away, so that we have lost that rarity, if it be true there ever was any such. Albuquerque sailing over to Malaca, had the Portuguese that had been taken from Sequeira delivered; but that not being all he came for, he landed his men, and at the second assault made himself master of the city, killing or driving out all the Moors, and peopling it again with strangers and Malays.

An. 1513, Albuquerque made an attempt upon the city of *Aden*, but failed, being repulsed with loss. This place is seated on the coast of Arabia Felix, near the mouth of the Red Sea, under the mountain *Arzira*, which is all a barren rock: it is rich, because resorted to by many merchants of several nations, but the soil excessive dry, so that it scarce produces any thing. Being disappointed here, Albuquerque steered his course towards the *Red Sea*, being the first European that ever entered it with European ships.

An. 1517, *Lope Soares d'Albergoria* governor of India sailed over to the island of *Ceylon* with seven galleys, two ships, and eight smaller vessels, carrying in them all seven hundred Portuguese soldiers. This Island had been before seen by the Portuguese passing to Malaca, but not much known. Here *Lope Soares* built a fort, and in process of time the Portuguese made themselves masters of all the sea-coasts of this wealthy island.

About the same time *John da Silveira*, who had the command of four sail, made a farther progress than had been done before in the discovery of the *Maldivy islands*; which are so many that the number of them is not yet known, lying in clusters, and these in a line N. W. and S. E.; and twelve of these clusters in the line, besides two other little parcels lying together, east and west from one another, at the south end of the aforesaid twelve: these, though so numerous, are so very small, that no great account is made of them. From them he sailed to the kingdom of *Bengala*, lying in the upper part of the gulph of the same name in about 23 degrees of north latitude, being all the country about the mouth of the river *Ganges*. To this joins the king-

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dom of *Arracam* descending southward, then that of *Pegu*, and next to it that of *Siam*, which joins to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or peninsula of Malaca. All these countries abound in wealth, producing infinite plenty of silk and cotton, of which last they make the finest calicoes and muslins, with much reason admired by all the nations of Europe. They have numerous droves of elephants, and consequently great plenty of ivory, besides plenty of black cattle and buffaloes.

An. 1517, *Fernan Peres d'Andrade*, sent by the king of Portugal to make New Discoveries, leaving all behind that had been before known, and passing the strait betwixt Malaca and the island Sumatra, came upon the coast of the kingdom of *Camboja*, whence he proceeded to that of *Chiampa*, where taking of fresh water had like to have cost him his life. He went on to *Patane*, and established peace and commerce with the governor there; which done, the season being unfit to proceed further, he returned to Malaca to refit. As soon as the weather was seasonable he set out again, and continued his discoveries till he arrived at *Canton*, or *Quantung*, the most remarkable sea port town on the southern coast of the vast empire of China. He treated with the governor of Canton, and sent an ambassador to the emperor of China, and settled trade and commerce in that city for the present. Though this was not lasting, (for the very next Portuguese that arrived, behaved themselves so insolently, that the fleet of China attacked them, and they had much difficulty to get off; and their ambassador being sent back from Peking by the emperor to Canton unheard, was there put to death,) nevertheless some years after the Portuguese obtained leave to settle in a little island opposite to the port of Canton, where they built the city *Macao*, which they hold to this day, though subject to the emperor of China.

An. 1520, *James Lopez da Sequeira*, then governor of India, sailed for the Red Sea with a fleet of twenty-four ships, and in it eighteen hundred Portuguese, and as many Malabars and Canarins. Coming to the island *Mazua* in the Red Sea, he found it forsaken by the inhabitants, who were fled over to *Arquico*, a port belonging to *Prester John*, or the emperor of Ethiopia, which was now first discovered by sea. At this time it was a vast monarchy, and extended along the shores of the Red Sea above an hundred and twenty leagues, which was counted the least of its sides; but since then all the sea-coast has been taken from them by the Turks. Here the Portuguese in following years made some progress into the country, five hundred of them being sent under the command of D. Christopher da Gama to assist the emperor against his rebellious subjects, and his enemies the Turks.—The actions performed by this handful of men being all by land, do not belong to us; but they travelled a great part of the country, and opened a way for the Jesuits, who for several years after continued there.

An. 1521, *Antonio de Brito* was sent to the Molucco islands from Malaca. These had been before discovered by *Antony d'Abreu*. The Molucco islands are five in number, their names, *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Moufel*, *Machian*, *Bacham*. These islands were afterwards long struggled for by the Portuguese and Dutch, till at last the Dutch prevailed, and continue in possession of that trade till this day.—A few years now past

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without any considerable Discoveries by sea, though still they found several little islands, and advanced far by land, too long for this discourse, designed only to shew the progress of Navigation. Let us then proceed to the next considerable Voyage, that was,

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(An. 1540.) which furnishes as remarkable a piece of sea-service as any we shall read undertaken by a private man. *Pedro da Faria* governor of Malaca sent his kinsman *Antonio da Faria y Sousa*, to secure a peace with the king of Patane. He carried with him goods to the value of twelve thousand ducats; and finding no sale for them there, sent them to Lugor in the kingdom of Siam, by one *Christopher Borallo*, who coming to an anchor in the mouth of that river was surpris'd by a Moor of Guzarat called *Coje Hazem*, a sworn enemy to the Portugueses. *Borallo* having lost his ship swam himself ashore, and carried the news of what had happened to *Faria* at Patane, who vowed never to desist till he had destroyed that Moor; and in order to it fitted out a small vessel with fifty men, in which he sailed from Patane towards the kingdom of Champi, to seek the pirate there. In the latitude of 3 degrees 20 minutes, he found the island of *Pulo Candor*, whence he sailed into the port of *Bralapissam* in the kingdom of Camboia, and so coasted along to the river *Pulo Cambier*, which divides the kingdoms of Camboia and Siam. Coasting still along, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the river *Toobasoy*, where he took two ships belonging to the pirate *Similau*, and burnt some others: the booty was very rich, besides the addition of strength, the ships being of considerable force. Thus increased, he goes on to the river *Tinacoreu*, or *Varela*, where the Siam and Malaca ships trading to China, barter their goods for gold, Calamba wood, and ivory. Hence he directed his course to the island *Aynan* on the coast of China, and passed in sight of *Champiloo* in the latitude of 13 degrees, and at the entrance of the bay of *Cochinchina*; then discovered the promontory *Pulocampas*, westward whereof is a river, near which spying a large vessel at anchor, and imagining it might be *Coje Hazem*, he fell upon and took it, but found it belonged to *Quiny Tayjam* a pirate. In this vessel were found seventy thousand quintals, or hundred weight of pepper, besides other spice, ivory, tin, wax, and powder, the whole valued at sixty thousand crowns, besides several good pieces of cannon, and some plate. Then coasting along the island *Aynan*, he came to the river *Tananquir*, where two great vessels attacked him, both which he took, and burnt one for want of men to sail her. Further on at *C. Tilaure* he surpris'd four small vessels, and then made to *Mutipinam*, where he sold his prizes for the value of two hundred thousand crowns of uncoined silver. Thence he sailed to the port of *Madel* in the island *Aynan*, where meeting *Himilan* a bold pirate, who exercised great cruelties towards Christians, he took and practis'd the same on him: this done, he ran along that coast, discovering many large towns and a fruitful country.—And now the men weary of seeking *Coje Hazem* in vain, demanded their share of the prizes to be gone, which was granted: but as they shaped their course for the kingdom of Siam, where the dividend was to be made, by a furious storm they were cast away on the island called *de los Ladrones*, which lies south of China; where of five hundred

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men only eighty-six got ashore naked, whereof twenty-eight were Portugueses: here they continued fifteen days with scarce any thing to eat, the island not being inhabited. Being in despair of relief, they discovered a small vessel which made to the shore, and anchoring, sent thirty men for wood and water. These were Chineses, whom the Portugueses, upon a sign given as had been agreed, surprized, running on a sudden and possessing themselves of their boat and vessel; and leaving them ashore, directed their course towards *Liampo*, a sea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, joining by the way a Chinese pirate, who was a great friend to the Portugueses, and had thirty of them aboard. At the river *Anay* they refitted and came to *Chincho*, where *Faria* hired thirty-five Portugueses he found; and putting to sea met with eight more naked in a fisher-boat, who had their ship taken from them by the pirate *Cujo Hazem*; which news of him rejoiced *Faria*, and he provided to fight him, having now four vessels with five hundred men, whereof ninety-five were Portugueses.—He found his enemy in the river *Tinlau*, where he killed him and four hundred of his men, and took all his ships but one that sunk, with abundance of wealth; but it prospered very little, for the next night *Faria's* ship and another were cast away, and most of the goods in the others thrown overboard, and one hundred and eleven men lost. *Faria* escaped, and taking another rich ship of pirates by the way, came at last to winter at *Liampo*, as was said before a sea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, but built by the Portugueses, who governed there. Having spent five months here, he directed his course for the island *Calempluy* on the coast of China; where he was informed were the monuments of the ancient kings of China, which he designed to rob, being reported to be full of treasure. After many days sail through seas never before known to the Portugueses, he came into the bay of *Nanking*, but durst not make any stay there, perceiving near three thousand sail lie at anchor about it. Here the Chineses he had with him, being ill used, fled; but some natives informed him he was but ten leagues from the island *Calempluy*: he arrived there the next day, and intending to rob all the tombs, the old keepers of them gave the alarm, which prevented his design, and he was obliged to put to sea again; where having wandered a month, he perished in a storm, both his ships being cast away, and only fourteen men saved.—Thus ended this Voyage, famous for several particulars, and especially for having discovered more of the north of China than was known before, though the design of the undertaker was only piracy. The city *Liampo* before mentioned was soon after utterly destroyed by the governor of the province of Chequiang, for the robberies and insolences committed in the country by the Portugueses.

An. 1542, *Antonio da Mota*, *Francis Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Peixoto*, sailing for China, were by storms drove upon the islands of *Nipongi*, or *Nipon*, by the Chineses called *Gipon*, and by us *Japan*: here they were well received, and had the honour, though accidentally, of being the first discoverers of these Islands. Their situation is east of China, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees of north latitude: there are many of them, but the principal is *Nipongi*, or *Japan*, in which the emperor keeps his court at the city of

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Mence. The chief islands about it are *Cikoko, Tokofo, Sando, Sifima, Bacofa, Vunqui, Saycock or Ximo, Gato, Cruxima, Tanaxuma, Toy, Gifima, Jufima, Tanaxuma*, and *Firande*.—Hitherto we have mentioned none but the Portuguese, they being the only discoverers of all those parts; and all other nations have followed their track, yet not till some years after this time, as we shall soon see. I do not here mention the discovery of the *Philippine islands*, though properly belonging to the east, as not very remote from China; because they were discovered and conquered the other way, that is from America; and therefore we shall speak of them in their place among the Western Discoveries. What has been hitherto said concerning these Portuguese Voyages is collected out of *John de Barros's* decades of India, *Ossorius's* history of India, *Alvarez's* of Abassia, and *Faria's* Portuguese Asia: having seen what has been done by these discoverers, let us next lightly touch upon the Voyages of those who followed their footsteps.

An. 1551. We meet with *The first English Voyage on the coast of Afric*, performed by Mr. *Thomas Windham*, but no particulars of it.

English
Voyages to
the Coast of
Africa.

An. 1552. the same *Windham* returned with three sail, and traded at the ports of *Zafim* and *Santa Cruz*; the commodities he brought from thence being sugar, dates, almonds, and molasses.

An. 1553. This *Windham*, with *Antonio Anes Pinteado*, a Portuguese and promoter of this voyage, sailed with three ships from Portsmouth; they traded for gold along the coast of *Guinea*, and from thence proceeded to the kingdom of *Benin*, where they were promised loading of pepper: but both the commanders and most of the men dying through the unseasonableness of the weather, the rest, being scarce forty, returned to Plymouth with but one ship and little wealth.

An. 1554. Mr. *John Lock* undertook a voyage for *Guinea* with three ships, and trading along that coast brought away a considerable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no further. The following years Mr. *William Towerfon*, and others, performed several voyages to the coast of *Guinea*; which having nothing peculiar but a continuation of trade in the same parts, there is no occasion for giving any particulars of them. Nor do we find any account of a further progress made along this coast by the English, till we come to their voyages to the East Indies, and those begun but late; for the first Englishman we find in those parts was one *Thomas Stevens*, who,

(*An. 1579.*) wrote an account of his voyage thither, to his father in London; but he having sailed aboard a Portuguese ship, this Voyage makes nothing to the English nation, whose first undertaking to India in ships of their own was,

(*An. 1591.*) three stately ships called the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, were fitted out at Plymouth, and sailed thence under the command of Mr. *George Raymond*; they departed on the tenth of April, and on the first of August came to an anchor in the bay called *Aguada da Saldanha*, fifteen leagues north of the cape of Good Hope. Here they continued several days, and traded with the Blacks for cattle; when finding many of their men had died, they thought fit to send back Mr. *Abraham Kendal*, in the *Royal Merchant* with fifty men, there being too few

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to manage the three ships, if they proceeded on their voyage: *Kendal* accordingly returned, and *Raymond* and *Lancaster* in the *Penelope* and *Edward Bonaventure* proceeded, and doubled the cape of Good Hope. But coming to cape *Corrientes* on the fourteenth of September, a violent storm parted them, and they never met again; for *Raymond* was never heard of, but *Lancaster* held on his voyage. Passing by Mozambique he came to the island *Comera*, where after much shew of friendship, the Moorish inhabitants killed thirty-two of his men, and took his boat, which obliged him to hoist sail and be gone; and after much delay by contrary winds he doubled cape *Comori*, opposite to the island of Ceylon in India, in the month of May 1592. Thence in six days, with a large wind which blew hard, he came upon the island of *Gomes Polo*, which lies near the northernmost point of the island *Sumatra*; and the winter season coming on, stood over to the island of *Pulo Pinao*, lying near the coast of *Malaca*, and betwixt it and the island *Sumatra*, in 7 degrees north latitude; where he continued till the end of August, refreshing his men the best the place would allow, which afforded little but fish, yet twenty-six of them died there. Then the captain running along the coast of *Malaca*, and adjacent islands, more like a pirate than merchant or discoverer, took some prizes, and so thought to have returned home: but his provisions being spent when they came to cross the equinoctial, where he was staid by calms and contrary winds six weeks, he ran away to the West Indies to get some supply; where after touching at several places, the captain and eighteen men went ashore in the little island *Mona*, lying betwixt those of *Portorico* and *Hispaniola*—but five men and a boy left in the ship, cut the cable and sailed away. *Lancaster* and eleven of his men some days after spying a sail, made a fire; upon which signal the Frenchman, for such a one it proved to be, took in his topails, and drawing near the island received them aboard, treating them with extraordinary civility; and so brought them to *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whence they passed over to *Rye* in *Sussex*, and landed there in May 1594, having spent three years, six weeks, and two days in this voyage. Hitherto *Hakluyt*, (vol. II.)

Dutch
Voyages to
India.

An. 1595, The DUTCH resolving to try their fortune in the East Indies, fitted out four ships at *Amsterdam* under the command of *Cornelius Hootman*; which sailed on the second of April, and on the fourth of August anchored in the bay of *S. Blase*, about forty-five leagues beyond the cape of Good Hope, where they continued some days trading with the natives for cattle in exchange for iron. August the eleventh they departed that place, and coasting along part of the island *Madagascar*, came at last into the bay of *S. Augustin*; where they exchanged pewter spoons and other trifles with the natives for cattle, till they fell at variance; and the natives keeping away, no more provisions were to be had: and therefore on the tenth of December they weighed, directing their course for *Java*; but meeting with bad weather and strong currents were kept back till the tenth of January, when they were forced for want of refreshments to put into the island of *S. Mary*, lying on the eastern coast of *Madagascar* in 17 degrees of south latitude, whence they removed to the great bay of *Antongil*, and continued there till the twelfth of February: then putting to sea again, they

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they arrived on the coast of the great island Sumatra on the eleventh of June, and spending some days along that coast, came at last to Bantam in the island of Java. They lay here, very favourably entertained by the emperor of Java, till falling at variance many hostilities passed betwixt them; and in November the Dutch removed from before Bantam to Jacatra, which is no great distance. In January finding themselves much weakened by loss of men, and the *Amsterdam* one of the biggest ships leaky, they unladed and burnt her. Having thoughts of sailing for the Molucco islands, they ran along as far as the strait of *Balambuan* at the east end of Java; but the seamen refusing to pass any further, they made through the strait, and on the twenty-seventh of February sailed along the coast of Java towards the cape of Good Hope; and three of their four ships, besides the pinnace that was a tender, and eighty-nine seamen, being all that were left of four hundred and forty-nine, returned to Holland in August following, having been abroad twenty-nine months. This and the voyage soon after following in 1598, may seem to be mistaken, because it is said in both, that the commander in chief was *Cornelius Hootman*; but it must be observed, they differ not only in time, but in all other circumstances, and this is certainly the first voyage the Dutch made to India, whereas in the other there is mention of those people having been there before. This is to be seen at large in the Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India company, printed this present year 1703.

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India.

An. 1596, Sir Robert Dudley, as principal adventurer, sent out three ships under the command of *Benjamin Wood*, designing to trade in China; for which purpose he carried letters from queen Elizabeth to the emperor of China: but these ships and the men all perished, so we have no account of their voyage. Purchas, (vol. I. p. 110.)

English.
1596.

An. 1598, three merchants of Middleburgh fitted out two ships under the command of *Cornelius Hootman* for the East Indies, which sailed on the fifteenth of March. In November they put into the bay of Saldanha on the coast of Afric, in 34 degrees of south latitude, and ten leagues from the cape of Good Hope: here pretending to trade with the natives, they offered them some violence; to revenge which, three days after they came down in great numbers, and surprizing the Dutch slew thirteen of them, and drove the rest to their ship. January the third they again anchored in the bay of S. Augustin in the south west part of the island of Madagascar, and 23 degrees of south latitude, where the natives would not trade with them; and being in great want of provisions, they sailed to the island *Magotta*, or *S. Christopher*, on the north of Madagascar, and having got some relief went on to *Answame*, or *Angovan*, another small island, where they took in more provisions: then proceeding on their voyage, they passed by the Maldivy islands; thence by Cochin, and in June arrived in Sumatra at the port of Achen, where after being kindly received by the king, he sent many men aboard on pretence of friendship; but with a design to surprize the ships, which they had near accomplished, but were with difficulty beaten off, yet so that the Dutch lost sixty-eight of their men, two pinnaces of twenty tun each, and one of their boats. Sailing hence they watered and refreshed at *Pulo Batun* off

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Dutch
Voyages to
India.

Queda, which is on the coast of Malaca; and having spent much time about those parts, in November anchored at the islands of Nicobar in 8 degrees of latitude, where they had some refreshment, but little; to remedy which, in their way towards Ceylon, they took a ship of Negapatan and plundered it. Then directing their course home in March 1600, they doubled the cape of Good Hope, and in July returned to Middleburg. Purchas (vol. I. p. 116.)

This same year 1598, the Holland East India company sent out six great ships and two yachts for India under the command of *Cornelius Hemskirke*, which sailed out of the Texel on the first of May; and coming together to the Cape of Good Hope in August, were there separated by a terrible storm: four of them and a yacht put into the island Maurice east of Madagafcar; the other two ships and yacht put into the island of S. Mary on the east also of Madagafcar, where they made no stay, but sailing thence arrived on the twenty-sixth of November 1598 before Bantam; and a month after them came the other four ships and a yacht from the island Maurice. The first comers having got their lading, departed from before Bantam on the eleventh of January 1599, and arrived happily in the Texel on the ninth of June 1599, richly laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and cinnamon, having spent but fifteen months in the whole voyage. The other four ships and yacht, left in India under the command of *Wybrant*, sailed from Bantam along the north side of Javan to the east end of it, where the town of *Arofoya* is seated. Here the natives, in revenge for some of their people killed by the Dutch in their first voyage, seized seventeen of them that were sent ashore for provisions; and fifty more being sent to their relief in floops and boats, were all of them killed, drowned, or taken. The prisoners were ransomed for two thousand pieces of eight, and then the ships put to sea; and on the third of March 1599 came into the strait of *Amboina*, where they anchored before a small town in that island, called *Ban*. This is near the Moluccos, and produces plenty of cloves. There being lading but for two ships here, the other two were sent to *Banda*, where they took their lading of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, and returned home in April 1600. The other two ships left behind at Amboina, having taken in what lading of cloves they could get, sailed away to get what they wanted at the Moluccos, and anchored at *Ternate*; where having got the rest of their lading, they departed thence on the nineteenth of August 1599, and came to *Jacatra* in the island Java on the thirteenth of November, being then reduced to extremity for want of provisions: whence after a few days stay they proceeded to Bantam, and thence on the twenty-first of January for Holland, where after a tedious voyage they arrived in safety, having lost many men through sickness and want of provisions. (*Collect. of Dutch East India voyages.*) Every year after, the Dutch failed not to set out new fleets, being allured by the vast returns they made; yet there was nothing in these voyages but trade, and some encounters with the Spaniards, and therefore it will be needless to mention them all in particular; till in the year 1606, the Dutch possessed themselves of *Tidore*, one of the Molucco islands, and *Amboina*, expelling the Portuguese first, and afterwards the English. In 1608 the Dutch admiral *Matelief* laid

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siege to *Malaca*, but without success. Soon after they grew formidable at *Jacatra*, or *Batavia*, on the island *Java*, where they continue to this day, that being the chief seat of all their dominions in the east: not so satisfied, they at length made themselves masters of *Malaca*, and expelled the Portuguese the island of *Ceylon*, by which means they are possessed of the most considerable trade of the east, all the cinnamon, nutmegs, and cloves being entirely in their own hands. Nor is this all; for they have conquered the island *Formosa* on the coast of China, whence they trade to *Japan*, with the exclusion of all Christian nations from that island. And here we will leave the Dutch, to give some further relation of the *English Proceedings*, and so conclude with the East Indies.

An. 1600, a company of Merchant Adventurers was by * patent from queen Elizabeth authorized to trade in the East Indies, and accordingly in January 1600-1, they fitted out four great ships, and a victualler, all under the command of captain *James Lancaster*; who sailed out of the river of Thames on the thirteenth of February, having four hundred and eighty men aboard his ships, yet got not beyond Torbay till the second of April, and on the first of November doubled the cape of Good Hope. In April following they anchored at the islands of *Nicobar*, north-east of the great island of Sumatra, and in June came before *Achem*, where they had a good reception, and settled peace and commerce with that king; but having little to trade with, put to sea, and took a great Portuguese ship richly laden, and returned to Achem, whence they sailed to *Bantam* in the island of *Java*: here they had also good entertainment, and liberty of trade was agreed on; and having taken in what more lading was wanting, which consisted in pepper and cloves, on the twentieth of February they set sail in order to return for England: but meeting with violent storms were carried into 40 degrees of south latitude, where *Lancaster* lost his rudder, which was restored with much labour; and so they arrived at the island of St. Helena in June, and having refreshed themselves there put to sea again, and returned safe to England in August. Purchas (vol. I. p. 147.)

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India.

An. 1604, the aforesaid company sent four ships more to the East Indies under the command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, who sailed on the second of April, and arrived at *Bantam* on the twenty-third of December. Two of these ships loaded pepper at *Bantam*; Sir Henry with the others sailed to the *isles of Banda*, where he continued twenty-one weeks, and then returned to *Bantam*, and arrived in the Downs on the sixth of May 1606. The same year captain *John Davis* and sir *Edward Michelburn* with one ship and a pinnace sailed into the East Indies, trading at *Bantam*, and taking some prizes, but performed nothing else remarkable. Purchas (vol. I. p. 185.)

An. 1607, the company fitted out their third Voyage, being three ships, under the command of *William Keeling*, but only two of them kept company; and setting out in April, arrived not at *Priaman* in the island *Sumatra* till July the following year; having spent all this time along the coasts of *Afric*, and beating at sea against contrary

* The patent was for fifteen years, and is given by Purchas, (vol. I. p. 129.)

English
Voyages to
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trary winds. Here they took in some pepper, and then sailed to *Bantam*, where a Siam ambassador invited them to settle commerce in his master's dominions; and so they proceeded to *Banda*, where they were hindered taking in their lading of spice by the Dutch, who had built a fort on that island. So being disappointed they returned to *Bantam*, loaded pepper, and settled a factory there, which continued in prosperity till overthrown by the Dutch. Purchas (vol. I. p. 188.)

The third ship mentioned above, which did not keep company with the other two, but set out at the same time, after touching at the bay of Saldanha on the coast of Afric, and at Bantam in the island of Java, proceeded to the *Molucco islands*; where, with the permission of the Spaniards then possessed of those islands, they had a trade for some days, but were afterwards commanded away. Then sailing towards the island *Celebes* at the island *Buttone*, or *Buton*, they were friendly entertained by the king, and brought their full loading of cloves; which done, they returned to Bantam, and thence to England. Purchas (vol. I. p. 226.)

An. 1608, the East India company for its fourth voyage sent out two ships, the *Union* and *Ascension*, commanded by *Alexander Sharpy* and *Richard Rowles*, who sailed on the fourteenth of March; and having spent above a year by the way, and lost the *Union* in a storm, the *Ascension* came on the eighth of April 1609, to an anchor before the city *Aden* on the coast of Arabia Felix, whence they sailed into the *Red Sea*, being the first English ship that ever entered it, and on the eleventh of June anchored in the road of the city of *Mocha*; and having made a short stay to refit, sailed away for the coast of Cambaya, where refusing to take in a pilot the ship was lost on the shoals, but all the men saved in two boats, who got ashore at the small town of *Gandeval*, about forty miles from *Surat*, whither they travelled by land, and were relieved by the English factor there. The captain and most of the company went from thence to *Agra*, the court of the Mogul, resolving to take their journey through *Perfia* to return into Europe. But *Thomas Jones*, the author of this account, with three others, committed themselves to a Portuguese religious man, who promised to send them home; and accordingly carried them through *Damam* and *Chaul* to *Goa*, where in January they were shipped aboard the admiral of four Portuguese ships homeward bound, and arrived at *Lisbon* in August, where embarking in an English ship they came safe into England in September 1610. The rest of the company that went with the captain dispersed, and few of them came home.

The *Union*, mentioned before to be separated from the *Ascension* in a storm, touched at the bay of *St. Augustin* in the island *Madagascar*; where the captain and five more going ashore upon friendly invitation, were killed by the natives, who thought to have surprized the ship with their boats, but were beaten off with great loss. So sailing hence, they directed their course to *Achem* on the island *Sumatra*, where and at *Priaman* they took in their lading of basts and pepper, and directed their course to return home: but their voyage proved so unfortunate, that all the men died by the way, except three English and an Indian, who were scarce alive; and not being able to hand their sails, the ship was carried upon the coast of *Britany* in France, where the French conveyed her into harbour, and most of the lading was saved for the company.

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An. 1609, the English East India company for its *fifth* voyage sent out but one ship, commanded by *David Middleton*, who arriving at Banda was by the Dutch there hindered loading any spice; and therefore failed to *Puloway*, a small island not far distant, where with much difficulty and hazard he got loading of spice, and returned home safe. Purchas (vol. I. p. 238.)

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India.

An. 1610, Sir *Henry Middleton* sailed with three ships under his command; and being informed by the natives of the island *Zocotora*, that he would be friendly received at Mocha in the Red Sea, and find good vent for his goods, he ventured up thither; and after much deceitful kindness shewn him by the Turks, was himself with many of his men secured, and sent up the country several miles to another *bassa*. Some men were also killed by the Infidels, who attempted to surprize one of the ships, and were possessed of the upper decks; till the seamen blew up some, shot others, and drove the rest into the sea, so that only one of them that hid himself escaped and was afterwards received to mercy. After much solicitation Sir *Henry Middleton* and his men were sent back to Mocha, where most of them made their escape aboard their ships. Many fruitless contests having afterwards passed with the *bassas* about the restitution of the goods taken, at last he sailed to Surat, where he arrived in September 1611; and having, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Portugueses, sold some of his goods, and departing thence to Dabul, had some more trade in that place, yet not so much as to dispose of all he had, whereupon he resolved to return to the Red Sea, there to traffic with the ships of India, which usually resort to those parts; he detained many of them by force, and bartered with them as he thought fit, the Indians being under restraint, and in no condition to oppose whatever was offered them. Being thus furnished, he failed for *Sumatra*, where he got loading of spice, and sent one ship home with her burden; his own having been on a rock, and therefore unfit for the voyage till repaired, which could not be done so soon. This ship arrived safe in England, but Sir *Henry Middleton* and his were cast away in India. Purchas (vol. I. p. 247.) Other ships failed the latter end of the year 1610, and beginning of 1611, which still ran much the same course with the former, and have nothing singular to relate. But,

(An. 1611), in April failed captain *John Saris* with three ships, who having run the same course all the rest had done severally before, entering the Red Sea; and touching at Java, he received a letter from one *Adams* an Englishman, who failed aboard some Dutch ships to Japan, and was there detained, in which he gave an account of that country. Captain *Saris* dismissing his other two ships, directed his course for that island; and passing by those of *Bouro*, *Xula*, *Bachian*, *Celebes*, *Silolo*, the *Moluscos*, and others, came to an anchor on the eleventh of June 1613, at the small island and Port of *Firando*, lying south-west of the south-west point of the great island of Japan. This and several other small islands about it are subject to petty kings, who all acknowledge the emperor of Japan for their sovereign. These little princes shewed all imaginable kindness to the *English*, being the first that ever appeared in those parts. Captain *Saris*, with the assistance of the king of *Firando*, was conducted to the emperor's court at *Meaco*; where he had audience of him, and settled peace and com-

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merce in as authentic manner, as if he had been sent from England only upon that errand; the emperor granting to the English free liberty of trade, and several privileges and immunities for their encouragement. All things being settled there, captain *Saris* returned to *Firando* well pleased with his success; and there the goods he brought being not yet all disposed of, he erected a Factory, leaving in it eight English, three Japonese for interpreters, and two servants. These were to dispose of the goods left behind, and provide loading for such ships as were to continue the trade now begun. This done, he left *Firando* on the fifth of December, and stood for the coast of China, along which he kept to that of Cochinchina and Camboya, whence he struck over to the southward, and came into Bantam road, where he continued some time, and lastly put into Plymouth in September 1614. (Purchas, vol. I. p. 334.) Thus have we brought the *English* to Japan, the furthest extent of what vulgarly is comprehended under the name of the *East Indies*; and therefore think it needless to prosecute their voyages this way any longer, since they can afford nothing new; nor indeed have these hitherto added any thing to what was discovered by the *Portuguese*, to whom all these countries were well known long before, as has been made appear. Of the *Dutch* Navigations this way somewhat has been said; and it seems needless to add any thing concerning the *French*, who are not so considerable there as any of those nations already mentioned; besides that they came thither the latest, and therefore not as discoverers, but tracing the beaten road, so that all that can be said of them will be only a repetition of things already spoken of.—Having thus given an account of the first Discoverers, and the success of all the first voyages to Africa and Asia, it now remains to shew what a vast extent of land is by these means made known, which before Europe was wholly a stranger to, and the commodities it supplies us with; which is one great point of this discourse, viz. what benefit is reaped by Navigation, and the vast improvement it has received since the discovery of the Magnetical Needle, or Sea Compass: then having performed this with all possible brevity, it will be fit to proceed to give the like relation of the discovery of America, or the New World; which will lead us to the Voyages round the Globe, where this Discourse will end.

Extent of
coast made
known.

To begin then where the Discoveries commenced, that is, at Cape *Nam*, or *Nao*, which is on the coast of the kingdom of Morocco, and in the twenty-eighth degree of latitude; we find the extent made known from thence, taking it only from north to south, from 18 degrees of north latitude to 35 degrees of south latitude, in all 53 degrees in length, at twenty leagues to a degree,—to be one thousand six hundred leagues; but very much more if we run along the coast, especially upon that of Guinea, which lies east and west for above 25 degrees, which at the same rate as before amounts to five hundred leagues. So that we have here a Coast, only reckoning to the Cape of Good Hope, of above fifteen hundred leagues in length made known to us; and in it the further Lybia, the country of the Blacks, Guinea, the kingdoms of Benin, Conga, Angola, and the western coast of the Cafres: these are the general names by which these vast regions are known. The natives are for the most part black,

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black, or else inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence, are gold- Extent of
dust, ivory, and slaves; those black people selling one another, which is a very con- Coast made
siderable trade, and has been a great support to all the American plantations: this known.
is all that mighty Continent affords for exportation, the greatest part of it being
scorched under the torrid zone, and the natives almost naked, no where industrious,
and for the most part scarce civilized. In the southermost parts among the wild
Cafres, there is plenty of good cattle, which the first traders to India used to buy for
knives and other toys at the bay of Saldanha, and other places thereabouts. The *Portu-
guese*s here have the largest dominions on this coast of any nation, which are in the
kingdoms of Congo and Angola. The *English* and *Dutch* have some small forts on
the coast of Guinea; and the Dutch a large strong town, with all manner of improve-
ments about it, at the Cape of Good Hope. From this Cape of Good Hope, to Cape
Guardafu at the entrance into the Red Sea, the coast, running north-east and south-
west, extends above twelve hundred leagues in a strait line, containing the eastern
Cafres and Zanguebar, which are the two great divisions of this side; the latter of
these subdivided into the kingdoms of *Mozambique*, *Pemba*, *Quiloa*, *Monbaca*, *Melinde*,
Mogadewa, and *Adel*. Of these the Portuguese possess the town and fort of *Mozam-
bique*, having lost *Monbaca* within these few years, taken from them by the Moors.
No other European nation has any dominions on this coast, which is all in the pos-
session of the natives or Moors. The commodities here are the same as on the west
side of Afric, gold, ivory, and slaves. All this vast Continent produces many sorts
of fruit and grain unknown to us, as also beasts and fowl, which being no part of
trade, are not mentioned here.—Yet before we leave this Coast we must not omit to
mention the island *Zocotora*, famous for producing the best aloes, and situate not far
distant from Cape Guardafu. Next in course follows the *Red Sea*, the mouth where-
of is about an hundred and twenty leagues from Cape Guardafu, and its length, from
the mouth to Suez at the bottom of it, above four hundred leagues, lying north-west
and south-east; on one side of it is the coast of *Aben* and *Egypt*, on the other that of
Arabia Petrea, and *Arabia Felix*, all in the possession of the Turks; and not at all
resorted to by any European nation, but somewhat known to them by the way of
Egypt, before the discovery of India. From the mouth of the Red Sea to the gulph
of Persia lies the coast of *Arabia*, extending about four hundred leagues north-east
and south-west to *Cape Rosalgate*, at the entrance into the bay of Ormuz. This coast
is partly subject to the Turk, and partly to Arabian princes; and its principal com-
modities are rich gums, and coffee. Turning Cape Rosalgate to the north-west is
the great bay of Ormuz, along which runs still the coast of Arabia, where stands
Masgate, once possessed by the Portuguese, now by the Arabs. Next we come into
the gulph of *Bazora*, or of *Persia*, almost two hundred leagues in length, and enclosed
by Arabia on the one side, and Persia on the other. At the mouth of this bay in a
small island is the famous city *Ormuz*, conquered and kept many years by the Por-
tuguese, but at last taken from them by the Persians, with the assistance of the Eng-
lish. Within the bay on the Arabian side is the island *Baharem*, famous for a great
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Extent of
Coast dis-
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fishery of pearls. From the mouth of the *Persian gulph*, to that of *Indus*, are about three hundred and forty leagues, being the *coast of Persia*, where no prince possesses any thing but that great monarch. The chiefest commodities here are raw silk, rhubarb, wormseed, carpets of all sorts, wrought and plain silks, silks wrought with gold or silver, half silks and half cottons. From the mouth of *Indus* to *Cape Comori*, taking in the bend of the *coast from Indus to Cambay*, lying north-west and south-east, and from that bay to the Cape almost north and south, are near four hundred leagues, including the shores of *Guzarat*, *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Canara*, and *Malabar*: of these *Guzarat* and *Cambaya*, with part of *Decan*, are subject to the Great Mogul, the other parts to several Indian princes. Yet the Portugueses have the port of *Diu* in *Guzarat*, *Damam* in *Cambaya*, and the great city of *Goa* in *Decan*, besides other ports of lesser consequence: the English the island of *Bombaim*, and the Dutch some forts.—Doubling *Cape Comori*, and running in a straight line north-east, there are about four hundred and forty leagues to the bottom of the bay of *Bengala*; and turning thence south-east, somewhat more than the same number of leagues to the south-ermost point of the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or coast of *Malaca*; and in this space the shores of *Coromandel*, *Bijnagar*, *Golconda*, *Orixá*, *Bengala*, *Arracan*, *Pegu*, *Martaban*, and the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or Peninsula of *Malaca*.—Hence we will make but one line more for brevity sake, up to *Japan* on the northern coast of *China*; which in a strait line, without allowing any thing for the bays of *Siam* and *Cochinchina*, is at least eight hundred leagues; and in it, the east side of the Peninsula of *Malaca*, the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboia*, *Chiampa*, and *Cochinchina*, and the vast empire of *China*: all these immense regions from *Persia* eastward are vulgarly, though improperly, comprehended under the name of the *East Indies*. The product of these countries is no less to be admired, being all sorts of metals, all beasts and birds, and the most delicious of fruits. But to speak by way of *trade*, the commodities here are diamonds, silk raw and wrought in prodigious quantities, cotton unwrought, and infinite plenty of it in calicoes and muslins; all sorts of sweet and rich woods, all the gums, drugs, and dyes, all the precious plants, and rich perfumes, not to mention the spices, which I leave to the islands; in fine, all that is precious, delightful, or useful: inasmuch, that though here be mines of silver and gold, yet none is sent abroad, but hither it flows from all other parts, and is here swallowed up. But something must be said of the islands belonging to this great Continent, for the value of them is immense, as well as their number, and the extent of some of them.—The first in order that are any thing considerable, are the *Maldivy Islands*; rather remarkable for their multitude than any other thing, being so many that the number is not known, yet so small, that no great account is made of them: they lie south-east of *Cape Comori*, betwixt three and eight degrees of north latitude; for so far they run, being disposed in twelve several clusters or parcels that lie north-west and south-east: at the south end whereof lie two other less clusters or parcels east and west from one another. As for Trade, or Commerce, though these islands are very fruitful, they have not any thing considerable to promote it; especially to supply Europe, which is the thing here to be considered.

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considered. Next to these is the great and rich Island of * *Ceylon*, beyond Cape *Comori*, East India formerly divided into several petty kingdoms, till the Portuguese first reduced all the Islands. sea-coasts under their dominion, and were afterwards dispossessed by the Dutch, who still remain masters of them, but could never yet conquer the inland. This is a place of mighty traffic, for it produces the best cinnamon in the world, and supplies all Europe: here are also found the finest rubies, and several other sorts of precious stones. The elephants of this island are counted the best in all India, and as such coveted by all the eastern princes, who, though they have herds of them in their own dominions, do not spare to give considerable prices for these, which is a great enriching of the country.—The Islands of *Sunda*, or the *Sound*, are that great parcel lying south and south-east of Malaca, the principal whereof are *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Java*; the two first directly under the line, *Sumatra* above three hundred leagues in length, lying north-west and south-east, and about sixty in breadth in the widest place. *Borneo* is almost round, and about six hundred in circumference. *Java*, the last of them, lies betwixt 7 and 10 degrees of south latitude, is about two hundred leagues in length from east to west, and not above forty in breadth in the widest place from north to south. There are many more, but all small in comparison of these, unless we reckon *Celebes*, lying under the line, near an hundred and eighty leagues in length, the longest way north-east and south-west, and about eighty in breadth in the broadest place from east to west: as also *Gilolo*, under the equator as well as the last, of an irregular shape, and not above one fourth part of the bigness of *Celebes*. All these Islands have a prodigious trade, being resorted to from all parts, not only of India, but even from Europe. Their wealth is incredible, for they produce whatsoever man can wish; but the principal commodities exported are ginger, pepper, camphir, agarick, cassia, wax, honey, silk, cotton; they have also mines of gold, tin, iron, and sulphur, all sorts of cattle and fowl, but no vines nor olive trees. In *Sumatra* the Dutch have some forts, and are very powerful, but much more in *Java*, where *Batavia*, a populous city, is the metropolis of their eastern dominions. The English had a great trade and factory at *Bantam* in the same island, but were expelled by the Dutch in the year 1682. After these follow the *Molucco* Islands, which are five in number properly so called, viz. *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Machian*, *Moutil* or *Moufil*, and *Bachian*: they lie along the west side of *Gilolo*, so near the equinoctial, that the last of them lies 24 or 25 minutes south, and the first of them about 50 minutes north of it. They are so small, that all of them do not take up above one degree, and 10 or 15 minutes of latitude. *Ternate* is the northermost, and in order from it lie to the south *Tidore*, *Moutil*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*. The whole product of these islands is Cloves, which are scarce found elsewhere, and here little besides them; which is the reason why the Dutch have possessed themselves of them, expelling the Portugueses, who after long contests had bought out the Spaniards claim to them. With the *Moluccos* may be reckoned the islands of *Amboina* and *Banda*: the first of these produces Cloves like the other, and was once much resorted to by the English, till the Dutch

* See PLATE the third.

destroyed their factory, of which action there are particular * printed accounts. *Banda* is a larger island than any of the others, and in five degrees of south latitude, possessed also by the Dutch; who have here all the trade of Nutmegs and Mace, which scarce grow any where but in this and two or three neighbouring islands. A vast multitude of other little Islands are scattered about this Sea, but those already mentioned are the most considerable; for though those of *Chiram* and *Papous* be large, there is very little of them known, by which it is natural to guess they are not of much value; for if they were, the same avarice that has carried so many European nations into their neighbourhood to destroy not only the natives, but one another, would have made them long since as familiar to us as the rest.—Of *Japan* enough was said when first discovered by the Portugueses, and in captain *Saris's* Voyage thither, where the reader may satisfy his curiosity: all that needs be added is, that it produces some gold, and great plenty of silver. For other commodities, here is abundance of hemp, excellent dyes, red, blue, and green; rice, brimstone, saltpetre, cotton, and the most excellent Varnish in the world, commonly called *Japan*, whereof abundance of cabinets, tables, and many other things are brought into Europe. Thus are we come to *Japan*, the utmost of these eastern discoveries, omitting to say any thing of the *Philippine* Islands, and those called *de las Ladrões*, though within this compass, because they were discovered from the West Indies; and therefore they are left to be treated of among the American affairs, as are the Isles of *Solomon*, whereof hitherto the world has had but a very imperfect account.—This SUMMARY shews the improvement of Navigation on this side the world since the discovery of the Magnetical Needle, or Sea Compass; it having made known to us as much of the coasts of Afric and Asia, as running along only the greatest turnings and windings, amounts to about five thousand leagues; an incredible extent of land, were it not so universally known to be true, and so very demonstrable. The benefit we reap is so visible, it seems not to require any thing should be said of it: for now all Europe abounds in all such things as those vast, wealthy, exuberant Eastern regions can afford; whereas before these discoveries it had nothing but what it received by retail, and at excessive rates from the Venetians; who took in the precious drugs, rich spices, and other valuable commodities of the east in Egypt, or the coast of Turkey, whither it was brought from India, either by caravans or up the Red Sea; and they supplied all other countries with them at their own prices. But now the Sea is open, every nation has the liberty of supplying itself from the fountain-head; and if some have encroached upon others, confined them to a narrower trade in those parts, yet the returns from thence are yearly so great, that all those goods may be purchased here at the second hand, infinitely cheaper than they could when one nation had the supplying of all the rest; and that by so expensive a way, as being themselves served by caravans, and a few small ships on the Red Sea. To conclude; these Parts, the Discovery whereof has been the subject of this discourse, supply the Christian world with all gums, drugs,

* The contents of the Pamphlet published by our East India Company, relative to the cruelties practised on the English, by the Dutch, in 1622, are preserved by Dr. Campbell in Harris's Collection of Voyages (vol. i. p. 877.), as also the Dutch account of the same horrid transactions (p. 884.). See also Pennant's Outlines of the Globe.

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spices, silks, and cottons; precious stones, sulphur, gold, saltpetre; rice, tea, China ware, coffee, Japan varnished works, all sorts of dyes, of cordials, and perfumes; pearls, ivory, ostrich feathers, parrots, monkeys, and an endless number of necessaries, conveniences, curiosities, and other comforts and supports of human life, whereof enough has been said for the intended brevity of this Discourse.—It is now time to proceed to a still greater part, greater in extent of land, as reaching from north to south, and its bounds not yet known; and greater in wealth, as containing the inexhaustible treasures of the silver mines of Peru and Mexico, and of the gold mines of Chile, and very many other parts. A fourth part of the world, not much inferior to the other three in extent, and no way yielding to them for all the blessings nature could bestow upon the earth. A world concealed from the rest for above five thousand years, and reserved by Providence to be made known three hundred years ago. A region yet not wholly known, the extent being so immense, that three hundred years have not been a sufficient time to lay it all open. A portion of the universe wonderful in all respects:—1. For that being so large it could lie so long hid. 2. For that being well inhabited, the wit of man cannot conclude which way those people could come thither, and that none others could find the way since. 3. For its endless sources of gold and silver, which supplying all parts, since their first discovery, are so far from being impoverished, that they only want more hands to draw out more. 4. For its mighty rivers, so far exceeding all others, that they look like little seas, compared with the greatest in other parts. 5. For its prodigious mountains, running many hundred leagues, and whose tops are almost inaccessible. 6. For the strange variety of seasons, and temperature of air to be found at very few leagues distance. And lastly, For its stupendous fertility of soil, producing all sorts of fruits and plants which the other parts of the world afford, in greater perfection than in their native land, besides an infinity of others which will not come to perfection elsewhere.

To come to the Discovery of this fourth and greatest part of the earth; it was undertaken and performed by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoese, excellently skilled in sea affairs, an able cosmographer, and well versed in all those parts of the mathematics, which might capacitate him for such an enterprize. This person being convinced by natural reason, that so great a part of the world as till then was unknown could not be all sea, or created to no purpose; and believing that the earth being round, a shorter way might be found to *India by the west*, than by compassing all Afric to the southward, as the Portuguese were then attempting to do; he resolved to apply himself wholly to the discovery of those rich countries, which he positively concluded must extend, from what was known of the East Indies, still to the eastward one way, and to be the easier met with by sailing round to the westward. Having been long fully possessed with this notion, and provided to answer all objections that might be started against it, he thought the undertaking too great for any less than a sovereign prince, or state; and therefore, not to be unjust to his Country, he first proposed it to the State of Genoa, where it was rather ridiculed than any way encouraged. This repulse made him have recourse to king *John the second* of Portugal; who having

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caused the matter to be examined by those that had the direction of the Discoveries along the coast of Afric; by their advice he held him in hand, till he had sent out a caravel with private orders to attempt this discovery. This caravel having wandered long in the wide ocean, and suffered much by storms, returned without finding any thing. *Columbus* understanding what had been done, resented it so highly, that in hatred to Portugal he resolved to go over to Castile and offer his service there; but for fear of any disappointment, at the same time he sent his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* into England, to make the same overture to king *Henry* the seventh. His brother had the ill fortune to be taken at sea by pirates, which much retarded his coming to the court of England; where when at last he came, being poor and destitute of friends, it was long before he could be heard, or at least be looked upon; so that in fine, *Columbus* was gone before he returned to Spain with his answer. *Columbus* in the mean while stole away out of Portugal, and coming to the court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, king and queen of *Castile* and *Aragon*, he there spent eight years soliciting with little hopes, and many difficulties; till at last, when he had utterly despaired of success, he met with it, through the assistance of some few friends he had gained at court. At his earnest suit he had all the conditions he required granted, which were—that he should be admiral of all those seas he discovered, and viceroy and governor-general of all the lands; that he should have the tenth of all things whatsoever brought from those parts, and that he might at all times be an eighth part in all fleets sent thither, and to receive the eighth of all the returns: this to him and his heirs for ever. With these titles, and sufficient power from the queen, who espoused the undertaking, he repaired to the port of *Palos de Moguer*, on the coast of *Andalusia*, where there was furnished for him a ship called the *S. Mary*, and two caravels, the one called *La Pinta*, commanded by *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, and the other *La Nina*, by *Vincent Yanes Pinzon*. In these vessels he had ninety men, and provisions for a year; and thus equipped he sailed from *Palos de Moguer*.—

(*An.* 1492,) on the twenty-third of August, directing his course to the *Canary islands*, where he made a new rudder to the caravel *Pinta*, which had hers broke off at sea, he took in fresh provisions, wood, and water with all possible expedition; and on the sixth of September put to sea again, steering due west, and on the seventh lost sight of land. The eleventh, at an hundred and fifty leagues distance from the island of *Ferro*, they saw a great piece of a Mast drove by the current, which set strong towards the north; and the fourteenth the admiral observed the Variation of the Needle to the westward about two points. On Sunday the sixteenth the men were surprised to see green, and yellow weeds, scattered about in small parcels on the superficies of the water, as if it had been newly torn off from some island or rock; and the next day they saw much more, which made some conclude they were near land, and others supposing it only to be rocks, or shoals, began to mutter. Every day they saw some birds flying to the ships, and abundance of weeds in the water, which still made them conceive hopes of land; but when these failed, then they began again to murmur; so that the admiral was forced to use all his art to keep them quiet, sometimes with fair words, and sometimes with threats and severity, they imagining, that since

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for the most part they sailed before the * wind, it would be impossible for them ever to return. Thus their mutinous temper daily increased, and began to appear more open, some being so bold as to advise throwing the Admiral over board. The first of October the pilot told the Admiral, he found by his account they were five hundred and eighty-eight leagues west of the island of Ferro, which is the westernmost of the Canaries; who answered, his reckoning was five hundred and eighty-four, whereas in reality his computation was seven hundred and seven; and on the third the pilot of the caravel *Nina* reckoned six hundred and fifty, he of the caravel *Pinta* six hundred and thirty-four: but they were out, and Columbus made it less, for fear of discouraging the men, who nevertheless continued very mutinous, but were somewhat appeased on the fourth, seeing above forty sparrows fly about the ships, besides other birds. The eleventh of October there appeared manifest tokens of their being near land; for from the admiral's ship they saw a green rush in the water, from the *Nina* they saw a cane and a stick, and took up another that was artificially wrought, and a little board, besides abundance of weeds fresh pulled up; from the *Pinta* they beheld such-like tokens, and a branch of a thorn tree with the berries on it: besides, that sounding they found bottom, and the wind grew variable. For these reasons the Admiral ordered, they should make but little sail at night, for fear of being aground in the dark; and about ten of the clock that night the Admiral himself saw a light, and shewed it to others. About two in the morning the caravel *Pinta*, which was furthest a-head, gave the signal of Land; and when day appeared, they perceived it was an Island about fifteen leagues in length, plain, well wooded and watered, and very populous; the natives standing on the shore, admiring what the ships were. The Admiral and Captains went ashore in their boats, and called that island *S. Salvador*, the natives calling it *Guanahani*, and is one of the *Lucayos*, in about 26 degrees of north latitude, nine hundred and fifty leagues west of the Canaries; and discovered the thirty-third day after they sailed from them.—Columbus took possession for the king and queen of Spain, and all the Spaniards joyfully took an oath to him, as their Admiral and Viceroy. He gave the Indians, who stood in admiration to see him and his men, some red caps, glass beads, and other trifles, which they valued at an high rate. The Admiral returning aboard, the natives followed; some swimming, others in their canoes, carrying with them bottoms of spun cotton, parrots, and javelins pointed with fish bones, to exchange for glass baubles and horse bells. Both men and women were all naked, their hair short and tied with a cotton string, and well enough featured, of a middle stature, well shaped, and of an olive colour, some painted white, some black, and some red. They knew nothing of iron, and did all their work with sharp stones. No beasts or fowl were seen here but only parrots. Being asked by signs, whence they had the gold, whereof they wore little plates hanging at their noses, they pointed to the South. The Admiral understanding there were other countries not far off, resolved to seek them out; and taking seven Indians that they might learn Spanish, sailed on the fifteenth to another Island, which he called the *Conception*, seven leagues

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* The steady current of the Trade Wind, must have been dreadful even to Columbus himself; and became, as he advanced to the westward, the principal cause of his anxiety.

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from the other. The sixteenth he proceeded to another Island, and called it *Fernandina*, and so to a fourth, to which he gave the name of *Isabella*; but finding nothing more in these than in the first, he proceeded on to the Island of *Cuba*, which he called *Juana*, and entered the port on the east end called *Baracoa*; whence after sending two men to discover without finding what he sought for, he went on to *Hispaniola*, and anchored on the north side of it. Here the admiral finding there were gold mines, and plenty of cotton, the people simple, and one of the *Caciques*, or princes, shewing all tokens of love and affection; and having lost his own ship, which through the carelessness of the sailors in the night run upon a sand; he resolved to build a fort, which with the assistance of the Indians was performed in ten days, and called the *Nativity*: here he left thirty-nine men, with provisions for a year, seeds to sow, baubles to trade with the natives, all the cannon and arms belonging to his own ship, and the boat. This done, he departed from the port of the *Nativity* on the fourth of January 1493, steering eastward, and the sixth discovered the caravel *Pinta*, which had left him some days before, the captain hoping to get much gold to himself. *Columbus* having sailed some days along the coast of the Island, discovered more of it, and trafficking with the natives, and seeing some other islands at a distance, at length launched out to sea to return for Spain. In the way they struggled with the dreadfullest storms any of them had ever seen; which separated the admiral from the caravel *Pinta*, so that he saw her no more: but at last it pleased God to bring his shattered caravel into the river of Lisbon, where the people flocked with admiration to see him, and some advised the king of Portugal to murder him; but he having entertained him generously dismissed him: and he putting to sea again, arrived safe at *Palos de Moguer*, from whence he set out on the fifteenth of March, having been out six months and an half upon his discovery. The Court was then at *Barcelona*, whither the Admiral repaired; carrying with him the Indians he brought, some gold, and other samples of what the Discovery afforded. The King and Queen received him with all possible demonstrations of honour, making him sit down in their presence, and ordering all the privileges and titles before granted him to be confirmed. After some time spent in these entertainments, the Admiral desired to be fitted out as became his dignity, to conquer and plant those new countries, which was granted; and he departed for *Seville*, to set out on his *second voyage*, which we are to speak of next.—We have been very particular in this, because being the first, it required a more exact account to be given of it, and shall therefore be more succinct in those that follow.

An. 1493, A fleet of seventeen sail of all sorts was fitted out at *Seville*, well furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon; corn, seeds, mares and horses; tools to work in the gold mines, and abundance of commodities to barter with the natives. There were aboard fifteen hundred men, many of them labouring people, and artificers; several gentlemen, and twenty horse. With this fleet *Columbus* set sail from *Seville* on the fifteenth of September the aforesaid year, and on the fifth of October came to the *Gomera*, one of the Canary islands; where he took in wood and water, as also cattle, calves, sheep, goats, and swine to stock the Indies, besides hens and garden seeds. Sailing hence more to the southward than the first voyage, on the third

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third of November in the morning, all the fleet spied an island, which *Columbus* called *American Dominica*, because discovered on a Sunday; and soon after many others—the first of Discoveries, which he called *Marigalanti*, the name of the ship he was in, the next *Guadalupe*; then *Montserrat*, *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *S. Martin*, *Santa Cruz*; these are the *Caribbe Islands*. Next he came to the large island, which he called *S. John Baptist*, but the Indians *Borriquen*, and it is now known by the name of *Puerto Rico*.—November the twenty-second the fleet arrived on the coast of *Hispaniola*, where they found the fort burnt down, and none of the Spaniards; they being all destroyed either by discord among themselves, or by the Indians. Not liking the place he had chosen the first Voyage to plant his Colony, he turned back to the eastward; and finding a seat to his mind, landed and built a little town which he called *Isabella*, in honour of *Isabel* then queen of Castile. Then keeping five ships of the fleet with him for his use there, he sent back twelve to Spain, under the command of *Antonio de Torres*, with some quantity of gold, and a full account of what had been done. Thus ended this year 1493; and here it must be observed, that all the actions done ashore must be omitted, as too great for this Discourse, and in reality no way belonging to it; the design of it being only to shew what advantages have been made by sea since the discovery of the Magnetical Needle, as has been declared before.

An. 1494, *Columbus* sailed from his new colony of *Isabella* with one great ship and two caravels on the twenty-fourth of April, directing his course westward; and came upon the point of *Cuba* on the eighteenth of May, where sailing along the coast he saw an infinite number of small islands; so that it being impossible to give them all names, he in general called them the *Queen's Garden*. Thus he proceeded as far as the island of *Pinos*, near the westernmost end of *Cuba*, having discovered three hundred and thirty leagues to the westward from his colony of *Isabella*. He suffered very much in this voyage by the continual storms of rain, wind, thunder and lightning; and therefore resolved to return, taking his way more to the southward, and on the twenty-second of July found the island of *Jamaica*; whence he directed his course to *Hispaniola*, and coasting about it, arrived at the town of *Isabella* on the twenty-ninth of September, where he found his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who was come with four ships from Spain. The Admiral built many forts in the island, and being much offended at the ill behaviour of many of the Spaniards, who began to use him disrespectfully, and sent complaints against him to the court, returned into Spain to justify his proceedings, and secure his authority. Thus far out of *Herrera's* first decade, (lib. I, II, and III.)

The fame of these mighty Discoveries being spread abroad throughout Europe, *Sebastian Cabot*, a Venetian, but residing in England, made application to king Henry the seventh, to be employed in finding out a passage to the East Indies through the north-west. The king admitted of his proposal, and

(An. 1497,) Ordered him two ships provided with all necessaries for such an undertaking, with which he sailed from *Bristol* in the beginning of Summer (for here does not appear a particular journal), and directing his course north-west came into 56,

Herrera

American Discoveries.

Herrera says 68 degrees of north latitude; where he discovered land running still to the northward, which made him despair of finding a passage that way, as he had projected; and therefore came about to the southward, hoping to meet it in less latitude. Thus he soon fell in upon the now much frequented island of *Newfoundland*, reaching from 54 to 48 degrees; where he found a wild people clad in skins of beasts, and armed with bows and arrows, as also bears and stags, and great plenty of fish, but the earth yielding little fruit. Here he took three of the savages, whom at his return he carried into England, where they lived long after. Hence he continued his course along the American coast as far as 38 degrees of latitude, where his provisions beginning to fall short he returned to England, (*Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 6. *et seq.*) This imperfect account is all we have of this voyage, which was not prosecuted by the English in many years after; and *Cabot* finding little encouragement went away into Spain, where he was entertained.

An. 1498, On the thirtieth of May, Admiral *Columbus* having been again well received and honoured by the king and queen of Castile and Aragon, and provided as he desired, sailed from *S. Lucar* with six ships upon new discoveries; and coming to the island *Gomeru*, one of the Canaries, on the nineteenth, sent thence three of his ships with provisions to sail directly for *Hispaniola*. He with the other three made the islands of *Cabo Verde*, resolving to sail southward as far as the equinoctial; and therefore steering south-west on the thirteenth of July, he felt such violent heat, that they all thought they should there have ended their days: and this continued till the nineteenth, when the wind freshening they stood away to the westward, and the first of August came to an anchor in the island which he called *La Trinidad*, near the continent of South America, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Discovering land from this place, which he supposed to be another Island, but it was the Continent, he sailed over and came upon the point of *Paria*, and run many leagues along the coast of the continent, without knowing it was so, trading with the Indians for gold and abundance of pearls. However thinking his presence necessary at *Hispaniola*, he could not continue his discovery, but returned the same way he came to the island *Trinidad*; and found that he called *Margarita*, where was afterwards the great pearl fishery, and that of *Cubagua*, besides many others of less note, and arrived at *Santo Domingo*, a town newly built on the south coast of the island *Hispaniola*, on the twenty-second of August; *Herrera*, (dec. 1. lib. IV.)

An. 1499, The news having been brought to Spain of the discovery *Columbus* had made on the Continent, though it was not yet certainly known whether it was continent or an island, *Alonso de Ojeda* and some other private men fitted out four ships to make discoveries, and sailed from Port *S. Mary* on the twentieth of May. *John de la Cosa*, a Biscainer, went with him as pilot, and *Americus Vesputius* as merchant. They took their course to the south-west, and in twenty-seven days had sight of land, which they supposed to be the Continent. Being within a league of the shore, they sent some men in the boat, who saw abundance of naked people, who presently fled to the mountains; and therefore they followed the Coast to find some harbour, which they found two days after, with multitudes of natives, thronging to see the ships. They

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They were of a middle stature, well shaped, broad faced, and of a ruddy complexion. Their wealth consisted in fine feathers, fish bones, and green and white stones, but they had neither gold nor pearls. *Ojeda* ran along this coast till he came to a town seated like Venice in the water, but containing only twenty-six great houses; for which reason he called it *Venezuela*, or little Venice, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Still he kept along the coast of *Paria*, before discovered by *Columbus*, for the space of two hundred leagues, and then proceeded two hundred further to the point called *Cabo de la Vela*. Then turning back he came to the island *Margarita*, where he carcenied, and on the fifth of November arrived at the island of *Hispaniola*; where we may put an end to his discovery.

Spanish
voyages to
America.

This same year *Pedro Alonso Nino* and *Christopher Guevara* sailed from *Sevil* with one ship to discover, but did nothing more than had been done before, trading along the coast where *Columbus* and *Ojeda* had been; *Herrera*, (decad. 1. lib. IV.)

An. 1500, *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was with *Columbus* the first voyage, sent out four ships at his own charge, and sailing to the southward was the first Spaniard that ever cut the equinoctial line. Then sailing to the westward, on the twenty-sixth of January he discovered land at a distance, which was the point of land now called Cape *S. Augustin*, on the coast of *Brazil*, where he took possession for the king of Spain: but not being able to bring the natives to trade with him, he passed on to a river, where landing, eight of his men were killed by the Indians; which made him remove again down to the mouth of the river *Maranon*, which is thirty leagues over, and runs with such force, that the water is fresh forty leagues out at sea. Finding no benefit could be made along this coast, he held on his course to *Paria*, whence he sailed over to the islands in the way to *Hispaniola*; and being at an anchor among them, a furious storm sunk two of their ships downright, the other two escaping repaired to *Hispaniola*, and having refitted returned to Spain. In this Voyage they discovered six hundred leagues along the coast lying south-east from *Paria*.

Spaniards
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Brazil, 1500.

In December, this same year, *James de Lepe* sailed from *Palos de Moguer* to discover, and went some way to the southward of cape *S. Augustin*, but did little considerable; *Herrera*, (dec. 1. lib. IV.)

This year also *EMANUEL* king of Portugal fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail for the *East Indies*, commanded by *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*; who sailing from *Lisbon* in March, to avoid the calms on the coast of *Guinea*, stood out far to sea; and being carried away further to the westward than he intended by a storm, on the twenty-fourth of April fell in upon the coast of *Brazil* in America, in 10 degrees of south latitude. He sailed along it one day, and going ashore found a tawny people; but the weather still forced him to the southward, to a harbour he called *Porto Seguro*, in 17 degrees of south latitude, where he landed, and found the country abounding in cotton and Indian wheat. Here he erected a cross in token of possession, and therefore called the country *Santa Cruz*, but the name of *Brazil* prevailed, because of that sort of wood brought from thence. *Pedro Alvarez* sent a ship to Portugal to give advice of

Portuguese
discover
Brazil, 1500.

Portuguese
voyage to
North Ame-
rica, 1500.

this discovery, and he with the rest prosecuted his voyage to the East Indies, as may be seen in the account of them; Herrera *ubi sup.* and Faria in Asia, (part I. p. 53.)

Again this year 1500, *Gasper de Cortereal*, a Portuguese, sailed to the north parts of America with two caravels, where he run along a great part of what was said before to be discovered by *Cabot*, and gave his name to some small islands about the north of *Newfoundland*, bringing away sixty of the natives.—He made a second voyage into those parts, but was cast away; Herrera, (dec. 1. lib. VI.)

Spanish
voyages to
America.

An. 1501, *Roderick de Bastidas* fitted out two ships at Cadiz, and taking *John de la Cosa*, who was best acquainted with the western seas, for his pilot, put to sea in the beginning of February, following the same course *Columbus* had taken when he discovered the continent; and coasting all along where he and the others had been, he traded with the Indians. Not so satisfied, he run to the westward, and discovered *Santa Marta Carthagena*, and as far as *Nombre de Dios*, being above an hundred leagues more than was known before. His ships being now leaky and worm-eaten, so that they could not long keep the sea, and having traded for a considerable quantity of gold and pearls, he with difficulty made over to *Xaragua* in *Hispaniola*, where his ships sunk after saving the treasure; and he, after being imprisoned in this island, got over into Spain with his wealth. He carried some Indians from the continent to *Hispaniola*, who went stark naked; Herrera *ubi sup.*

An. 1502, Admiral *COLUMBUS*, being through the malicious insinuations of his enemies removed from the government of *Hispaniola*, but still fed by the king with fair words, obtained of him four ships to go upon some new discovery, and sailed with them from Cadiz on the ninth of May. On the twenty-ninth of June he came before *Santo Domingo* in the island *Hispaniola*, where the governor refused to admit him into the port. On the fourteenth of July he sailed away to the westward, and driving some days with the currents in calms, struggled for sixty days with violent storms; after which he discovered the little island *Guanaja*, northward of cape *Honduras*, in 17 degrees of latitude. He sent his brother ashore, who met with a canoe as long as a Spanish galley, and eight foot wide, covered with mats; and in it many men, women, and children, with abundance of commodities to barter, which were large cotton cloths of several colours, short cotton shirts without sleeves curiously wrought; wooden swords edged with flint, copper hatchets to cut wood, horse-bells of the same metal, and broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt the copper, cocoa-nuts, bread made of Indian wheat, and drink of the same. Being carried aboard the admiral, he exchanged some commodities with them, and then dismissed them, only keeping an old man, of whom he enquired for gold; he pointed eastward, which made *Columbus* alter his design of sailing still westward. Therefore taking the way he was directed, the first land he came to was Cape *Cafinas* on the continent of the province of *Honduras*, where his brother landed and took possession; the natives coming down in peaceable manner, wearing short jackets of cotton, and bringing him plenty of provisions. Sailing hence many days to the eastward against the wind, he

came to a great point of land, from which perceiving the shore run to the southward, he called it *Cabo de gracias a Dios*, or *Cape thanks be to God*, because then the easterly winds would carry him down the coast. He ran along trading with the natives, and touched at *Porto Bello*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Belen*, and *Veragua*, where he heard there were gold mines, and sent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a considerable quantity of that metal, exchanged for inconsiderable trifles. Upon this encouragement *Columbus* resolved to leave his brother there with eighty men, and accordingly built houses for them; yet after all, the Indians becoming their enemies, and the Spaniards mutinous, he was forced to take them aboard again, and then sailed away for *Hispaniola*. The ships being quite shaken with the many storms, and eaten through with the worms, could not reach that island; and therefore he was forced to run them a-ground on the coast of *Jamaica*, close board and board by one another, shoring them up with piles drove in the sand, and making huts on the decks for the men to live in, because they were full of water up to the deck. Hence with incredible difficulty and danger, he sent messengers in a canoe over to *Hispaniola* for some vessels to carry him and his men away, and after suffering much was at last transported to that island, and thence into Spain, where he died. *Herrera*, (dec. 1. lib. V, VI.)—So that we have here an end of his Discoveries; and all the continent of America made known from *Cape Honduras* in 18 degrees of north latitude, to *Porto Seguro* on the coast of *Brasil* in 17 degrees of south latitude, being above fifty hundred leagues, taking only the greater windings of the coast.

Spanish
voyages to
America, and
the adjacent
islands.

An. 1506, The news of *Columbus*'s new discovery being spread abroad in Castile, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon* resolved to prosecute what he had begun; and coming to the island *Guanaja*, whence *Columbus* had turned back to the eastward, they held on their course still westward; running along the coast of *Honduras*, till they came to the bottom of that deep bay, which they called *Baia de Navidad*, now called the Gulph of *Honduras*. Then turning to the north-east, they discovered a great part of the province of *Yucatan*, whereof little was afterwards known till the discovery of New Spain.

An. 1507, It being still unknown whether *Cuba* was an island or part of the continent, *Nicholas d'Obando*, governor of *Hispaniola*, sent *Sebastian d'Ocampo* to discover it: he sailed along the north side of it, touching at several places, and careened his ships at the port now well known by the name of the *Havana*, which then he called *de Carenas*. Then continuing his Voyage to the westernmost end of the island now called *Cabo de S. Anton*, he turned to the eastward along the south coast of the island, and put into the port of *Xagua*, which is one of the best in the world, and capable of containing a thousand ships. Here he was most courteously entertained, and supplied with abundance of partridges and good fish. Having rested here a few days, he held on his way along the coast, and returned to *Hispaniola*, with the certain news of *Cuba*'s being an island. (*Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

An. 1508, *John Ponce de Leon* sailed over from *Hispaniola* to the island called by the Indians *Borriquen*, by the Spaniards *S. Juan de Puerto Rico*, and by the English

Porto

Spanish
voyages to
America,
and the adja-
cent islands.

Porto Rico: it is but 15 leagues distant from *Hispaniola*, has a good harbour, which with the plenty of gold found in it gave it the name of *Puerto Rico*, or the rich Harbour. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

This same year, 1508, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who before discovered the Gulph of *Honduras*, sailed with two caravels fitted out at the king's expence, to discover the south coast of America; and coming upon Cape S. Augustin in about 11 degrees of south latitude, continued thence their navigation along the coast, often landing and trading with the natives, till they came into 40 degrees of the same latitude; whence they returned with an account of what they had found into Spain. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

An. 1509, *John de Esquivel* was sent from *Hispaniola*, by the admiral *James Columbus*, son to *Christopher Columbus*, with seventy men to settle a colony in the island of *Jamaica*.

This same year *John de la Cosa* sailed from Spain with one ship, and two brigantines, to join *Alonso d'Ojeda* in the island *Hispaniola*, thence to go and settle on the continent: *James de Nicuesa* set out soon after him with four ships upon the same design. After some dispute about the limits of their provinces, they agreed that the river of *Darien* should part them, and then they set out towards their several governments. (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.)

An. 1510, *Ojeda* landed at *Cartagena*, where after endeavouring to gain the Indians by fair means without success, he came to a battle with them, in which *John de la Cosa* was killed, and *Ojeda* escaped by flight, having lost seventy Spaniards. *Nicuesa* arriving a few days after, and joining the other Spaniards belonging to *Ojeda*, revenged the death of the former seventy, and took a great booty. However *Ojeda* removed thence to the gulph of *Uraba*, where he founded the town of *S. Sebastian*, being the second built on the continent; if we reckon that before founded by *Columbus* near the same place, which did not stand, as has been mentioned, nor did this continue long at that time, being removed after most of the Spaniards were consumed, to *Darien*. Hence the Indians carried swine, salt, and fish up the country, and in return brought home gold and cotton cloth. *Nicuesa* with his ships sailed to *Veragua*, and after many miseries and calamities, at last founded the town of *Nombre de Dios* on the small Isthmus that joins the two Continents of north and south America; (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII, VIII.)

An. 1511, The admiral *James Columbus*, from the island *Hispaniola*, sent *James Velasquez* with about three hundred men to plant the island of *Cuba*, where no settlement had yet been made.

An. 1512, *John Ponce de Leon*, before mentioned as first planter of the island of *Puerto Rico*, being grown rich, fitted out three ships in that island, resolving to discover to the northward. He sailed on the third of March, steering north-west and by north, and on the eighth anchored at *Banos de Babueca*, near the island *del Viejo*, in 22 degrees and an half of north latitude; and on the fourteenth, at the island *Guana-hani*, which was the first discovered by *Columbus*. Hence he directed his course north.

north-west, and on the twenty-seventh, being Easter Sunday, discovered an island not known before; whence he proceeded, steering west-north-west till the second of April, when they came to an anchor near a port of the continent they had run along, in 30 degrees and 8 minutes of north latitude; which he believed to be an island called *Florida*, that is, flowery, or flourishing, both because it looked green and pleasant, and because it was Easter time, which the Spaniards call *Pasqua Florida*. After landing to take possession, he sailed south and by east till the twenty-first of April; when he met so strong a current, that though they had the wind large, his ships could not stem it, which obliged him to come to an anchor; this being the now well known channel of *Bahama*, through which most ships return out of those parts into Europe. Here he landed, and had a skirmish with the Indians, who were warlike. On the eighth of May he doubled the point of Florida, which he called *Cape Corrientes*, because of the great strength of the current there. Being come about, they spent many days along the coast and neighbouring islands, watering and careening, and dealing with the Indians for hides and Guanines, which are plates of a mixture of gold and copper. In June he had two battles with the Indians, who in their canoes came out to draw his ships ashore, or at least to cut his cables. Having beaten them off he came upon the coast of Cuba, though he knew it not to be that island, and thence returned to *Puerto Rico*; whence he sailed into Spain to beg of the king the government of what he had discovered; (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IX.)

Spanish discoveries on the Coast of America.

An. 1513, *Basco Nunez de Balboa*, who had subtilly wound himself into the government of the Spaniards, who were before mentioned to have built the town of *Darien*, having used all his endeavours as others did to find out more gold; and being told by an Indian, that there was a mighty prince beyond the mountains who had vast plenty of it, and that there was also an open sea, he resolved to venture over to find these treasures, and gain the honour of being the first that discovered this so long looked for Sea. Accordingly he set out from *Darien* in September with Indian guides, and others given him by the Caciques his friends, to carry burdens. Entering upon the mountains, he had a fight with a Cacique that would have stopped him, in which he killed the Cacique and six hundred of his men. On the twenty-fifth of September he reached the top of the mountains; from whence, to his unspeakable joy, he saw the *South Sea*; with this satisfaction he went down, and coming to the shore walked into the sea to take possession of it for the king of Spain. This done, he with eighty of his men, and a Cacique his friend, went into nine canoes, and put out to sea; where a storm rising, they had all like to have perished; however, with much difficulty they got into a small island, where some of their canoes were beaten to pieces, and all their provisions lost. The next day with what canoes remained, they landed on the further side of the bay, where after some opposition from the Indians they made peace, and the Cacique brought a good quantity of gold as a present, and two hundred and forty large pearls; and seeing the Spaniards valued them, he sent some Indians to fish, who in four days brought twelve mark weight of them, each mark being

Pacific Ocean discovered, 1513.

Spanish
Voyages to
America.

being eight ounces. *Basco Nunez* would have gone over to the island of pearls, five leagues distant, but was advised by the Indians his friends to put it off till summer, because of the danger of the sea at that time. Here he had some information of the wealth of *Peru*, and was assured that the Coast ran along to the southward without end, as the Indians thought. *Basco Nunez* having made so great a discovery, and gathered much wealth, returned over the mountains to *Darien*, whence he presently sent advice to the king of what he had found; (Herrera, dec. 1. lib. X.)

An. 1515, *John Diaz de Solis* was sent out by the king to discover to the southward; he sailed on the eighth of October, and came to *Rio de Janeiro* on the coast of *Brasil* in 22 degrees twenty minutes of south latitude; whence he continued his course down the Coast which lies south-west, to cape S. Mary in 35 degrees of latitude, where he landed and took possession. Then turning with one of his caravels into the river of Plate, which because it was so large and fresh, they called the *Fresh Sea*, and by another name, the river of *Solis*, he spied along the shore abundance of houses of Indians, and the people coming down to gaze at the ships, and offering what they had. *Solis* landed with as many men as his boat could carry, who going a little up from the shore, were set upon by the natives, who lay in ambush in the woods, and every man of them killed, notwithstanding the cannon fired from aboard. When they had killed the men they removed them further from the shore; yet not so far but that the Spaniards aboard might see them; where cutting off their heads, arms, and legs, they roasted the whole trunks of the bodies and eat them. Having seen this dismal sight, the caravel returned to the other vessel, and both together repaired to cape S. Augustin, where having loaded with *Brasil* wood, they sailed back to Spain.—Thus ended the famous Seaman *John Diaz de Solis*; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. I.)

An. 1516, *Padrarias*, governor of *Darien*, before spoken of, sent the licentiate *Espinosa* with a good body of men over the mountains to *Panama*; who had some encounters with the Indians in those parts, and made some considerable Discoveries along that coast. But having gathered a great quantity of gold, and abundance of slaves, he returned to *Darien*, leaving *Hernan Ponce de Leon* with a small force at *Panama*. This commander lost no time, though he had no good vessels but some small barks, for in them he ventured to run up to the north-west as far as the port of *Nicoya* in the province of *Nicaragua*, an hundred and forty leagues from *Nata*, which is at the mouth of the bay of *Panama*; where finding the people in arms, and that they fled to the mountains upon the first firing, he concluded there was not much good to be done there at that time, and returned to *Panama*. At the same time *Basco Nunez de Balboa*, who first discovered the South Sea, cut timber at *Ada* on the north Sea, and having hewed it out fit to put together, had it all carried up twelve leagues to the top of the mountains by Indians, Blacks, and Spaniards, and thence down to the South Sea; which was an incredible labour, there being all the timber, iron work, and rigging for two brigantines; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.)

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This same year, 1516, Hackluyt mentions a Voyage made by Sir *Thomas Pert* and *Sebastian Cabot*, by order of king Henry the eighth of England, to *Brasil*, but gives no particulars of it; (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 498.)

English
Voyage to
Brasil, 1516.

An. 1517, *James Velasquez*, governor of Hispaniola, gave commission to *Francis Hernandez de Cordova* to make some further Discovery on the Continent. He bought two ships and a brigantine, furnished them with all necessaries, and an hundred and ten men, and sailed from *Havana* on the eighth of February to the westward. At the end of twenty-one days they saw land, and drawing near perceived a town. Five canoes came to the ship, and thirty men went aboard, wearing short jackets without sleeves, who being well entertained were dismissed: and the next day twelve canoes came with a Cacique, who said, *conex Cotoche*, that is, come to my house; and the Spaniards not understanding it, called that point of land *Cape Cotoche*, being the westernmost of the province of *Yucatan*, in 22 degrees of latitude. The Spaniards going ashore with this invitation, were set upon by Indians that lay in ambush, whom they put to flight. Here they found three structures like little temples, with idols, built with lime and stone, which were the first that had been seen in America. Returning to their ships, they kept along the coast westward till they came to *Campeche*, where they took water out of a well; there being no other; and retired to their ships, the Indians pursuing at their heels, yet without engaging. Further on at a place called *Potonchan*, being ashore again to water, they were beset by the Indians, who killed fifty of them; and the rest, whereof many were wounded, with much difficulty got aboard their ships. Wanting hands for them all, they burnt one, and with the other two vessels in great want of water, stood over for the coast of Florida; where as they were watering, the Indians fell on them and killed four or five more, but were put to flight, so that the Spaniards had time to carry off their water, and returned to Cuba, where *James Fernandez* the commander died of his wounds; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.)

Spanish discoveries on the Coast of America.

An. 1518, The report of the Discovery made in *Yucatan* pleasing the undertaker *James Velasquez* governor of Cuba, he provided three ships and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, to prosecute that enterprize, under the command of *John de Grijalva*; who sailed from Cuba on the eighth of April, and driving to the southward with the currents, came upon the island of *Cozumel*, in the twentieth degree of latitude, not known before, and south of the Cape of *Cotoche*; where keeping along its coast, they anchored at a place they called *Santa Cruz*, because that was the third of May, and the feast of the finding of the cross. Landing he could not prevail with any of the natives to come to trade, yet found in the island good honey, swine with their navels on their backs, and several small temples of stone, as also an Indian woman of Jamaica, who went aboard. *Grijalva* sailed on to *Potonchan*, where *Francis Hernandez*, the first discoverer of that country, had been; and after defeating the natives held on to the river of his own name, saying, this country was like a new Spain, because of the many structures he saw of lime and stone, whence the name remained to the adjacent kingdom of Mexico. Coming to the river of *Tabasco*, he treated with the natives,

and

and a Cacique there with his own hand, put upon *Grijalva* a suit of complete armour all of beaten gold, besides many other rich presents he gave him. Then coasting along, he saw the great mountains of *S. Martin*, and the rivers of *Alvarado*, and *Banderas*, on the coast of New Spain, at which last place he was supplied with provisions, and traded for much gold with the governor, who had received orders so to do from *Montezuma* the great monarch of Mexico, upon the news brought him of the first ships that appeared on that coast. He spent seven days at *S. John de Ulva*, trading with the natives, and then went on as far as the province of *Panuco*, from whence he returned to Cuba, having in this voyage discovered all the coast of New Spain, almost as far as the province of Florida; (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. III.)

This same year the Licentiate *Espinosa*, by order of *Pedro Arias Davila*, governor of Darien, founded the town of *Panama* on the South Sea. (*Ibid.*)

An. 1519, FERDINAND CORTES, with eleven sail fitted out at the charge of *James Velasquez*, sailed from Cuba in February, and landing on the coast of New Spain, before discovered by *Grijalva*, marched up to Mexico; made himself master of that mighty city, and subdued all the provinces about it till he came to the South Sea. Here were found those rich mines of silver, which with the others of Peru have ever since enriched the universe; not to speak of the abundance of cotton, and very many other precious commodities. In fine, his actions and the wealth of this Country are the subject of large volumes, and too great for so short a Discourse: therefore we will proceed to the Discoveries. (*Ibid.*)

This year also FERDINAND MAGALHAENS, or as we call him, MAGELLAN, sailed from Spain to discover the strait of his name; the particulars of which Voyage are the subject of the first of those round the world, to be found together at the latter end of this Discourse, and therefore need not be repeated in this place; for there the reader may find it at large, with an account of those southern parts of America.

This same year, 1519, an English ship of two hundred and fifty ton arrived at the island of *Puerto Rico*, pretending it came out with another to discover a passage to Tartary, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships fishing, and that offering to go ashore their pilot was killed. They further said they came to load Brasil wood, and carry the king of England an account of those countries: hence they sailed over to Hispaniola; where being fired at from the castle they returned to *Puerto Rico*, where they traded with the inhabitants, and going thence were never more heard of. (Herrera, dec. 2. lib. V.) Hackluyt, (vol. III. p. 499.) gives the same account out of Ramusio, only differing in that he says it was in the year 1517.

An. 1522, CORTES having subdued the mighty kingdom of *Mexico*, and greatest part of the provinces of *Mexicoacan*, *Panuco*, *Guaxaca*, *Tabasco*, and *Sacomsco*, a conquest above two hundred leagues in length, upwards of an hundred and fifty in breadth in the widest part, and lying betwixt 14 and 24 degrees of north latitude; and having discovered the South Sea, which washes the shores of several of the provinces mentioned,

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Puerto Rico,
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tioned, he resolved *that way to find to the Molucco islands*; and in order to it sent ship-wrights to the port of Zacatula to build two ships to discover along the coast, and two caravels to sail to the Moluccos, causing all the iron work, sails, and rigging to be carried upon men's backs from *Vera Cruz* across the country, which is at least an hundred and forty leagues.

Whilst these vessels were preparing in New Spain, *Giles Gonzales Davila* with incredible labour had built four in the island *Tarrarequi*, not far from Panama, whence he sailed on the twenty-first of January, this same year 1522, taking *Andrew Nino* along with him as his pilot. Having sailed an hundred leagues along the coast to the north-west, they were forced to send to Panama for necessaries to refit their ships, which being brought they proceeded. At *Nicoya*, *Giles Gonzales* landed and travelled into the province of *Nicaragua*, where abundance of Indians with their Cacique submitted themselves: but afterwards meeting with a more warlike nation, he was forced to retire to the sea. Whilst *Gonzales* travelled by land, *Andrew Nino* had sailed along the coast as far as the bay of *Fonseca* in the province of *Guatemala*, discovering three hundred leagues that way further than was known before; which done, they both returned to Panama with great wealth in gold and pearls (*Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. IV.)

An. 1524, Francis the first, king of France, employed *John Verrazona* a Floren- French
tine, to make some discovery to the north-west. He set out from *Diep* with four Voyages to
ships, and after some time spent privateering on the coast of Spain, he steered to the the Coast of
island of *Madera*; whence dismissing the rest, he departed with one ship and fifty 1524.
men upon his enterprize. The first twenty-five days he ran five hundred leagues to the westward, after which followed a dreadful storm; and that ceasing, in twenty-five days more run four hundred leagues, and then discovered a land before unknown, which was low and well peopled, running to the southward. He sailed fifty leagues along the coast to the south without finding any harbour, which made him stand about to the northward, and at last come to an anchor, where he traded with the Indians; who went naked, with garlands about their heads made of fine feathers; their complexion like the other Indians, their hair black and long, tied up behind like a tail. His short stay there gave him not leisure to learn any thing of their customs, but the country seemed delightful, with pleasant plains, and plenty of woods of several sorts of trees, great variety of beasts and birds, and some tokens of gold. This country was in 34 degrees of north latitude, a temperate climate, and is the northern part of the province of *Florida*. Sailing hence fifty leagues to the north-east, they came upon another coast, where they took a boy; and so run on, seeing all the way abundance of trees, variety of herbs and flowers for two hundred leagues, where they again anchored, and were well entertained by the natives; a Cacique coming often aboard, and seeming well pleased with the French. Hence they held on their course above an hundred leagues, and saw people clothed with feathers, and a very pleasant country; but passed on still to a great island, and anchored betwixt it and the Continent, where the people were still naked, and valued copper beyond gold. Thus he proceeded, landing and taking a

Spanish Discoveries on the Coast of America.

view of the shores, till he came into fifty degrees of north latitude, where his provisions falling short, he resolved to return into France; having discovered seven hundred leagues along the coast, and giving it the name of *Nova France*; (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VI.—Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 295.—Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1603.)

The same year 1524, *Francis Pizarro* sailed from Panama in November with one ship and two canoes, in which were eighty Spaniards, and four horses, to discover to the southward. Coming under the equinoctial, which was further than any had discovered on that side, he landed, and provisions failing sent back the ship for them; remaining himself ashore with most of the men, where they were drove to such extremities, that twenty-seven of them died for want, and therefore they called this place *Puerto de Labambre*, that is, *Port Famine*. The ship returning with provisions, they proceeded on their voyage to the port they called *De la Candelaria*, where they again went ashore and travelled up the country; but all the people fled from them, and the continual rains rotted their clothes. Though all the rest of his actions in this expedition were in the ensuing years, yet the summary of them shall here be delivered together, to avoid the confusion that might be caused by the dismembering of them. Hence they went on to a place they called *Pueblo Quemado*, where they had two bloody encounters with the Indians, and therefore proceeded to *Chicama*, whence they again sent back the ship to Panama for provisions. Whilst the ship was returning, *James d'Almagro*, who was at the chief expence of this enterprize, went out of Panama with a ship full of provisions, and sixty men in it, and running along the coast, at length found *Pizarro* at *Chicama*; and having relieved and conferred with him, returned to Panama for more men, whence he brought two ships and two canoes, with arms, men, ammunition, and provisions. Leaving *Chicama*, they proceeded along the coast; and after many delays, and several times sending back to Panama, during which time the rest of the men were left ashore, and suffered incredible hardships, *Pizarro* came to *Tumbes*; where he sent men ashore, who were friendly entertained by the natives, supplied with provisions, and returned aboard with the joyful news, that they had seen stately palaces, and all sorts of vessels of silver and gold. Here he was invited ashore, and went twice, having much discourse with the Indians, who gave him an account of the great city of *Cusco*, and of the immense wealth of the mighty monarch *Guaynacapa*. This done, having gathered a good quantity of gold, and got some of the large Peru sheep, and other things to shew the wealth of the country, he returned to Panama to gather a force sufficient to make a conquest in that rich country he had discovered. In this Voyage he reached as far as the port of *Santa*, in 9. degrees of south latitude, having run above two hundred leagues; in which he spent three years, being detained so long by the misfortunes and wants above mentioned, besides many more too tedious to insert here. The conquest and further Discoveries shall fall in their due place (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, and X. and dec. 4. lib. II.)

An. 1525, The Emperor *Charles the fifth* fitted out six ships and a tender at Corunna, under the command of *D. Garcia Jofre de Leaysa*, well furnished with provisions,

vifions, ammunition, and commodities to trade, as alfo four hundred and fifty Spaniards. Thefe fhips were to pafs through the ftraits of Magellan to the Molucco iflands, and failed from Corunna in July. On the fifth of December they came upon the coaft of Brazil in 21 degrees and an half of fouth latitude. December the twenty-eighth the fhips were parted in a ftorm, but met all again except the admiral. January the fifth they came to Cape Blanco in 37 degrees, and thence to *Santa Cruz* in 51 degrees; where the admiral and another fhip being miffing, they put up fome figns to direct them: coming to the mouth of the ftraits, one of the fhips was caft away in a ftorm, the other three with much difficulty got into the Strait. January the twenty-fifth the admiral, with the other fhip that was miffing, and the tender, came to the mouth of the ftrait, where it was near perifhing in a ftorm: and on the fifth of April the five fhips being again joined, put into the ftrait, whence the foul weather had beaten them out. May the twenty-fifth they came into the South Sea, where a violent ftorm parted them all; and the tender being left alone with very little provifion, failed to the northward, till it came upon the coaft of New Spain, where the men were plentifully relieved by the Indians for the prefent, and afterwards by Cortes from Mexico. The admiral was parted from the other fhips, and never faw them more, for he died on this fide the line; and foon after him *John Sebastian Cano* his fucceffor, who had brought the fhip called the *Victory* home, after failing round the world in the voyage undertaken by Magellan. Then they chofe *Toribio Alonfo de Salazar* for their admiral; and fo directing their courfe for the iflands *Ladrones*, on the thirteenth of September difcovered an ifland, which they called *S. Bartholomew*; and the wind not permitting them to come near it, followed on their courfe to the *Ladrones*, and came to the two fouthermoft of them, where there came to them a Spaniard, that had been left there when the fhip of Magellan's company, left at the Moluccos, attempted to return to New Spain, as may be feen in that voyage. Five days, this which was the admiral's fhip continued in the ifland *Butaba*, and then profecuted its voyage to the Moluccos on the tenth of September 1526; and on the fecond of October came to the great ifland *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippines*, where they got fome frefh provifions, and then failed away towards the Moluccos; and arrived fafe at *Tidore* on the laft day of December, and there built a fort; whence for a long time after they made war with the Portuguefes of Ternate; where we will leave them, having ended their Navigation, and fhall hear of them again in the following years (Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.)

An. 1526, SEBASTIAN CABOT, who made the great difcovery in North America for king Henry the feventh of England, being now in the Spanifh fervice, failed from Cadiz with four fhips, defigning for the Moluccos through the ftrait of Magellan: but when he came upon the coaft of Brazil, his provifions began to fail, and the men to mutiny; both which things obliged him to lay afide his firft defign, and run up the river then called of *Solis*, now of *Plate*; and going up it thirty leagues, he came to the ifland of *S. Gabriel*, and feven leagues above it to the river *S. Salvador*, where he landed and built a fort, in which he left fome men, whilft he difcovered higher.

Spanifh
Voyages to
the East
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Thirty leagues further up he found the river of *Zarcorana*, and erected another fort, which was called by his name. Then continuing the same course, after running up two hundred leagues he came to the river *Paraguay*, up which he turned, leaving the great river, and at the end of thirty leagues found a people that tilled the ground, which he had not seen before; and they opposed him so vigorously, that he was forced to return down the river after losing twenty-eight of his men: where we must leave him a while, to shew that this same year *James Garcia* was sent from Galicia with one ship, a small tender, and a brigantine to discover this same river of *Plate*, and came, at the end of the year, upon that part of the coast of *Brazil*, which for its many rocks and shoals is called *Abralojo*, or *open your Eyes*.

An. 1527, At the beginning of the year he came into the river of *Plate*, and there found two of *Cabot's* ships, but sent back his own to carry slaves into Portugal. Then he run up the river, and found *Cabot* in that of *Paraguay*, where we said he lost his men, whence they returned together to the ships. *Cabot* sent one of them back into Spain, with an account of what he had discovered, the reasons why he went not to the *Moluccos*, and some silver and gold; desiring to be reinforced, and to have leave to plant there, which was not done till some time after, when it shall be mentioned in its place (*Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.)

This same year *CORTES* fitted out three ships on the coast of New Spain in the South Sea, and sent them to the *Molucco islands*, where they joined the Spaniards before mentioned, and prosecuted the war with the Portuguese. One of the ships attempted to return with cloves to New Spain, but was beaten back to *Tidore* by contrary winds; where the continual wars reduced the Spaniards to only twenty, who were forced to put themselves into the power of the Portuguese, and by them were carried into India, whence some of them returned into Spain. These ships were in several of the *Philippine islands*, and took possession of them for the king of Spain; (*Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. I.)

This year also *Francis de Montejo* sailed from Seville with three ships, and five hundred men in them, to conquer the province of *Yucatan*, and *Pedro d'Alvarado* for that of *Guatemala*. Of the discovery of both something has been said already, and therefore there needs no repetition.

The same year still *Pamphilo de Narvaez* sailed from *Sanlucar* on the seventeenth of June with five vessels, and in them seven hundred men, and spent much time at *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*; where, after escaping a dreadful storm, he was forced to winter. In March following he put to sea with four ships and above four hundred men; and on the twelfth of April, after many storms and dangers, came upon the coast of *Florida*; he landed his men and forty horses, and then travelled with them by land, sending the ships at the same time to coast along and find a safe harbour where they might settle a town. Those that marched by land, after incredible suffering ashore, and losing their ships, built some barks to carry them off, making sails of their shirts, and ropes of their horses tails and manes. By the twenty-second of September they had eaten all their horses, and then went aboard their barks: they crept along the

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shore seven days in those creeks almost starved, till they found some dry fish in an Indian house; but after this suffered such extremity of thirst, that five of them died with drinking of salt water. They landed again and got some refreshment, but the Indians proving treacherous, they lost some men, and so put to sea again, where they ranged many days in foul weather, and were all parted. At last all the barks were cast upon the shore and several men drowned; those that escaped almost naked and starved, met with charitable Indians, who came down and lamented their misfortune with tears; fetching wood to make fire to warm them, carrying them to their houses, and giving them all the best they had: but this lasted not long, for the Indians, though so loving were poor, and soon after suffered extreme want themselves, so that the Spaniards dispersed to shift, and the sixty that landed were soon reduced to fifteen. Such was their misery, that five of them who had kept together ate up one another till only one was left. Three or four that survived these calamities travelled some hundreds of leagues across the country, and with incredible hardships at length came to New Spain, the rest with their officers all perished; and this was the end of the expedition (Herrera, dec. 4. lib. II. IV.)

Before we proceed, it must be here noted, that this same year *king Henry the eighth of England* sent out two ships to discover to the northward, which failed out of the Thames on the twentieth of May, and entering between the north of Newfoundland and the Continent, one of them was cast away. The other directed its course towards *Cape Breton*, and the coast of *Arambec*, often sending men ashore to get information of the country, and returned home in October, which is all the account we have of this voyage (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.)

English
N. America.

An. 1530, *Francis Pizarro* having been in Spain, and obtained many favours of the emperor, and power to conquer what he had discovered, sailed from Panama with an hundred and eighty-five Spaniards, and thirty-seven horses. At the bay of S. Matthew he landed the horses and most of the men, to march along the shore, whilst the ships coasted; and falling upon the town of *Quapel*, he took a vast booty of gold, silver, and emeralds: then he sent three ships to *Panama* and *Nicaragua* to bring recruits of men and provisions: being reduced to great straits, and ready to abandon the country, a ship arrived with supplies. Hence they sailed to the island *Puna*, which lies between three and four degrees of south latitude; where after much feigned friendship from the Indians, he came to a battle with them; and having gained the victory, continued there, setting at liberty six hundred Indians of *Tumbez*, kept there in slavery, which gained him the affection of those people. Two ships coming to him with recruits from *Panama*, *Pizarro* sailed over to *Tumbez*, of which place he possessed himself after killing many Indians, who used all means by open force and treachery to destroy him. Here inquiring into the affairs of the country, he was informed of the greatness and infinite wealth of the city of *Cuzco*, and of the vast power and large dominion of the emperor of *Peru*. Then moving still to the southward, he founded the city of S. Michael; and staid there long to settle that new colony, to get more supplies and further intelligence into the affairs of the country;

Spanish
Voyages.

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Spanish
Voyages.

and though these things happened in the following years, we will conclude with them at once, according to the intended brevity. At that time two brothers contended for the monarchy of Peru; these were *Atahaulpa* and *Guascar*, of whom the former had been successful in several battles. *Pizarro* resolved to make his advantage of their divisions. He therefore marched into the country with scarce two hundred men, and coming to *Caxamalca*, whence *Atahaulpa* drew out with his army, he sent to invite him back. The *Inca* came with an infinite multitude of Indians; and having filled the great market of *Caxamalca*, he ordered they should seize all the Spaniards, and take care that not one escaped: upon which, as his horns and other warlike instruments began to make a dreadful noise, *Pizarro* gave the signal in like manner; and falling on, routed that multitude, and took the *Inca* prisoner, and with him an incredible treasure of gold, silver, and cotton cloth. The *Inca* being prisoner, offered for his ransom ten thousand ingots of gold, and a great room full to the top of silver; which he had almost performed, when new troubles arising, he was put to death. After which *Pizarro* marched to the great city of *Cuzco*, near two hundred leagues from *Caxamalca*, to the south-east; whence moving to the sea, he founded the city of *Lima* in 18 degrees of south latitude, and subdued all that vast empire of Peru (*Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. VII. and IX. and dec. 5. throughout the greatest part of it.)

An. 1532, *Nunbo de Guzman*, sent out by *Cortes* from Mexico by land to reduce the province of *Mechoacan*, discovered and subdued the provinces of *Culiacan* and *Cinaloa*, extending to 28 degrees of north latitude on the coast of the South Sea, and opposite to the south end of *California*; all which was done by land, and was a consequence of the former Navigations (*Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. I.)

Some Ships were sent out these years by *Cortes* from New Spain, to discover to the north-west; but they having gone no further than has been already mentioned, it is needless to give any account of them.

An. 1534, *Simon d'Alcazova*, a Portuguese in the king of Spain's service, undertook to discover to the southward of Peru: passing the Strait of Magellan, and fitting out two good ships with two hundred and fifty men, he sailed from S. Lucar on the twenty-first of September, and entered the mouth of the Straits of Magellan in January following. Having spent some time in it, and being half way through; the violent storms, which lasted many days, were the occasion that his men in a mutinous manner obliged him to turn back out of the Strait, and put into port *Lebes*, a little above the mouth of it. Here he landed an hundred men to discover up the country, appointing his lieutenant to command them, because he could not himself, by reason of his indisposition. They marched ninety leagues through a desert country, seeing scarce any inhabitants, and being ready to perish sometimes for want of water; and by this time all the provisions they brought from aboard were spent, the country affording little or nothing. This done, they returned towards the ships, and some of them mutinying by the way, secured those that opposed their wicked designs; and coming aboard, murdered *Alcazova* their commander in chief and his pilot; designing

to leave the rest that had opposed them ashore, and turn pirates. But being divided among themselves, the loyal party took the advantage to possess themselves of the ships, and executed many of them. This done, they directed their course for the islands of America. The greatest ship was cast away on the coast of Brasil, the other in much distress arrived at the island *Hispaniola*. Thus ended this enterprize (Herrera, dec. 5. lib. VII. and VIII.)

This same year 1534, *Jaques Cartier* sailed from the port of S. Malo, by order of Francis I. king of France, to discover the north part of America. He set out on the twentieth of April, and on the tenth of May put into the port of S. Catharine in Newfoundland; where having spent some days in refitting, he sailed all the length of the island from cape *Raz* to cape *de Grace*; and entering between the island and the Continent, run to the westward along the shore; till at the mouth of the great river *Canada*, he turned to the southward, came to the bay called *du Chaleur*, and traded with the natives in a very peaceable manner, as they did all along those shores on the back of Newfoundland; viewing all the creeks and harbours, till the fifth of August, when they departed thence homeward, and arrived at S. Malo on the fifth of September (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 201.)

French
Voyages to
North Ame-
rica.

An. 1535, The same *Jaques Cartier* sailed again from S. Malo, May the nineteenth, with three ships upon the same discovery: and after suffering much by storms, which parted them, *Cartier* on the twenty-fifth of June came upon the coast of Newfoundland in 49 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and staying some days, was there joined by his other two ships. Then they all together entered the great bay on the back of Newfoundland, sailing to the westward; and foul weather coming on, anchored in the port of S. Nicholas, where they staid till the seventh of August; and then steering to the southward, on the fifteenth came upon the island of the *Assumption*. Thence he turned again into the great river, and coasting along it, came to the island he called of *Orleans*, in the country of *Canada*, where he traded amicably with the Indians; and leaving the ships there, with fifty men in the boats, he ran fifty leagues higher, where he saw the town of *Hochelaga*, consisting of about fifty great houses, each capable of a great number of people, and the town inclosed with a triple fence, all of timber. Returning hence to his ships, he went to *Stadacona*, a town about a league from them, to visit the prince of that part of *Canada*. In these parts he found much fish, Indian wheat, and tobacco. He continued here all the winter, discovering what was nearest, and inquiring into the further parts of the country; and in May following returned home with a particular account of the great river of *Canada*, and the whole country called by that name, or *New France* (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 212.)

This year *D. Pedro de Mendosa* sailed from S. Lucar with eleven ships, and eight hundred men in them, for the river of *Plate*, where he happily arrived, and settled the colony of *Buenos Ayres*, which continues and is famous to this day; though the greatest part of his people perished there for want, before they were relieved from Spain (Herrera, dec. 5. lib. IX.)

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English
N. America.

An. 1536, Two ships were fitted out at London, under the command of Mr. *Hore*, with an hundred and twenty men, for *North America*; of whom we find no account that they did any more than get to Newfoundland, where they were in such want, that they eat up one another; and those that were left, surpris'd a French ship that came into those parts, and so returned home (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.)

Spanish
American
Discoveries.

An. 1539, *F. Mark de Niza*, with his companion *F. Honoratus*, a Black, whose name was *Stephen*, and some Indians for interpreters, set out on the seventh of March from the town of Culiacan at the entrance into the strait of California on the South Sea shore, to discover the country to the northward by land. *F. Honoratus* fell sick, and was left behind; and *F. Mark* proceeded to Petathen, sixty leagues from Culiacan; the people there and all the way paying him extraordinary respect, and supplying him plentifully with all necessaries. Hence he went on to *Vacapa*, and sent the Black towards the sea to discover that port, who soon after sent messengers, desiring the father to come speedily to him, because he had received information of a country called *Cibola*, where there were seven great cities, built with stone two stories high, and the people well clad; and that it was but thirty days journey from the place where he then was. *F. Mark* set out towards this country, and all the way he went the people offered him not only provisions, but Turkey stones, earthen dishes, and other things, whereof he would receive nothing, but what was barely for his and his company's maintenance. He passed through a desert of four days journey, and coming out of it, the people of the first towns ran to meet him clad in cotton cloth, or skins, with collars and other ornaments of Turkey stones. Having travelled an hundred and twenty leagues from *Vacapa*, he came into a most delightful plain, all inhabited by very civilized people, and six days journey over; and then entered into a desert of fifteen days journey, where an Indian brought him the news that *Stephen* his Black, who had gone all the way before, was killed at *Cibola* by the governor's order; which was confirmed by other Indians that went with him, and had escaped. *F. Mark* having with much difficulty persuaded some few Indians to follow him, went on till he came in sight of *Cibola*, which he viewed from a rising ground; and afterwards declared it was the best city he had seen in America, the houses being two or three stories high, and very beautiful; but durst not go into it, for fear if they should kill him, there would be none to carry back an account of that discovery. He therefore returned, having seen many good towns in his way, and found people very much civilized; whereof he sent an account to the viceroy. He also was informed, that beyond *Cibola* there were three great and powerful kingdoms, called *Murata*, *Acus*, and *Tontec*, where the people lived very politely, wove cloth, and had great riches. *Cibola* lies in about 38 or 39 degrees of north latitude (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. VII.)

Upon the news of this great Discovery by land, *Cortes* sent out three ships from New Spain, under the command of *D. Francisco de Ulloa*; who directed his course to the north-west, run along the back of California, searching all that coast as far as cape *Enganbo*, in the latitude of 30 degrees: but here was no discovery of any consequence made,

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made, and *Ulloa* resolving to go further, was never more heard of; another of his three ships had been lost before, and the third, which now left him, returned to New Spain (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.)

Spanish
American
Discoveries.

An. 1540, Don *Antony Mendoza*, viceroy of Mexico, upon the information above given by *F. Mark* of the country of *Cibola*, ordered *Francis Vasquez de Cornado*, governor of *New Galicia*, to march thither with some forces, and plant colonies where he thought convenient. *Cornado* set out from *Culiacan* in May, with an hundred and fifty horse and two hundred foot, and store of ammunition and provisions. He directed his course almost north-east, and after a long march of many days came to the first town, where *Stephen* the Black above mentioned was killed. Here they saw five towns, each of about two hundred inhabitants, and the houses of stone and mud, and flat at the top; the country cold, but plentiful, the people clad in skins of beasts. Five days journey to the north-east of *Cibola* is a province called *Tucuman*: all these places gave the Spaniards friendly reception, except the first town of *Cibola*. They travelled seven days further still north-east, and came to the river *Cicuique*, where they found abundance of cows, and then proceeded twenty days without knowing where they were. Here *Cornado* ordered all his forces to stay, except thirty men, and with them he travelled thirty days to the northward, always among abundance of cattle, and on the feast of *St. Peter* and *Paul* came to the river to which he gave those names. Hence they turned into the province of *Quivira*, which is a finer country than most in Europe, and where they saw grapes and several sorts of European fruits, as also flax growing wild: having taken an account of all this country, he returned to his government. In his way outwards he travelled three hundred and thirty leagues, and but two hundred in his return, because he came back the direct way. *Quivira* is in 40 degrees of latitude. *Cornado* was out two years upon his discovery, and was blamed at his return for not having planted a colony.

The same year the Viceroy of Mexico sent out two ships at *Acapulco* on the South Sea, to discover on that element, whilst *Cornado* travelled by land, and gave the command of them to *Ferdinand d'Alarcon*, who set sail on the ninth of May. Coming to the flats at the entrance of the strait of California, he sent his boats before to sound, and yet run aground; but the tide rising, brought him off, and he run up till he came to a great river, up which he went with his boats, and traded with the Indians for provisions and hides. Having gone very far up this river, *Alarcon* heard tidings of *Cibola*, which was what he looked for, and of the death of *Stephen* the Black. He called the river *Buena Guia*, and returning to his ships, put aboard his boats abundance of provisions and commodities to trade with; resolving to join *Francis Vasquez de Cornado* that way. *Alarcon* went up this river eighty-five leagues, and then hearing no news of *Cornado*, in search of whom he went, he took down the river again to his ships. He proceeded on his voyage many days after up the coast, enquiring for *Cornado* and *Cibola*; till perceiving at last there were no hopes of finding them, he returned to New Spain, having sailed four degrees further than the ships sent by *Cortes* (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.)

French
N. America.

This year still, *Jacques Cartier* before mentioned failed from S. Malo with five ships on the twenty-third of May, for the coast of *Canada* and *Saguenay*; and meeting with very bad weather at sea, were parted, and came together again after long beating at sea, in the port of *Carpont* in *Newfoundland*; and on the twenty-third of August put into the haven of *Santa Croix*, or the holy cross, in *Canada*. Hence the lord of *Roberval* sailed four leagues further, where he thought a convenient place, and there erected a fort, into which he landed the provisions and ammunition; and keeping three ships with him, sent back the other two into France. This is the first colony I find in *North America*, and the first in all that Continent of any nation, except the Spaniards or Portugueses (*Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 232.)

Spanish
S. America.

There occurs another Navigation this year, no less remarkable in its way, than any of those already mentioned. *Pizarro* having conquered the mighty empire of *Peru*, guided by his boundless ambition travelled up into the inland, and wanting provisions, sent captain *Orellana* down the river of the *Amazons* with eighty men in a boat, and several canoes. He set out about the latter end of this year, (1540) and being carried two hundred leagues from the place where he entered, the violence of the current driving the boats twenty-five leagues a-day, he thought he was too far gone to return against the stream, and therefore held on his way; till in January for want of provisions his men eat all the leather they had. Being ready to perish, they came to an Indian town, where they found provisions, the Indians abandoning it at first; but *Orellana* speaking to some in the Indian tongue, they all returned, and plentifully furnished him with turkeys, partridges, fish, and other necessaries. Finding these Indians sincere, they staid here twenty days; in which time they built a brigantine, and set out again on *Candlemas* day, and ran two hundred leagues farther without seeing any town; when being again in great want, they spied some Indian dwellings, where they civilly asked for some sustenance, and had abundance of tortoises and parrots given them. In the way hence they saw good towns, and the next day two canoes came aboard, bringing tortoises and good partridges, and much fish, which they gave to *Orellana*, who in return gave them such things as he had. Then he landed, and all the Caciques of the country about came to see and present him with provisions: so that he staid here thirty-five days, and built another brigantine, which he caulked with cotton, and was supplied by the Indians with pitch for it. They left this place on the twenty-fourth of April, and running eighty leagues without meeting any warlike Indians, came to a desert country. May the twelfth they came to the province of *Machiparo*, where many canoes full of Indians set upon them; yet they landed some men, who brought provisions from the town in spite of the multitudes of natives that opposed it, and repulsed the Indians from their boats. Yet when he went off, they pursued him two days and two nights, and therefore when they left him, he rested three days in a town, whence he drove the inhabitants, and found much provision, whereof he laid in good store. Two days after he came to another town as plentiful as the last, and where they saw much silver and gold, but valued it not, being now intent only upon saving their lives. In fine, with such-like accidents

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dents he run down this vast river, seeing many towns and large rivers that fell into this; fighting often with the Indians, till he came into the *North Sea*. These Spaniards judged the mouth of the river to be fifty leagues over; that the fresh water ran twenty leagues into the sea; that the tide rises and falls five or six fathoms, and that they had run along this river eighteen hundred leagues, reckoning all the windings. Being out at sea, they coasted along by guess with their small vessels, and after many labours and sufferings, arrived at last in September at the island *Cubagua* on the coast of *Paria*, where was then a Spanish town, and great pearl fishery (Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.)

An. 1542, *John Francis de la Roche*, lord of *Roberval*, whom Francis I. king of France had constituted his lieutenant in the countries of *Canada*, *Saguenay*, and *Hoche-laga*, sailed from *Rochel* with three ships, and in them two hundred persons, as well women as men, on the sixteenth of April; and by reason of contrary winds did not reach *Newfoundland* till the seventh of June. Here he made some stay to refit; and there came into the same port *Jaques Cartier* with all his company, who we mentioned went into *Canada* two years before. He left the country because he was too weak to withstand the natives; and *Roberval* commanding him now to return with him who had strength enough, he stole away in the night, and returned into France. The last of June the general failed out of port *S. John* in *Newfoundland*, and ran up the river of *Canada* till four leagues above the island of *Orleans*, the place now called *Quebec*. Finding here a convenient harbour, he landed and erected a strong and beautiful fort, into which he conveyed his men, provisions, and all necessaries, sending two ships back into France with the account of his proceedings. Being settled in this place they suffered much hardship, their provisions falling short, but were relieved by the natives. *Roberval* took a journey into the country of *Saguenay* to discover, but we have no particulars of this his expedition (Hackluyt, vol. III, p. 240.)

This same year 1542, *D. Antony Mendoza*, viceroy of Mexico, fitted out two ships on the coast of the South Sea to discover to the northward, under the command of *John Rodriguez Cabrillo*, a PORTUGUESE. He sailed from the port of *Navidad* on the twenty-seventh of June, and on the twentieth of August came up with *Cape Engano* on the back of *California* in 31 degrees of latitude, where *Cortes* his discoverers had been before. September the fourteenth they anchored at a Cape they called *de la Cruz*, or of the crosses, in 33 degrees of latitude. October the tenth they traded with some peaceable Indians in 35 degrees 20 minutes, and called those the towns of the canoes, because they saw many there. On the eighteenth of the said month they anchored at *Cape Galera*, and above it, in a port they called of *Possession*, trading with the natives, who go naked, have their faces painted in chequers, and are all fishermen. From this time they had many storms, which obliged them to turn back to the island of *Possession*, where they continued many days by reason of the foul weather. At length they put to sea again, and sailed to the northward as far as 44 degrees, where the cold was so intense they could not bear it; and their provisions now failing, they returned to *New Spain*; having sailed further to the northward than any had done on that side; (Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.)

French
N. America.

Spanish
Discoveries,
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Spanish Discoveries, in the Pacific.

An. 1543, The viceroy last mentioned gave the command of two ships, a galley, and two small tenders, to *Ruy Lopez de Villalobos*, to discover the islands to the westward. He sailed from the coast of New Spain on the first of November, and having run an hundred and eighty leagues in 18 degrees and an half of latitude, came to two desert islands about twelve leagues distant from one another, which he called *S. Thoma* and *Anublada*. Eighty leagues further they saw another, and called it *Roca Portida*. Seventy-two leagues beyond it they found an Archipelago of small islands inhabited by a poor people, where they watered; and on the sixth of January passed by ten other islands, which for their pleasantness they called the *Gardens*, all of them in about 9 or 10 degrees of latitude. January the tenth after a great storm, in which they lost their galley, they discovered another island, from which some Indians came in boats, making the sign of the cross, and bidding them good-morrow in Spanish. February the second they came to an island they called *Casarea Caroli*, about fifteen hundred leagues from New Spain, where *Villalobos* would have planted a colony, but forbore because the place was unwholesome. This island by its bigness, for he coasted along it sixty leagues to the south, must be *Luzon* or *Manila*, the biggest of the Philippines, and he says it is three hundred and fifty leagues in compass. In a small island near to it he found China ware, musk, amber, civit, benjamin, storax, and other perfumes, as also some gold. Here they resolved to stay, and sowed some grain, which being little, they were reduced to extremity. Hence they removed to the island of *Gilolo* near the *Moluccos*, at the invitation of the king of it; whence they sent two ships at several times to carry news of them to New Spain, which were both forced back by contrary winds. Between the Moluccos and Philippine islands the Spaniards were long tossed, sometimes removing to one, sometimes to another, ever persecuted by the Portugueses, and suffering great wants; till being quite spent and without hopes of relief, they put themselves into the hands of the Portugueses, and were by them sent through India into Spain (Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.)

French N. America.

An. 1562, The French admiral *Chabillon* fitted out two of the king's ships under the command of captain *John Ribault* who sailed with them on the eighteenth of February, and two months after arrived on the coast of *Florida*, where he landed at cape *François* in about 30 degrees of latitude, but made no stay. Running hence to the northward, he came into the river of *May*, where he was friendly entertained by the Indians, who presented him with fish, Indian wheat, curious baskets, and skins. He proceeded still northward to the river of *Port Royal*, about which he saw turkey-cocks, partridges, and several other sorts of birds and wild beasts. The mouth of the river is three leagues over, and he sailed twelve leagues up it, where landing, the natives presented him *Chamois* skins, fine baskets, and some pearls; and here he erected a pillar with the arms of France. Having taken a view of all the shores of this river, he built a fort here but sixteen fathom in length and thirteen in breadth, with proportionable flanks, in which he left only twenty-six men with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessities, and called it *Charles Fort*. This done, he sailed some leagues further along the coast, and finding it dangerous, and his provisions almost spent, re-

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turned to France. Those left in the new fort discovered up the river, and contracted great friendship with five Indian princes, whose subjects when their provisions failed them, gave them all they had; and when that was spent guided them to other princes southward, who freely presented them with what they wanted. The fort happening accidentally to be burnt down, the Indians of their own accord rebuilt it. The French had lived long in a peaceable manner, and having no enemy abroad they fell out among themselves, and murdered their captain, choosing another in his stead. After which growing weary of the place, they built a small bark and put to sea in it; but their provisions failing, they were all like to perish, and eat one of their company. In this distress they met an English vessel, which set some of them ashore, and carried the rest into England (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 308.)

This same year Mr. *Hawkins* made a voyage to *Guinea*, where having got three hundred Blacks, he sailed over with them to *Hispaniola*, and sold them at good rates. But this being a trading voyage, and not upon discovery, deserves no further mention (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 500.)

An. 1564, Captain *Laudonniere* had the command of three ships given him by the king of France, and sailed with them on the twenty-second of April for Florida. He passed by the islands Antilles, and arrived on the coast of Florida on the twenty-second of June. After spending some days along the coast, every where entertained with the greatest tokens of affection by the Indians, he sailed up the river of May, and finding a convenient place erected a fort, which he called *Caroline*, in honour of Charles king of France. The fort finished, *Laudonniere* sent some of his men up the river, who at several times run eighty leagues, always meeting with natives that courted their friendship. After some time many mutinies happened among the French, of whom several went away with two brigantines to the Spanish islands; and having committed some rapine were closely pursued and drove back to Florida, where four of them were hanged. Whilst these mutineers were abroad, *Laudonniere* sent some of his men up the river, who discovered as far as the great lake out of which it runs, and the mountain *Apalache*, in which the Indians said there were rich mines. The following winter the French having exchanged away all their commodities, the Indians forsook them, and they were reduced to great straits, being obliged to use force to get provisions. In the height of their distress, when they had thoughts of venturing to return to France in a small vessel scarce able to contain them, with very slender provisions; Mr. *Hawkins* before-mentioned, who this same year had made another voyage to *Guinea*, and thence to the West Indies to sell Blacks, and in his way home run along the coast of Florida, coming to the river of May, found the French in this distress, and therefore sold them a ship upon credit; generously supplying them with all they wanted, which done, he sailed away and returned into England. The French were now preparing to depart for France, this being

(An. 1565,) when in August captain *John Ribault* arrived with seven sail of French ships to take possession of that country. A few days after six great Spanish ships came upon

English.

French
N. America.French
N. America.
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upon the coast, and gave chase to four of *Ribault's* that were without the port, which being better sailers escaped; and *Ribault* made out with the other three after them, leaving *Laudonniere* in the fort with eighty-five men, where the Spaniards attacked him, and made themselves master of the fort. *Laudonniere* with some of his men escaped aboard two ships they had in the river, in one of which he arrived in England, and thence into France. *Ribault* with his ships as soon as he was out of May river met with a dreadful storm, which wrecked them all on the coast of Florida; where abundance of his men saved themselves from the sea, but were afterwards destroyed by the Spaniards (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 319, and 349; and Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.)

An. 1567, Captain *Gourgues* sailed from France with three ships, and coming to the river of May in Florida, revenged the death of his countrymen, killing all the Spaniards he found there, but did nothing as to discoveries (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 356.—Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.)

English
North-west
Passage.

An. 1576, Mr. MARTIN FORBISHER with two barks and a pinnace set out from *Gravefend* for the discovery of a passage to China and Cathay by the north-west, on the twelfth of June. Sailing about the north of Scotland, on the twenty-eighth of July, and in 62 degrees of latitude, he discovered land, which he supposed to be the continent of America, called *Tierra de Labrador*, with abundance of ice about it. Within a cable's length of the shore he found an hundred fathom water; and not being able to anchor flood to the north-east, as the coast there lies, and by reason of the ice could not come within five leagues of the shore. The tenth of August he landed on a desert island: the eleventh, in 63 degrees and 8 minutes latitude he entered a Strait which is called by his own name; the twelfth, he came to S. Gabriel's island, and anchored in a bay which he called *Prior's sound*. The eighteenth, having sailed north-north-west, he came to *Butcher's island*, where landing they spied seven boats: these people came aboard and looked like *Tartars*, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noses, of a tawny complexion, clad in seal-skins, the boats also made of seal-skins with a wooden keel. The twenty-sixth, one of these men came aboard, and the boat going to set him ashore, was taken by those savages with all the men. Having staid a day in hopes to recover them, and no signs appearing, he sailed homewards, and arrived at Harwich on the first of October (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 29. 57.)

An. 1577, Mr. *Forbisher* sailed the second time, on the twenty-sixth of May, with a ship of two hundred tons and two barks, and in them an hundred and forty men, upon the same Discovery he had attempted the foregoing year. June the seventh, he arrived at the isles of *Orkney*, and July the fourth at *Frisland*: the sixteenth, he came to his Strait discovered the last year, and much ice appearing durst not venture in with his ship, but went with two pinnaces, and took one of the savages ashore. July the nineteenth, the ice driving away the ships, he ran into the Strait, and anchored in a bay which they called *Jackman's sound*: here he landed with most of his men, and having travelled

travelled some way and found nothing to satisfy his desires, he coasted a little in the barks and boats, both east and west; and though he saw several people, could take none but a woman and her child; and therefore on the fourth of August came to that he called *Anne Warwick's Sound and Island*. Here he used all possible means to bring the natives to trade, or give some account of themselves, but they were so wild, that they only studied how to destroy the English. *Forbisher* this year did not run above thirty leagues up the Strait, and the winter drawing on returned into England, having loaded his vessels with a sort of shining sand and stones, which he imagined to be gold, but it proved a fallacy (*Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 32. 60.)

English
North-west
Passage.

An. 1578, The noise of gold pretended to be found, and the hopes of a Passage, encouraged people to prosecute this Voyage; and fifteen sail of ships provided for it met at Harwich, carrying a wooden fort ready framed to be set up in the golden country discovered, and an hundred men that were to be left there. The thirty-first of May they left Harwich, and the second of July came into *Forbisher's Strait*, which they found choaked up with ice; and as they struggled to work through it, a sudden storm arose and so enclosed them with mountains of ice, that it was wonderful they did not all perish. One vessel of an hundred tons was lost, but the men saved; two others had not been seen in twenty days before, and four that were farthest out at sea best escaped the danger of the ice, clearing themselves of it in time. Being got out of this danger by the wind turning to the north-west, and into sea-room, they were driven down by the current to the southward of *Forbisher's Strait*, and run into another about 60 leagues; without knowing where they were, the cloudy weather obstructing their making an observation. Returning out of it again, most of the scattered fleet met and made for *Forbisher's Strait*, in hopes of those golden mountains, but found others of ice to obstruct their passage. After many other difficulties *Forbisher* with most of the ships worked his way through, and on the thirty-first of July reached his long desired port of the *Countess of Warwick's Sound*. Here they landed, and thought of erecting the house or fort brought from England: but part of it being lost in the ship cast away; and more of it, as also of the provisions not yet come, being in four ships, the design of inhabiting them was laid aside. The other ships that had been missing, after hard struggling with ice and storms, joined the fleet. Here they set their miners to work, and loaded abundance of ore, which done, they directed their course for England, whither they returned in safety (*Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 39. 74.)

The same year, 1582, *Francis d'Ovalle* sailed from *Acapulco*, and running to the westward about eighteen hundred leagues, came to the island *del Engano*, the farthest of those called *de los Ladrones*, in thirteen degrees of north latitude: thence he held off his course westward two hundred and eighty leagues, to *Cabo del Espritu Santo*, or the Cape of the *Holy Ghost*, in the island of *Tandaya*, the first of the Philippines. He spent several days in the narrow channels among these islands, shaping his course diversely as they would permit; and coming out into the open sea run up into the bay of Manila, now the metropolis of the Philippine islands, lying in 14 degrees and a quarter.

First Voyage
from New
Spain to
China.

quarter. Returning out of this bay, he made over to the coast of China, and arrived in the port of Macao. Here he furnished himself with necessaries, and turning again to the eastward passed through the islands called *Lequios*, whence he held his course east, and east and by north, never touching any where, or meeting with any land till he came upon the coast of California in 38 degrees and an half of latitude. From this place he ran south-east, and south-east and by south to cape S. Lucas, which is five hundred leagues from the north cape called *Mendocino*, whence he continued his voyage successfully back to the port of Acapulco. (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 442.) This voyage is inserted because it is the first from *New Spain* to *China*, and the first that found the way of returning to New Spain by the northward; for want of which knowledge, many ships that attempted to return from the Moluccos to America, were still beaten back, there being no possibility of returning the way they go, which is near the line, where the easterly winds continually reign.

English
Voyages to
N. America.

An. 1583, On the eleventh of June Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* sailed from the west of England with five vessels, and in them two hundred and sixty men, designing to plant a Colony in some part of North America. On the thirteenth, the biggest ship stole away by night, and returned to Plymouth, there being a contagious distemper among the men. July the thirtieth, he came upon the back of *Newfoundland*, which is about fifty leagues from the coast, and has at least twenty-five or thirty fathom water, and about ten leagues over, lying like a long ridge of mountains in the sea; for on each side of it there are above two hundred fathom water. He came upon the coast, and running along it put into *S. John's harbour*, where he anchored among abundance of fishermen of several countries, who were there before. Here he went ashore, and took possession. One of his ships had before played the pirate at sea, robbing a French vessel; and here his men run away with a ship laden with fish, and others hid themselves: so that finding too few men for his ships, some being sick, he put them into one of his vessels, and sent it home, remaining now with only three. August the twentieth, he sailed from port S. John, and the next day came up with cape Raz, in 46 degrees 25 minutes latitude. Turning from hence to the westward towards *Cape Breton*, eighty-seven leagues distant, they spent eight days in the passage; and coming among the flats, the biggest ship of the three was cast away, and nothing saved except a few men in the boat. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was not aboard the ship cast away: the other two left resolved to return home, but by the way the small vessel Sir *Humphrey* was in perished, the other arrived safe at Dartmouth (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 143.)

An. 1584, Mr. *Philip Amadas*, and Mr. *Arthur Barlow*, sailed on the twenty-seventh of April from the west of England in two barks, to discover in America. On the tenth of June they came among the islands of America, much more to the southward than they had designed. July the fourth, they discovered the Continent, and sailed along the coast four leagues till they came to a river on the thirteenth, where they anchored, and going ashore took possession. This place they afterwards found to be the island of *Wokokon*, on the coast of Virginia, in 34 degrees of latitude, and in it deer,

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deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, vines, cedars, pines, cassafra, cypress, and mastich trees. The natives from the Continent repaired to the ships, and exchanged several sorts of skins, white coral, and some pearls, for tin things, and other trifles. The country is fruitful, producing all things in a very short time. The natives called it *Winganducos*, and the English *Virginia*: going ashore they were entertained with extraordinary civility at a little village, and heard news of a great city up the country, but saw it not. They made no long stay here, nor proceeded any further upon discovery, only just to the neighbouring parts in their boats, and returned to England in September, bringing two of the natives with them (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 246.)

English
Voyages to
N. America.

An. 1585, On the ninth of April, Sir Richard Grenvil departed from Plymouth with seven sail, and after touching at the islands of *Puerto Rico*, and *Hispaniola*, on the twenty-sixth of June came to an anchor at the island *Wakoken* in Virginia, where the admiral's ship was lost through the ignorance of the pilot. Here Mr. Lane was set ashore with above an hundred men to settle a colony, with all necessaries for that purpose. Then the admiral returned to England, and the new planters made several discoveries up the country, finding it every where plentiful and pleasant. Here they continued a year, at the end whereof the natives conspiring to destroy them, and no relief as yet coming from England, they returned home aboard Sir Francis Drake's ships, which happened to touch there after his expedition to the Spanish plantations (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 251.—Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1645.)

The same year, 1585, on the seventh of June, Mr. JOHN DAVIS sailed from Dartmouth with two barks, for the discovery of the *North-West Passage to China*. July the nineteenth they met with much ice, and on the twenty-ninth discovered land bearing north-east of them in 64 degrees 15 minutes latitude. Here they went ashore, and found a tractable sort of people, with whom they dealt for seals skins, and several sorts of leather. August the first, they proceeded on their discovery to the north-west, and on the sixth, came into 66 degrees and 40 minutes free from ice, and landed under an hill which they called mount *Raleigh*, where they saw no inhabitants, but many white bears. The eighth they coasted on, and the eleventh found themselves in a Passage twenty leagues wide, and free from ice, along which they sailed sixty leagues; and searching all about found many islands and several harbours, with all appearances of a further passage: yet the winds proving contrary to proceed, they returned for England, and arrived at Dartmouth on the thirtieth of September (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 98.)

English
North-West
Passage.

An. 1586, Mr. Davis sailed the second time on the seventh of May, with one ship, two barks, and a small pinnace, upon the same discovery. The fifteenth of June, he discovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees, but could not come near it for ice, till the twenty-ninth he came to land in 64 degrees latitude; and went ashore on an island, where he traded very friendly with the natives for seals, stags, and white hares skins, and dried fish and some fowl. Here he continued some days trading with the natives, who were very thievish; at his departure he brought away one of them with him. He run into 66 degrees 20 minutes latitude, and then coasted southward again

to 56 degrees, where in a good harbour he continued till September; and failing thence in 54 degrees, found an open sea tending westward, which they hoped might be the Passage so long sought for: but the weather proving tempestuous, they returned to England in October (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 103.)

The same year, 1586, Sir *Richard Greenville* returned to Virginia with three ships to relieve the colony left by him there; which being gone, as was said before, he left fifteen men on the island *Roanok* with provisions for two years, and then returned to England (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 265.)

This year also was begun the Voyage round the World by Sir *Thomas Candish*, which may be seen among the Voyages about the globe after these West India Discoveries.

An. 1587, Mr. *John Davis* on the nineteenth of May sailed with three small vessels, upon his third voyage for Discovery of a Passage to the north-west. June the eighteenth, they came to an anchor on the northern American coast, and the twentieth, were in 67 degrees 40 minutes latitude in an open sea; and then steering westward ran forty leagues, where meeting with much ice, and the north wind driving them from their intended northerly course, they were forced to seek the open sea again. The twentieth, they had sight of the Straits they discovered the year before, and sailed up it 60 leagues; and having landed without finding any thing more than the year before, came out again to the wide sea; then they coasted along to the southward as far as 52 degrees of latitude, whence they returned home, without doing any thing of note (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 111.)

English
Voyages to
N. America.

The same year, 1587, Sir *Walter Raleigh* provided three vessels, to carry over to Virginia an hundred and fifty men, to settle a colony there under the command of *John White*. They sailed from Plymouth on the eighth of May; and having spent several days among the Spanish American islands, arrived at last on the twenty-second of July at *Hatorask* in Virginia; whence crossing over to the island *Roanok*, they found the fifteen English, left there the year before, were killed by the natives. Here the new planters were set ashore with all their provisions, goods, and ammunition, and the ships returned into England; carrying with them the governor to solicit for speedy supplies to be sent to the new colony (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 280.)

An. 1590, *John White* returned to Virginia, to the place where he had left the Colony, but found none of the men; only an inscription on a tree, signifying they were removed to *Croatoan*, another island on the coast; and many chests broke up, and some lumber belonging to them, scattered about the place. In going ashore here a boat was overset, and a captain with six men drowned; the rest with much difficulty got aboard again, leaving behind them several casks they had carried to fill with fresh water. They had spent much time before they came hither, ranging about the Spanish islands; and the season being now stormy, they were forced to return to England, without so much as knowing what was become of the colony (Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 288.)

An.

An. 1602, Captain *Gefnels* sailed from Falmouth on the twenty-sixth of March, English Voyages to N. America. and on the fourteenth of April discovered land in about 40 degrees of north latitude; and having spent some days sounding along the coast, on the twenty-fourth came upon *Elizabeth's island*, in 41 degrees 10 minutes, and four leagues from the Continent. This island was not inhabited, but overgrown with trees and shrubs of all sorts, and in it a pool of fresh water, about two miles in compass; one side of it not above thirty yards from the sea, and in the midst of it a small rocky island about an acre in extent, all covered with wood, where the captain designed to build a fort, and leave some men. The thirty-first, he went over to take a view of the Continent, which he found a most delicious and fruitful country, and the natives peaceable and friendly. Having taken this small view of the country, and the men refusing to be left on that desert place, he returned for England (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1651.)

An. 1603, Captain *Samuel Champlain* of *Brouage*, sailed from the port of *Honfleur* in Normandy on the fifth of March for Canada. The second of May, they came upon the bank of Newfoundland in 44 degrees 20 minutes of latitude. The twelfth, they came upon cape *S. Mary*, and the twentieth to the island of the *Assumption*, at the mouth of the river of Canada. He ran up it an hundred leagues, to the little port of *Tadoussac* on the north side of Canada, and at the mouth of *Sanguenay* river, where they contracted strict friendship with the natives: he ran twelve leagues up the river *Sanguenay*, all which way is a mountainous country, and the river deep and wide. Next they run up the great river of Canada as far as that of the *Iroquois*, and thence to the first great fall of the river, which tumbles down there about two fathom with an incredible fury; and the Indians told them there were ten more falls, though not so great, beyond the first. After discovering thus much, and getting information of several great lakes up the country, and of a boundless ocean at four hundred leagues distance westward, they returned to *Tadoussac*; and spending some days more in searching the great and lesser rivers, and getting intelligence of the country, they sailed back into France (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1605.)

This same year, 1603, two vessels of Bristol, and one of London, made their voyages to *Virginia*, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that the last of them run up into *Chesapeac* Bay in about 37 degrees of latitude, where the captain going ashore, was killed with four men; upon which the rest presently returned home (Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1654, and 1656.)

An. 1604, *Monsieur de Monts* having obtained a patent from Henry IV. king of France, for peopling the countries of *Acadie* and *Canada*, he sailed for those parts with two ships well manned, and *Monsieur de Potrin-court* with him. They were kept long at sea by contrary winds, and met with much ice; but on the sixth of May they put into a port in the south of *Acadie*, which they called *Rossignol*; because there they took a French ship, commanded by a captain of that name, being confiscate for trading there contrary to the king's patent. Then doubling *Cape Sable*, the southernmost of that country, they ran up to the northward, in a large bay to that of *S. Mary*, and thence to a convenient harbour, which they called *Port Royal*; which *Monsieur*

de Potrin-court demanded a grant of, to settle a colony and inhabit there, and had it given him. They proceeded still further up to *Cape Mines*, so called because of some found there, and into the river of *S. John*; and then turning back, erected a fort in a small island twenty leagues from the said river, resolving to settle there, and calling it the island of *Sante Croix*, or the *Holy Cross*: it is small, but very fruitful, and lies as it were hid among many others. Here winter coming on, and the fort being ill seated, as exposed to the north, the men suffered very much through extremity of cold and deep snows; and being forced to cross a great river for water and wood, many of them were dangerously sick. This hard season being over, *Monfieur de Monts* searched all the coast, in a small vessel he built, to discover a more convenient place to settle, and at last pitched upon *Port Royal*; where he left part of his men, and returned himself to France (*Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1620.)

An. 1605, And on the last day of March, captain *George Weymouth* with one ship sailed from the Downs, and on the eighteenth of May came to an anchor in *S. George's* island on the coast of Virginia, where he found great plenty of fish; and two days after removed into an excellent port, which he called *Pentecost* harbour. Then he run up a great river twenty-six miles, and found it fit to receive and secure any number of ships. The natives of this coast traded in a friendly manner for several days, but were found at last to be treacherous, as only contriving by their fair shew of kindness to draw the English into their power; who being aware of them in time, broke off the correspondence, and returned into England without making any considerable advantage of this small discovery (*Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1639.)

French.

An. 1606, *Monfieur de Monts*, and *Monfieur de Potrin-court*, sailed again from *Rochel* with one ship of an hundred and fifty ton. The twenty-eighth of June they came upon the bank of *Newfoundland*, and making the shore, coasted all along to *Port Royal*, where they had before left their colony, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour on the twenty-sixth of July. Here they found but two Frenchmen, the rest being gone with their small vessel towards *Newfoundland*; but soon returned, being met by a pinnace belonging to this last come ship, left to coast along close by the shore. Here they settled a-new, viewed all the country about for a more convenient seat for their town, were most obligingly treated by the natives, and planted, and had crops of all sorts of European grain and garden-stuff: yet after all, the Colony was forsaken, not for any defect in the country, as may appear by what has been said; but because new measures were taken in France, and the supplies that should have been sent them were employed another way (*Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1627.)

English
Voyages to
N. America.

The same year, 1606, on the twentieth of December, three ships sailed from London, commanded by captain *Newport*, to settle a colony in *Virginia*; and passing among the Spanish American islands, on the twenty-sixth of April came into the bay of *Chesapeake*, where they presently landed, and had some men hurt in a skirmish with the natives. The twenty-seventh, they marched eight miles up the country, and the twenty-eighth went up the bay in their boats, where they always found shallow water; but returning, they fell into a channel six, eight, and ten fathom deep, which

was a satisfaction, and therefore they called the point of land next it, *Cape Comfort*. The point at the mouth of the bay they called *Cape Henry*. The following days they surveyed all the shores in their boats, being civilly treated every where by the Indians; and running up *Powhatan* river, found a place where their ships could lie moored to the trees in six fathom water. Here on the fourteenth of May, they landed all their men, and fell to work to fortify themselves; resolving to settle their Colony, as they did, giving it the name of *James Town*; which is the first plantation of the English in Virginia that continued, as it does to this day. June the twenty-second, Captain *Newport* in the Admiral, was sent back into England. In the colony were left an hundred and four men with little provision, and therefore they were soon reduced to great extremities; many also dying of diseases peculiar to that country. But in their greatest distress, the natives, who before had been their enemies, supplied them with plenty of all sorts of victuals, which recovered the sick men, and was the saving of the colony. Every year after ships arrived from England with supplies, till the new town grew to a considerable body, and sent out other colonies to the parts adjacent, where they were thought necessary, till they made themselves masters of that northern part of America. The relation is too long any more than to be hinted as above, but to be seen at large in Purchas, (vol. IV. p. 1705.)

An. 1610, Mr. *Hudſon* again undertook the discovery of a North-West Passage, which had been laid aside for some years, and proceeded an hundred leagues further than any before him had done; giving names to some places, to be seen in the maps; as *Deſire* provokes, *Iſle of God's Mercies*, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's Cape*, and *Queen Anne's Cape*: but he could proceed no farther for ice.

English
North-West
Passage.

An. 1611, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the instigation of prince Henry, whose servant he was, pursued the North-West Discovery. He passed *Hudſon's Strait*, and leaving *Hudſon's bay* to the south, sailed above two hundred leagues to the south westward, through a sea above eighty fathom deep, and discovered a great Continent, called by him *New Wales*; where after much misery and sickness, wintering at *Port Nelson*, he carefully searched all the bay, from him called *Button's bay*, back again almost to *Digg's island*. He discovered the great land called *Cary's Swanſneſt*. He lost many men during his stay in the river called *Port Nelson*, in 57 degrees 10 minutes of north latitude; though he kept three fires in his ship all winter, and had great store of white partridges, and other fowl, besides deer, bears, and foxes.

An. 1612, Mr. *Richard Moore* was sent in April, with one ship and sixty men, to inhabit the *Summer islands*, otherwise called *Bermudas*, long before discovered by the Spaniards, who after some attempts to settle there, abandoned them; and were after accidentally found by Sir *Thomas Gate* and Sir *George Summers*, who were shipwrecked upon them, and lived there nine months; during which time they built a ship and a pinnace with the cedar growing there, and in 1610 sailed away for *Virginia*, leaving only two men in the great island. A ship sent thither from *Virginia* left only three men in the island, who found there amber-greece to the value of nine or ten thousand pounds. Mr. *Moore*, at his coming this year, found those three men in perfect health. He

settled

settled a colony, and continued there three years, being relieved from time to time, till they amounted to above six hundred inhabitants; who built several forts, but had like to have been themselves destroyed by an infinite number of rats, which increased from a few coming ashore out of a ship, and continued for four years devouring all the growth of the country; notwithstanding all possible means were used to destroy them.

An. 1612, *James Hall* and *William Baffin* returned into England, having discovered *Cockin's* found in 65 degrees 2 minutes latitude, and tried the mine at *Cunningham's River*, which they found to be worth nothing.

An. 1615, Mr. *Baffin* went again, and the chief thing he discovered was, that there is no Passage in the north of *Davis's Strait*.

An. 1616, Mr. *Baffin* was sent the third time, and entered *Sir Thomas Smith's Bay* in 78 degrees of latitude; and returned, despairing of finding any passage that way.

An. 1620, A ship sailed from Plymouth for *New England* on the sixth of September; though we have not the commander's name, nor what force his ship was of. It is also here to be observed, that all the northern coast from about 60 to 40 degrees of north latitude, was first discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*; and afterwards at several times by *Cortereal* a Portuguese; as has been set down in their proper places, and by sundry English and French discoverers: to particularize every one of whose voyages would swell a volume, and therefore only the principal Discoveries and Plantations are here set down, as most suitable to the nature of this Discourse, and the intended brevity. This ship we now speak of, anchored in the bay at *Cape Cod* in New England, and in 41 degrees and an half of north latitude, on the eleventh of November. Here they put out their boat, and landed men; who went some miles into the country several ways without meeting any people, and only found some little Indian wheat buried, the boat coasting along the shore. This they continued for several days, seeking out some proper place to settle. At length on the twenty-third of December, they pitched upon a place to their mind, and fell to work to building their houses, dividing themselves into nineteen families, that the fewer houses might serve. About this place they found no people, but were told by an Indian, who came to them from the next part inhabited, that the natives there had all died lately of a plague. This savage brought some of the neighbouring people to them, by whom they concluded peace and amity. The following year this new colony was reinforced with thirty-five men from England, and supplied with provisions and necessities, and called *New Plymouth* in New England. A war soon breaking out with another Indian prince, the English fortified their colony to secure themselves against all attempts of their enemies. From hence all other colonies were by degrees sent into other parts of the country; of which it were too tedious to give any further account (*Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1842.)

An. 1631, Captain *James* sailing into the north-west, was much pestered with ice in June and July; and entering a great bay near port *Nelson*, he named the land *New South Wales*. Roving up and down these seas, he gave names to these places discovered

covered by him, viz. *Cape Henrietta Maria*, *Lord Wesson's Island*, *Earl of Bristol's Island*, *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*, *Earl of Danby's Island*, and *Charlton Island*. He wintered there in 52 degrees 3 minutes latitude, and returned home the following year, 1632, having discovered much beyond *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Baffin*.—The Danes have attempted to discover in these northern parts, but there is nothing remarkable in their actions.

An. 1667, *Zachariah Gillam*, in the *Nonfuch* ketch, passed through *Hudson's Strait*, and then into *Baffin's Bay*, to 75 degrees of latitude, and thence southerly into 51 degrees; where in a river called *Prince Rupert's River*, he had a friendly correspondence with the natives; built a fort, which he called *Charles Fort*, and returned with success, having laid the foundation of an advantageous trade in those parts.

An. 1669, Captain *John Narbrough*, afterwards *Sir John Narbrough*, sailed in the *Sweepstakes*, a man of war of three hundred ton, thirty-six guns, and eighty men and boys, with a pink of seventy ton and nineteen men, both sent out at the charge of his majesty king *Charles II.* and his royal highness the *Duke of York*, to make a farther Discovery on the coast of *Chile*. On the twenty-first of October the year following, he came to the mouth of the straits of *Magellan*, and through them to the South Sea, about the middle of November; having taken a most exact survey of that passage, which is made public in his voyage. On the twenty-sixth of November he went ashore on the small island called *Neustra Senora del Socorro*, or *our Lady of Succour*; where he watered, but found no people. Holding on his course to the northward, on the fifteenth of December he sent his boat, with the lieutenant in her, ashore on the south side of *port Baldivia*, which is in 39 degrees 56 minutes of south latitude. Here the lieutenant and three others going ashore to a Spanish fort, were detained, and the ship sailed away without them. From hence captain *Narbrough* turned again to the southward, and through the Strait of *Magellan* returned into England; where he arrived in June following, having been out above two years.

Survey of
the Straits of
Magellan,
1669.

An. 1673, On the thirteenth of May, *F. Marquette* a Jesuit, with only six other Frenchmen, set out in two canoes from the *Lac des Puans*, or the *Stinking Lake*, in the province of Canada in North America; and passing through the provinces of *Folle Avoine* and *Iliquois*, Indians in peace with France, sometimes carrying their boats by land, and sometimes being carried in them, they came at length to the great river *Mississipi*. They ran many leagues along this river through a desert country, their course always south, though sometimes bending east, and sometimes west. At the end of several days solitude, they came among savage Indians, were friendly received, and heard that the sea was within two or three days sail of them; which was the gulph of Mexico. Thus he discovered all that inland part of North America along the river, from 38 to 34 degrees of north latitude, lying on the back of Canada, Virginia, &c. down to Florida. The particulars of this voyage may be seen in *Thevenot's* small collection of voyages in octavo.

French
explore the
Mississipi.

An. 1680, and 1681, Captain *Sharp* having been buccaneering in the South Sea, and not able to recover the strait of *Magellan* to return home, he ran further to the south

south beyond *le Maire's* and *Brower's*, till he came into 60 degrees of south latitude; meeting with many islands of ice, and abundance of snow, frost, and whales, and called a small place he found the *Duke of York's island*. Thus he came into the North Sea a new way, and made it appear that the land in the Straits of *le Maire*, and *Brower*, must be islands, and not joined to any continent.—(Introduction to the account of several late discoveries, printed in 1694, p. 13.)

Extent of
Coast dis-
covered.

Here we may conclude with the American Voyages and Discoveries, having run along from north to south on the east side of that new world, or along that commonly called the *North Sea*; and back from south to north along the west side, or *South Sea*. It follows next, as was done, after the eastern discoveries, to shew the extent of this vast tract of land thus found, and what benefits the world has received by this navigation.—The whole length of what has been discovered, is from 78 degrees of north latitude, in which Sir *Thomas Smith's Bay* lies, to 60 degrees of south latitude, in all an hundred and thirty-eight degrees; which, allowing twenty leagues to a degree, in a strait line amounts to two thousand seven hundred and sixty leagues, a thing almost incredible, were it not so well known, that so great and stupendous a part of the world should lie concealed so many ages; being never known since the creation, till about three hundred years ago. Now to descend to particulars:—from 80 to almost 50 degrees of north latitude being 30 degrees, and according to the rate above of twenty leagues to a degree, six hundred leagues; the extremity of the cold, which is there more fierce than in the parts of Europe under the like elevation, renders that part little regarded, and consequently not inhabited by any European nation, though much of it be peopled by savages, living there little better than brutes: and all the advantage made of those northern nations is the fishery of whales and morse; the former for their oil and bone, and the latter for their teeth, which are finer than ivory. The next division, beginning above 50 degrees of north latitude, and reaching to about 44, is *Canada* or *New France*; running up the river of Canada above two hundred leagues into the Continent, and possessed by the French, who have there several colonies, and trade with the natives for furs. Next to Canada is *New England*, lying along the sea-coast, north-east and south-west, about seventy miles, subject to the crown of England, and their chief trade furs, flax, hemp, and some corn. After it follows *New York*, the trade much the same with those spoken of. Then comes *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, almost north and south for above an hundred leagues of English conquest, and the principal commodity tobacco. *Carolina* is next in course, being a part of the great province of *Florida*, lying between 29 and 36 degrees of latitude, and therefore about an hundred and forty leagues in length; it has been possessed by the English but of latter years, in the reign of king Charles II, from whom it took the name; and being so lately subdued, the returns of it are not yet great, but much is hoped from it. *Florida* is a vast part of the Continent, reaching above two hundred and fifty leagues from north to south, and above four hundred from east to west, besides a large province of it shooting out into the sea, where begins the channel of *Bahama*: part of it is subject to the Spaniards, and a greater part

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not yet conquered; so that it affords no great profit. But now follows the great and wealthy kingdom of *Mexico*, running above an hundred and thirty leagues almost north and south; and about the same length upon a turn it makes in the south part towards the east, including the great peninsula of *Yucatan*, above three hundred leagues in compass. In this vast dominion, entirely subject to Spain, is to be found in great plenty all that is necessary and convenient for human life, except wine and oil; and from it Europe is supplied with great store of silver, cochineel, indigo, cacao, bairullas, cotton, mechoacan, and many other precious commodities. Whence to *Porto Bello* the coast runs partly near east and west, and partly almost north and south, above three hundred and fifty leagues of countries incredibly rich, and affording all the commodities abovementioned, more plenty of gold, and many other precious things. From *Nombre de Dios* to *Cabo de Galera*, taking it in a straight line, the Coast runs east and west about four hundred and fifty leagues, all still Spanish, and abounding in wealth; particularly the pearl-fishery on the coast of *Paria*, and the rich emeralds up the inland. From *Cape Galera* to *Cabo de Conde*, along the coast of *Caribana*, lying south-east, and north-west, about two hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to *Caparare* more southerly about an hundred and twenty leagues, in all three hundred and seventy; all this for the most part unconquered, and peopled by savage Indians. From *Cape Caparare* to *Cabo de Natal* about four hundred leagues east and west, somewhat southerly; and from *Cabo de Natal* to *Rio de Janeiro* almost north and south near four hundred leagues, and so to *Lagoa de Pernaba* an hundred and fifty leagues, in all nine hundred leagues; all this tract of land, commonly known by the name of *BRASIL*, and subject to the crown of Portugal, yielding abundance of tobacco and sugar, infinite quantities of Brasil wood, which gives the name to the country, and of late years a gold mine found in it, which yields considerable treasure.—From *Lagoa de Pernaba* to the river of *Plate*, about three hundred leagues south-west and north-east, under the dominion of Spain: from the mouth of the river of *Plate*, running up the Continent on the back of Brasil, the Spanish dominions reach quite across to *Peru*, being at least four hundred leagues, and above as much north and south in the inland; being fruitful countries, almost overrun with flocks and herds of all sorts of cattle, whence they send abundance of hides to Spain, and much silver, which they have from *Peru* by way of trade. From the mouth of the river of *Plate* to the entrance into the Strait of *Magellan*, south-west and north-east four hundred leagues; all this country is inhabited only by savage Indians, and was never subdued by any European nation: therefore yielding no profit, though fruitful and good land. *Terra del Fuogo*, or *Terra Magellanica*, lying to the south of the Strait, is little known, and not worth conquering by reason of its coldness, and therefore no more needs be said of it. The Strait of *Magellan* is about an hundred leagues in length, and coming out of it into the South Sea, from *Cape Victoria* to *Rio de los Gallegos*, about two hundred leagues; all still the country of the *Patagoner*, never inhabited by Christians, nor yielding them any benefit.—But here begins the Coast of *Chile*, extending above three

Extent of
Coast dis-
covered.

Extent of
Coast dis-
covered.

hundred leagues; a Country infinitely rich in gold, for which the silver is neglected, though it has plenty of it, and yielding the most precious natural balsam in the world; all subject to Spain, as is the whole Coast on the South Sea up to 40 degrees of north latitude, for which reason it will be needless to repeat it.—*Peru* reaches four hundred leagues north-west and south-east, well known for its inexhaustible silver mines of *Potosi* and *Porco*. Next is the province of *Quito*, about an hundred leagues along the coast north and south. Then the firm land, or Continent so called peculiarly, and provinces of *Panama* and *Veragua*, above an hundred leagues north-east and south-west, and north-west and south-east. After this follows the government of *Guatemala*, near three hundred and fifty leagues along the Coast, north-west and south-east; and then that of *Mexico* two hundred and fifty leagues, abounding in gold, silver, all useful woods, rich drugs, cotton, and many other precious commodities. Lastly, *New Mexico* reaching up to 40 degrees of north latitude, being about four hundred leagues; a rich country in silver mines, and plentiful in cattle, corn, and all other blessings for human life.—Having run along both sides of AMERICA, and given a particular of each division, as to extent, product, and by whom possessed, as far as the brevity of this discourse would permit; it is fit to note, that all the lengths are here taken in a strait line, and not winding with the shores, which would make them double what is computed; and, as in such vast extents, not pretended to be measured to exactness, but according to the general computation of sailors. The total thus amounts to *six thousand five hundred leagues*, taking only the greatest windings of the coast, and this along what is conquered by Europeans; excepting only the seven hundred leagues of the land of the *Patagones* about the Strait of Magellan, and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts, of *Caribana*, not so well subdued. And to sum up the commodities we have from these countries; the principal are gold, silver, pearls, emeralds, amethysts, cochineal of several sorts, indigo, anatto, log-wood, Brasil, Nicaragua wood, brailette, fustick, *lignum vite*, sugar, ginger, cacao, hairullas, cotton, red wool, tobacco of various sorts, snuff, hides raw and tanned, amber-greece of all sorts, bezoar, balsam of Tolu, of Peru, and of Chile, jesuit's bark, jallap, mechoacan, sarsaparilla, sassafras, tamarinds, cassia, and many other things of lesser note. It only remains now to add a word concerning the ISLANDS belonging to this mighty Continent.—The first of these, beginning northerly, is *Newfoundland*, above three hundred leagues in compass, peopled by French and English, who have some colonies in it fruitful enough, were it well cultivated; yet it yields no commodity to export from the land: but the sea is an inexhausted treasure, furnishing all Europe with salt and dried fish; which yield a mighty profit to those that follow the Fishery, and is a general benefit to all men. The next are the *Bermudas*, or *Summer Islands*, lying above three hundred leagues east from the coast of Virginia; the biggest of them is not twenty miles long, and not above two or three in breadth, the others much smaller: yet here is a strong colony of English, the land being delightful to live in, producing all things for human life plentifully, and the trade is some cochineal,

neal, amber-greece, and pearl; it used to send abroad the fairest oranges in these parts, but they have failed of late years. Off the coast of Florida are the islands called *Lucayos*, the first discovered by Columbus; but they are small, and of no account. South of the point of Florida is *Cuba*, about two hundred leagues in length, and about forty in breadth in the widest place; a pleasant place, has gold and copper mines, and yields tobacco, sugar, and cotton. East of Cuba lies *Hispaniola* an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and about sixty in breadth, producing the same commodities as Cuba; and both subject to Spain. *Jamaica* lies south of Cuba, about seventy leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, possessed by the English, and producing sugar, indigo, and cotton. The Island of *Puerto Rico* is less than *Jamaica*, yields the same commodities, and belongs to Spain. The *Caribbe islands* are many, but small; some of them possessed by the English, French, and Dutch, others not inhabited: they produce sugar, indigo, cotton, and tobacco, and run from the coast of *Paria* to *Puerto Rico*. The *Leeward Islands* lie along the coast of *Paria*, the most remarkable of them being *Margarita*, and *Cubagua*, famous for the pearl fishery. *La Trinidad* is a large island before the gulph of *Paria*, near which there are many small ones, but not considerable. All the Coast southward has no Island of any note, till we come to the Strait of Magellan; the south part whereof is made by *Terra del Fuego* and other islands, of which little is known. Nor is there any, ascending again northward, worth speaking of, till the mouth of the bay of Panama, where are the *Islands of Pearls*, so called from a pearl-fishery there; they are small, and of no consideration in any other respect. The only great Island on this side America is *California*, found to be so but of late years, running from the tropic of Cancer to 45 degrees of north latitude, north-west and south-east; above five hundred leagues in length, and an hundred in breadth in the northern part, whence it runs tapering down to south. It has hitherto yielded no great profit to the Spaniards, who have not had leisure to build colonies there till within these very few years, and not above two as yet. This is all that belongs to America; it remains to add some few *Voyages to the isles of Solomon*, *Terra Australis incognita*, and the land of *Yesso*, or *Jesso*; which being properly no parts either of the East or West Indies, and but little of them as yet known, they have been reserved to be spoke of by themselves.

An. 1595, *Alvaro da Mendana* with the title of governor and lord-lieutenant, set out from Peru for the *islands of Solomon*, whereof some uncertain knowledge was had before by ships that accidentally had seen some of them: he had four sail, with men and women, and all other necessaries to settle a Colony. In about 9, or 10 degrees of south latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues west of the city of Lima in Peru, he discovered four small islands inhabited by very handsome and civilized people. Hence holding on his course still westward, he found several other more considerable islands, where he intended to have settled his Colony, but was hindered by many misfortunes, and among the rest sickness. All that is extant of this relation, is only a fragment in Spanish taken out of *Thevenot's* second volume: three of the ships perished,

perished, two were never heard of, a third cast away on the *Philippine islands*, the men saved; and the fourth, being the admiral, arrived at Manilla, with the men almost starved: and thus this enterprize was disappointed.

An. 1600, Four ships sailing from Peru for the Philippine islands, were by northerly winds driven south of the equinoctial, where they fell upon several rich countries and islands, not far from the isles of *Solomon*: they called one place *Monte de Plata*, or *Mountain of Silver*, because they found plenty of it there. After which a captain of note went out on purpose, and saw these discoveries. This is all we have of it in Purchas, (vol. IV. p. 1432.) only he adds two petitions of captain *Peter Fernandez de Quiros* to the king of Spain, suing to be employed in conducting colonies to those southern parts; alleging the vast extent and riches of the Continent, and great value of the Islands, which he speaks of as an eye-witness, and by the report of natives he brought away from thence, as may be seen more at large in Purchas, (vol. IV. p. 1422.)

Dutch East
Indies.

An. 1628, On the twenty-eighth of October, the DUTCH sent out eleven sail for India, among which was the *Batavia*, commanded by captain *Francis Pelsart*; which being parted from the rest was cast away on the rocks near some small islands not inhabited, and having no fresh water in upwards of 38 degrees of south latitude, but all the people saved on the islands: this want obliged them to build a deck to their long boat and put out to sea, where they soon discovered the Continent, bearing north and by west about six miles from them. This was on the eighth of June,

(An. 1629,) and the weather being rough, and the coast high, they were forced to beat at sea till the fourteenth, when they found themselves in 24 degrees of south latitude; and six men swimming ashore, saw four savages quite naked, who fled from them: they went to seek fresh water, but finding none, swam back to their boat. The fifteenth, the boat made into shore, and found no fresh water, but the remains of the rain that lay in the hollow of the rocks, which relieved them, being almost choked. The sixteenth, they went ashore again, but found no water, the latitude here 22 degrees; the twentieth, in 19 degrees; the twenty-second in 16 degrees 10 minutes. Thus *Pelsart* sailed along this Coast to the northward, till he came among the Indian islands, and then struck over to *Java*, where he met two Dutch ships, which carried him to Batavia, whence he returned with a vessel to save as much as might be of the wreck (Thevenot, vol. I.)

Diemen's
Lands.

An. 1642, *Abel Jansen Tasman* set sail from Batavia in the island of Java, with a yacht and a flyboat, and September the fifth anchored at the Island *Mauritius* in 20 degrees of south latitude. The eighth, they departed thence south till 40 or 41 degrees, then bore away east somewhat southerly, till the sixth of November they were in 49 degrees. The twenty-fourth, in 42 degrees 25 minutes, they saw land east and by north at ten miles distance, and called it *Antony van Diemen's lands*; and after running along the Coast came to an anchor on the first of December in a bay they named *Frederick Hendrick's Bay*: they heard some noise as of people, but saw none, and only the footing of wild beasts, and some smoke. Departing hence, on the
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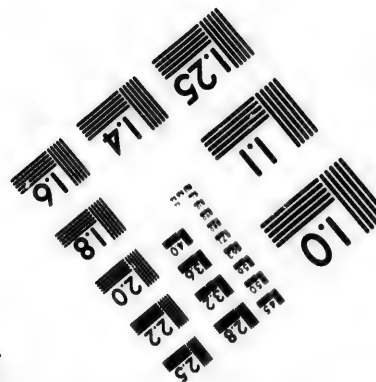
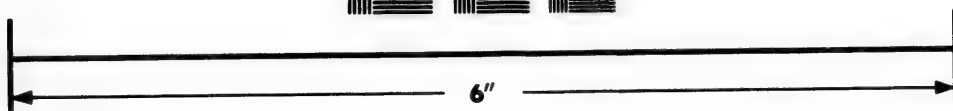
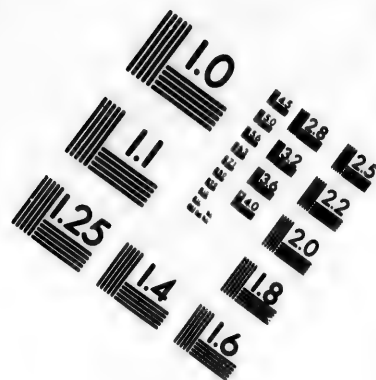
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thirteenth of December they anchored in the country called in the maps *New Zealand*; here they saw some natives lusty people, and half naked, who coming aboard on pretence to traffic, fell upon the men in the boat and killed four of them, for which reason it was called *Murderers Bay*. Here they seemed to be embayed, but on the fourth of January 1643, came up with the N. W. cape of this land, and finding an island there, called it *Three Kings Island*; and going thither to refresh, they saw some large men, but could not understand them. Hence they directed their course north-east, till in 22 degrees 35 minutes they saw a small island, which they could not come at, but called it *Piilstreets Island*. January twenty-first, in 21 degrees 20 minutes they called two islands, the one *Amsterdam*, the other *Zealand*: on the first, they got many hogs, hens, and all sorts of fruit. The inhabitants were friendly, had no weapons, and seemed to know no evil, but that they would steal. In the latter of these islands they saw gardens with square beds and trees regularly planted. Leaving this place, they saw many Islands as they stood northward; and in 17 degrees 19 minutes they run among eighteen or twenty islands, which in the charts are called *Prince William's Islands*, or *Hemskirk's Shoals*. Directing their course now N. or N. N. W. after much foul weather, on the twenty-second of March, in 5 degrees 2 minutes south latitude they had sight of land four miles west of them; being about twenty islands, called in the charts *Onthong Java*, about ninety miles from the coast of *New Guinea*. March the twenty-fifth, in 4 degrees 35 minutes, they were up with the *Islands of Mark*, found before by *William Schouten*, and *John le Mair*: the natives are savage, and have their hair tied up. March the twenty-ninth, they passed by *Green Island*, the thirtieth by *S. John's Island*; and April the first, in 4 degrees 30 minutes, they reached the coast of *New Guinea* at a Cape called by the Spaniards *Santa Maria*, and run along the coast to the promontory called *Struis Hook*, where the land bends to the south and south-east, as they did to find a passage to the south, but were forced to turn to the west. April the twenty-eighth they came to the burning island, where they saw a great fire come out of the hill, and sailing betwixt the island and the main saw many fires. At the islands *Jama*, and *Moa*, they got refreshment. May the twelfth, in only 54 minutes of south latitude, they sailed along the side of *William Schouten's island*, which seems to be well inhabited; and the eighteenth they came to the west end of *New Guinea*, and on the fifteenth of June returned to *Batavia*, having finished the voyage in ten months (Thevenot, vol. II.)

An. 1643, A Dutch ship sailing to the northward of Japan, came upon a Coast in 39 degrees 45 minutes latitude. Running up as far as 43 degrees, they saw several villages near one another, and say there are about them many mines of silver: the land in some places seemed to bear no grass, but the sea was very full of fish. In 44 degrees 30 minutes, they went ashore in a mountainous country, supposed to be full of silver mines. In 46 degrees, the land resembled the coast of England, the soil being good, but the natives do not till it. In 48 degrees there are small hills covered with short grass. In 45 degrees 50 minutes is an Island which the Dutch call *Staten Island*, and beyond it *the companies land*, another island: in this they found a sort of mineral

Land of
Yedso.





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mineral earth, that looked as if it had been all silver. In 45 degrees they observed, that though the land was not cultivated it yielded very good fruit of several sorts; the sea shore was covered with rose trees, and on the rocks many large oysters, but on the land they saw no beast but one bear. The inhabitants of this Land of *Eso*, or *Yedso*, for so it is called, are all strong set, thick, with long hair and beards, good features, no flat noses, black eyes, a fallow complexion, and very hairy about their bodies: the women are not so black as the men; some of them cut their hair, and others tie it up. They seem to have no religion nor government, every man has two wives, who serve him at home and abroad: they are very jealous of their women, love drinking, look like savages, but yet are very civil and obliging to strangers: their houses are only small cottages, and but a few of them together: they eat the fat and oil of whales, all sorts of fish and herbs, and rose-buds are their greatest dainty. Their clothes are some of silk and some of the skins of beasts. They use bows and arrows to kill wild beasts, and they spin hemp. They trade with the Japonese, whom they furnish with train-oil, whales tongues smoaked, furs, several sorts of feathers, for which they receive rice; sugar, silk, and other coarser garments, copper pipes, tobacco boxes, and varnished dishes and vessels for their meat and drink; pendants for their ears, copper ear-rings, hatchets, knives, &c. The capital of the country is small, they call it *Matamay*, where the prince or governor of the country resides, who every year goes over to pay his respects to the emperor of Japan, and carry him presents. This is what the Dutch discovered, but a Japonese told them this land of *Eso*, or *Yedso*, was an island (Thevenot, tom. I.)

New Hol-
land, Captain
Dampier.

An. 1698-9, On the fourteenth of January, Captain *Dampier* in his majesty's ship the *Roe-Buck*, sailed from the Downs upon a New Discovery, touched at the Canaries and isles of Cabo Verde, and the twenty-fifth of March came to an anchor in *Bahia de Todos Santos*, or the *Bay of all Saints* in Brasil. April the twenty-third he left this place, and the third of April saw the land about the cape of Good Hope. August the first, having run from Brasil an hundred and fourteen degrees, he made in to the shore of New Holland in 26 degrees south latitude, thinking to put into some harbour; but finding rocks and foul ground, stood out to sea again till August the sixth, when he came to an anchor in 25 degrees at an opening, which he called *Sharks Bay*, where he could get no fresh water, but plenty of wood, and refreshed the men with raccoons, tortoises, sharks, and other fish, and some sorts of fowl. He sounded most of this Bay, and on the fourteenth sailed out of it; coasting as the weather would permit to the northward, and then to the north-east, as the coast runs; where in 20 degrees 21 minutes he found several Islands, and going ashore on some of them could get no fresh water, nor see any inhabitants: so he continued along the shore as near as could be with safety, till on the thirtieth he anchored in eight fathom water, where he saw some of the natives, but could not take any. Looking for water none was found, and digging pits they got some that was brackish and not fit to drink. Finding no water or other refreshment on this coast, in the beginning of September he stood over for the island Timor; where he took in fresh water, and on the third

of

of December arrived on the coast of New Guinea, and had some commerce with the inhabitants of an Island called *Pulo Sabuti*. Then passing to the northward, and to the easternmost part of New Guinea, he found it did not join to the main land of New Guinea, but was an Island, which he called *New Britain*. Having discovered thus far, and being unprovided to proceed, he returned by Timor and Java, so to the cape of Good Hope, and island of S. Helena. At the island of the Ascension his ship foundered, but the men were saved, and returned to England aboard the East India ship called the *Canterbury* (*Dampier's voyage to New Holland*, being his third volume.)

The VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD which, for so many thousand years as past from the creation till the discovery of the West Indies, could never so much as enter into the thoughts of man, and which after they were performed gave just subject of admiration, do well deserve to be mentioned apart from all others; as being the boldest action that could be undertaken, and to be performed but one way, though several attempts have been made to find out others; as has been shewed in the fruitless Voyages for Discovery of the North-East and North-West Passages: for this reason they have been reserved for this place, where something shall be said of all hitherto performed, but more particularly of the first; as the most glorious and honourable, because it shewed the way to all that followed. This wonderful enterprise was undertaken and performed after this manner:

An. 1519, FERDINAND DE MAGALHAENS, or as we corruptly call him, *Magellan*, by nation a Portuguese, by descent a gentleman, and by profession a soldier and seaman; having served his prince well both in Afric and India, and being ill rewarded, renounced his Country, disnaturalizing himself as the custom then was, and offered his service to the emperor Charles the fifth, then king of Spain. He had long before conceived an opinion, that another way might be found to *India*, and particularly to the *Molucco islands*, besides the common track by the cape of Good Hope followed by the Portuguese. This he proposed to the emperor, with such assurance of performing what he promised, that he had the command of five ships given him, and in them two hundred and fifty men: with this squadron he sailed from *S. Lucar de Barameda* on the twentieth of September, the aforesaid year 1519. Being come to the river called *Rio de Janeiro* on the coast of Brasil, and near 23 degrees of south latitude, some discontent began to appear among the men, which was soon blown over; but proceeding to the bay of S. Julian in 49 degrees of latitude, where they were forced to winter, the mutiny grew so high, three of the captains and most of the men being engaged, that *Magellan* having in vain endeavoured to appease it by fair means, was forced to use his authority; executing two of the said captains, and setting the third with a priest, who had sided with them, ashore among the wild Indians. This done, he proceeded on his Voyage, and on the twenty-first of October 1520, having been out above a year, discovered the cape which he called *Cabo de la Virgines*, or the *Virgins Cape*, because that day was the feast of S. Ursula, and the eleven thousand virgins; and there turned into the Strait he went in search of, which from him to this day is called the *Strait of Magellan*: it lies in 52 degrees of south latitude, is

about

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
1. *Magellan*—

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
1. Magellan.

about an hundred leagues in length; in some parts a league wide, in some more, in some less, but all narrow, and enclosed with high land on both sides; some bare, some covered with woods, and some of the loftiest mountains with snow. Having sailed about 50 leagues in this Strait, they discovered another branch of it, and *Magellan* sent one of his ships to bring him some account of it; but the seamen being parted from him took the opportunity, and confining their captain for opposing their design, returned into Spain, spending eight months in their return. *Magellan* having expected beyond the time appointed, and finding they did not return to him, proceeded through the Strait, and came into the South Sea with only three ships; having lost one in his passage, but all the men saved, and another as was said being stolen away from him. The last land of the Strait he called *Cabo Desado*, or the *Desired Cape*, because it was the end of his desired passage to the South Sea. The cold being somewhat sharp, he thought good to draw nearer to the equinoctial, and accordingly steered west north-west. In this manner he sailed three months and twenty days, without seeing land; which reduced them to such straits, that they were forced to eat all the old leather they had aboard, and to drink stinking water; of which nineteen men died, and near thirty were so weak, that they could do no service. After fifteen hundred leagues sailing he found a small island in 88 degrees of south latitude, and two hundred leagues further another, but nothing considerable in them; and therefore held on his course, till in about 12 degrees of north latitude, he came to those islands which he called *De los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*, because the natives hovered about his ships in their boats, and coming aboard stole every thing they could lay hold of. Finding no good to be done here, he sailed again, and discovering a great number of islands together, he gave that sea the name of *Archipelago de S. Lazaro*, the islands being those we now call the *Philippines*. On the twenty-eighth of March he anchored by the island of *Buthuan*, where he was friendly received, and got some gold; then removed to the isle of *Messana*, at a small distance from the other, and thence to that of *Cebu*.—*Magellan* having hitherto succeeded so well, stood over to the island *Matan*, where not agreeing with the natives he came to a battle, and was killed in it with eight of his men. After this disaster the rest sailed over to the island *Bobol*, and being too weak to carry home their three ships, burnt one of them, after taking out the cannon and all that could be of use to them. Being now reduced to two ships, they made away to the south-west in search of the *Molucco islands*, and instead of them fell into the great one of *Borneo*, where they made some short stay, being friendly received; and departing thence, with the assistance of Indian pilots arrived at length at the *Moluccos* on the eighth of November 1521, in the twenty-seventh month after their departure from Spain; and anchored in the port of *Tidore*, one of the chief of those islands, where they were lovingly treated by the king, who concluded a peace, and took an oath ever to continue in amity with the king of Spain. Here they traded for Cloves, exchanging the commodities they brought to their own content: when they were to depart, finding one of the ships leaky, and unfit for so long a Voyage, they left her behind to refit, and then sailed for Spain as soon as possible.

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sible. The other ship called the *Victory*, commanded by *John Sebastian Cano*, and carrying forty-six Spaniards, and thirteen Indians, took its course to the south-west, and coming to the island *Malua*, near that of *Timor*, in 11 degrees of south latitude, staid there fifteen days to stop some leaks they discovered in her. On the twenty-fifth of January 1522, they left this place, and the next day touched at *Timor*: whence they went not till the eleventh of February, when they took their way to the southward: resolving to leave all India, and the islands, to the northward, to avoid meeting the Portugueses, who were powerful in those seas, and would obstruct their passage: therefore they run into 40 degrees of south latitude before they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, about which they spent seven weeks, beating it out against contrary winds, so that their provisions began to fail, and many men grew sick, which made some entertain thoughts of turning back to *Mozambique*, but others opposed it. In fine, after two months more hardships, in which they lost twenty-one of their company, they were forced to put into the island of *S. James*, being one of those of *Cabo Verde*, where with much intreaty they obtained some small relief of provisions; but thirteen of them going ashore again for some rice the Portugueses had promised to supply them with, were detained ashore, which made those that were left aboard the ship hoist sail and put to sea, fearing the like treachery might surprize them; and on the seventh of September arrived safe at *S. Lucar*, below the city *Sevil*, where after firing all their guns for joy, they repaired to the great church in their shirts and barefoot to return thanks to God. The Ship that performed this wonderful Voyage was called the *Victory*, as was said before, the commander's name was *John Sebastian Cano*, who was well rewarded and honoured by the emperor. This was the first Voyage round the World, which we shall soon see followed by other nations; and this was the Discovery of the Strait of *Magellan*, which made the voyage practicable. The other Spanish ship we mentioned to be left at the Moluccos to stop her leaks, attempted to return the way it came to *Panama*; but after struggling above four months with the easterly winds, most of the men dying, and the rest being almost starved, it went back to the Moluccos, where it was taken by the Portugueses; and the few men that survived, after being kept two years in India, were sent to Spain in the Portugueses's ships (*Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. IV. IX. and dec. 3. lib. I. IV. — *Hackluyt*, vol. III. and *Purchas*, vol. I.)

The Second Voyage round the World was begun

(*An.* 1577,) by Mr. *Francis*, afterwards *SIR FRANCIS DRAKE*, with five ships and barks, and an hundred and sixty-four men; who sailed from *Plymouth* on the thirteenth of December, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month touched at *Cape Cantin* on the African coast, in 31 degrees of north latitude; on the seventeenth of January 1578, at *Cape Blanco* on the same coast, and 21 degrees of latitude, and then at the islands of *Cabo Verde*. Departing thence, they sailed fifty-four days without seeing land, and on the fifth of April came upon the coast of *Brazil*, where they watered, and proceeded to the mouth of the river of *Plate*, in 36 degrees of south latitude. Sailing hence, on the twenty-seventh of April they put into a port in the

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
1. *Magellan*.

2. *Sir Francis Drake*.

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
2. Sir Francis Drake.

latitude of 46 degrees, where *Drake* burnt a flyboat that attended him, after saving all that could be of use. On the twentieth of June he again put into a good harbour, called *Port S. Julian*, in the latitude of 49 degrees, and continued there till the seventeenth of August; when putting to sea again, he entered the Straits of *Magellan* on the twenty-first of the same month. What sort of Straits these are was described in *Magellan's Voyage*, and therefore needs no repetition. Here on an island they found fowl that could not fly, as big as geese, whereof they killed three thousand, which was good provision; and they entered the South Sea on the sixth of September. Hence they were drove by a storm to the southward, as far as the latitude of 57 degrees 20 minutes, and anchored among certain islands; whence removing to a good bay, they saw many men and women naked in canoes, and traded with them for such things as they had. Steering away again to the northward, they found three islands, and in one of them an incredible quantity of fowl; but on the eighth of October they lost sight of one of their ships commanded by Mr. *Winter*, which the rest supposed to be cast away, but it was put back by the tempest into the Strait of *Magellan*, and returned home the same way it came.—*Drake* with the rest sailed for the coast of *Chile*, and sending for water at the island *Mocha*, two of his men were killed by the Indians, which made him depart without it. This island is on the coast of *Chile* in 39 degrees of south latitude. Coasting still along, he came to the bay of *Valparaiso*, where he found a Spanish ship with only eight Spaniards and three Blacks in her, whom he surprised and took; and then going ashore plundered nine houses, being all there were in that which they called the town of *Santiago*. At *Cochimbo* in 29 degrees 30 minutes of latitude, fourteen men landing, one of them was killed by the Spaniards, the rest fled back to their ships. Not far from thence landing for fresh water, they met one single Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *lamar*, or Peru sheep, loaded with silver, which they took. Running on thence to *Arica* on the coast of Peru, in 18 degrees 30 minutes latitude, he plundered three barks, in which was some quantity of silver, but not one man. Hence he advanced to the port of *Lima* in 12 degrees of latitude, and after rifling what little was in them cut the cables of twelve vessels that lay there; letting them drive wheresoever the water would carry them, there being no man aboard, as having never seen an enemy in those seas. Near Cape S. Francis, in 1 degree of north latitude, he took a rich ship called *Cacafugo*, and a little further another. Then he plundered *Guatulco*; and after refitting his ship in a small island, run away to the northward into 43 degrees of latitude; where feeling much cold he returned into 38 degrees, and there put into a large bay on the coast of *California*, which *Drake* called *Nova Albion*. Here he was well received by the people, and continued some time, and sailing hence directed his course for the *Molucco islands*; seeing no land till the thirteenth day of October, when he discovered the islands *de los Ladrones* in 8 degrees of north latitude. On the fourteenth of November he fell in with the *Molucco islands*, and came to an anchor in that of *Ternate*, the king whereof came aboard *Drake's* ship, offering him all the island could afford; and he, having taken in what was most necessary and could be had there, went over to a small

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small island south of *Celebes*, where he graved his ship, and fitted her to return home; which took him up twenty-six days. Thinking to return to the *Moluccas*, they were drove by contrary winds to the northward of the island *Celebes*; till turning again to the southward for fear of the many small islands in that sea, the ship on a sudden sat upon a rock, where it was feared she would have perished; but lightening her of three ton of Cloves, eight guns, and some provisions, she got off.—On the eighth of February 1579, they fell in with the island *Barateus*, where they refreshed themselves after their fatigues, and took in store of such provisions as the place afforded; the natives proving very friendly, and bartering their commodities for linen. Being well furnished with all necessaries, they left this place, and again made some stay at the island of *Java*, the natives by their civility inviting them to it. Thence they steered directly for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land they came near from *Java*; yet touched not there, nor at any other place till they came to *Sierra Leona*, the westernmost point of *Guinea*, in 8 degrees of north latitude, on the twenty-second of July, and there recruited themselves with provisions. Departing thence on the twenty-fourth, they arrived in England on the third of November 1580, and the third year after their departure. This Relation is to be seen at large in Hackluyt, (vol. III. p. 742.) and in Purchas, (vol. I. lib. II. p. 46.)

An. 1586, Mr. *Thomas*, afterwards SIR THOMAS CANDISH, undertook the Third Voyage round the World with three small vessels, one of an hundred and twenty, the second of sixty, and the third of forty tons burden, all fitted out at his own charges; and sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-first of July 1586. On the twenty-third of August he put into a bay on the coast of Afric, and destroyed there a village of the Blacks, because they killed a man with a poisoned arrow. After some days spent about this place, he sailed away south-west, and on the first of November put in between the island of *S. Sebastian*, and the continent of *Brazil*, in 24 degrees of south latitude; where the men were set to work ashore to build a pinnace, make hoops for the casks, and fill fresh water, which took them up till the twenty-third of the month; when sailing again on the seventeenth of December, they entered *Port Desire* in 47 degrees and an half of latitude, and that being a convenient place for the purpose, careened their ships, and refitted what was amiss. The third day of January 1587, they anchored at the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, the weather being very stormy, which lasted three days, all which time they continued there, but lost an anchor, and the sixth day entered the Strait. The seventh, as they drew near the narrow part of the Strait they took a Spaniard, being one of the twenty-three that still remained alive; which were all then left of five hundred landed there three years before to guard the Strait, the rest being dead with hunger. These had built a town, which they called *king Philip's city*, and fortified it, but they could make no works against famine, which consumed them all to those before mentioned; who, except him that was taken, were gone along the coast, hoping to get to the river of Plate. *Candish* having wooded and watered here, called this place *Port Famine*. The weather proving very boisterous and foul, he was forced to ride it out often at anchor, and there-

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
2. Sir Francis Drake.

3. Sir Thomas Candish.

CIRCUNNAVIGATORS.
3. Sir Thomas
Candish,

fore did not get out into the *South Sea*, till the twenty-fourth of February. On the first of March, a violent storm parted the bark of forty tons from the other two ships; and they met not before the fifteenth, betwixt the island of *S. Mary* and the continent of *Chile*, in 37 degrees and an half of south latitude. Here they took in as much corn as they would have, and abundance of potatoes, all which had been laid up in the island for the Spaniards; besides as many hogs as they could salt, abundance of hens, and five hundred dried dog-fishes. The eighteenth they left this place, and on the last of the month landed at *Punta de Quenurs* in 33 degrees of latitude; but saw no man, though they travelled some miles, only spied some herds of very wild cattle; but the first of April going to water, the men were set upon by the Spaniards, and twelve of them cut off.—Proceeding hence along the coast of *Chile* and *Peru*, they took some coasting vessels carrying provisions from one place to another. In this manner they ran along to the island *Puna*, in about 3 degrees of south latitude, being a place famous for supplying all those coasts with cables. Here the English took what they found for their use, the island being inhabited by none but Indians, except some few Spaniards that lived in the chief town, who killed twelve of the English; but were put to flight, and the town burnt, as was the church particularly, and the bells carried away. This second loss of men obliged *Candish* to sink his bark of forty ton, that had attended him out of England.—On the twelfth of June they cut the equinoctial line; and holding on their course to the northward all that month, on the first of July came upon the coast of *New Spain*; where on the ninth, they took and burnt a ship with seven men in her, and soon after a bark, whose men were fled to shore. The twenty-sixth day they anchored at *Copalita*, in 16 degrees of north latitude, whence they went with thirty men to *Aguatulco* a small Indian town, which they burnt and rifled. Then keeping along that coast, they continued ravaging the Indian towns, till they came to a small island in 23 degrees of latitude, and eleven leagues from the city *Chiametlan*; where having watered, and staid till the ninth of November, they then stood over to cape *S. Lucar*, which is the southermost point of *California*; and beating about it till the fourth of November, met then with the *S. ANN*, being the Spanish galeon bound from the Philippine islands to the port of *Acapulco* in *New Spain*. After a fight of six hours the Galeon was taken and carried into the port called *Puerto Seguro*; where setting ashore the Spaniards, and taking out what goods they could carry, they burnt the Galeon, and on the nineteenth of November sailed thence towards India.—This night *Candish*, who was in the *Defire*, lost his other ship called the *Content*, and never saw her after: being thus left alone he sailed before the wind, as is usual there, for the space of forty-five days, and on the third of January 1588, came up with the islands *de los Ladrones*, having run about eighteen hundred leagues; on the fourteenth with cape *Espiritu Santo*, a great headland of one of the Philippine islands to the westward, in 13 degrees of latitude, and about three hundred leagues from the islands *Ladrones*. At the island *Cabul* he continued some days getting fresh provisions; and sailing amidst all those islands south-west and by south, on the eighth of February discovered the island *Batachina* near

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Gilolo, in one degree of south latitude; whence he steered to the south side of the great island of *Java*, and touching there on the twelfth of March, traded with the natives for provisions, which were brought him in great plenty. On the sixteenth, he set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, and doubled it about the middle of May; having spent nine weeks betwixt the island of *Java* and this place, which is about eighteen hundred leagues distance. On the ninth of June he anchored at the island of *S. Helena*, about five hundred leagues distant from the Cape of Good Hope, lying betwixt the coast of *Afric* and *Brasil*, in about 15 degrees of south latitude. This Island is generally touched at by ships going to and returning from the East Indies, because of the conveniency of watering; besides the great plenty it produces of excellent fruit, as also abundance of fowl, swine, and goats, the place being extremely pleasant, but very small. Having taken in wood and water here, and made clean the ship, on the twentieth of June *CANDISH* sailed for England; on the twenty-fourth of August he discovered the islands *Flores* and *Corvo*, two of the *Azores*, and on the ninth of September after a terrible storm, which carried away part of his sails, put into the port of Plymouth (*Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 803. and *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 57.)

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
3. Sir Thomas Candish.

An. 1598, The *DUTCH* resolving to perform as much as had been done before by *Magellan's* ship, and by *Sir Francis Drake* and *Sir Thomas Candish*, they fitted out four ships under the command of captain *Olivier d'Oort*, as *Van Meteren* calls him, or *OLIVER NOORT*, according to *Purchas*. The rest proceeded on their voyage upon the nineteenth of July; and to omit particulars of less moment, and their touching at places not material, on the tenth of December they came to the *Prince's Island*, or *Ilha do Principe*, on the coast of *Congo*, in 2 degrees of north latitude; where the Portuguese killed some of their men, and the Dutch commander in revenge assaulting their fort, was repulsed with greater loss. This made him desist; and sailing thence, on the fifth of February 1599, came on the coast of *Brasil*. Here they spent much time, seeking refreshment and water along the shore; and being much shaken by a storm, and abundance of the men sick—besides, that it was the winter season there, they put into a little island called *S. Clare*, on the coast of *Brasil*, in about 21 degrees of south latitude. Here the sick men being ~~set~~ ashore, some of them presently died; the rest ailing nothing but the scurvy, were cured with eating four plumbs they found there. One of the ships being very leaky, was here burnt, after all that could be of use had been taken out of her. On the sixteenth of July they left this place, steering for *Port Desire* in 47 degrees; and after many storms put into it on the twentieth of September, careened their ships, and took abundance of fowl. Some men were here killed by the Indians. Departing hence on the twenty-ninth, they came to *Cape Virgines* at the mouth of the Strait of *Magellan*, on the fourth of November; where they met with storms of wind, rain, hail, and snow, besides much sickness and contention among themselves, having been from home fifteen months, before they could get into the Strait: so that it was the last of February 1600 before they came out into the South Sea. March the twelfth, they lost sight of the vice-admiral, and sailed without him to the island *Mocha*, in 38 degrees south.

4. Oliver Noort.

Ship.

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
4. Oliver Noort.

ship missing the island of *S. Marius*, and being drove by necessity to make the continent for provisions, lost most of its men ashore, the rest putting to sea with the vessel. Being now in fear of the Spanish men of war, he directed his course with the two ships he had left, for the islands *de las Ladrones*, which he had sight of on the fifteenth of September; and on the fourteenth of October discovered the Island of *Luxon* or *Manila*, the chief of the Philippines. Near this island he met the two Spanish ships bound thence for New Spain; and after a desperate fight, Noort sunk one of them; but at the same time the other took his second ship, and he made all haste away to *Borneo*, but made no stay there for fear of the natives, who attempted to cut his cable; and therefore sailing hence, he traded for pepper at *Java*, and at length returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and isle of *S. Helena*, arriving at Amsterdam on the twenty-sixth of August 1601 (Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 71.—Van Meteren, lib. XXIII.)

5. George Spilbergen.

An. 1614, GEORGE SPILBERGEN, commander of five Dutch ships, sailed out of the Texel on the eighth of August, and entered the Strait of Magellan on the twenty-eighth of March 1615, but being drove out again by contrary winds, he re-entered on the second of April. In the Strait they continued going ashore on the south side upon the land called *Tierra del Fuego*, known since to be an island, till the sixth of May; when they came out into the South Sea, which received them with storms, and on the twenty-sixth came up with the island *la Mocha*, on the coast of Chile, mentioned in all the former Voyages. Here they traded with the Indians, exchanging hatchets, and other utensils, as also coral, for large Peru sheep, which serve not only to eat, but to carry burdens. Landing at the island of *S. Mary* on the twenty-ninth, they had a skirmish with some few Spaniards, and got some booty of sheep. Running along the coast, they touched at *Valparaiso*, Cape *Quintero*, and other places; but finding the Spaniards every where had taken the alarm, they durst not do any thing ashore. July the seventeenth, keeping along the shores of Peru, they discovered eight Spanish ships set out to engage them: that very night they engaged, and after an hot dispute, three of the Spanish ships sunk. In this action they had forty men killed, and sixty wounded. Drawing too near the shore at *Callao*, the port of *Lima*, the *Huntsman*, one of the Dutch ships, was almost sunk with a thirty-six pounder, which made them keep further off: and holding their course to the northward, they took the little town of *Peita*. Therefore August the twenty-first, they set out to sea again, and beat about in bad weather till the eleventh of October, when they put into the harbour of *Acapulco* in New Spain, and there exchanged the prisoners they had taken for provisions: which done, they run up into twenty degrees of north latitude, and on the twenty-sixth of November stood over for the islands *de las Ladrones*. In January following, which was the year 1616, many of the men died of diseases. On the twenty-third of the same month they discovered the *Ladrones*; and on the ninth of February Cape *Espiritu Santo*, the easternmost point of the Philippine islands to the northward; passing among which, they arrived at *Ternate*, the chief of the Moluccos, on the twenty-ninth of March, which the Dutch in the island reckoned the twenty-eighth;

eighth; the fleet by following the course of the sun having lost a day, whereas they that sail round to the eastward gain a day. About these Islands they continued some months, and arrived at *Jacatra* in the island of *Java* on the fifteenth of September; on the thirtieth of March 1617 at the island of *S. Helena*; and in July following in *Zealand* (*Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 80.)

Circumnavigators.
5. George Spilbergen.

An. 1615, ISAAC LE MAIRE, a merchant of Amsterdam, and WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN of Horn, resolving to find out a new way to the *East Indies*, besides those already known by the Cape of Good Hope and Strait of Magellan; at their own charges fitted out a good ship of three hundred and sixty ton and twenty guns, and a smaller of an hundred and ten ton and eight guns, in which they sailed themselves out of the Texel on the sixteenth of June in the aforesaid year, resolving to find another passage into the South Sea, to the southward of the Strait of Magellan; which their design they kept secret, till they came near the line, where they discovered it to the seamen, who were well pleased with the undertaking.—To pass by all other particulars, as too like those in the foregoing Voyages, on the ninth of December they sailed up into *Port Desire*, on the coast of America, in 47 degrees and 40 minutes of south latitude; where bringing their ships ashore to clean them, as they were burning reeds under the lesser of them, she took fire and burnt, till the tide coming up, quenched the flame; yet so that nothing of her could be saved, but a little wood for fuel and the iron work. The thirteenth of January 1616, the great ship now left alone sailed out of *Port Desire*, and on the twenty-fifth discovered the island they called *Staten land* to the eastward, and the point of *Tierra del Fuego* to the westward, which they called *Maurice land*, in almost 55 degrees of south latitude. Entering betwixt these two lands, they steered south south-west, till coming under 55 degrees 36 minutes, they stood south-west, and then south. Thus the twenty-sixth they came under 57 degrees, and the twenty-ninth discovered those they called *Barnwell's Islands*. The third of February they were under 59 degrees 25 minutes, and the twelfth found the Straits of Magellan lay east of them; and therefore being satisfied that they were in the South Sea, they called the new found passage the *Strait of le Maire*.—March the first they came near the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, in 33 degrees 40 minutes of south latitude, and at some distance from the coast of Chile: but, though they endeavoured it, could never come near enough to anchor, being still beaten off by the wind and current; and therefore steered away to the westward to prosecute their Voyage; and in April they discovered several small Islands inhabited by naked people, none of whom would come aboard, nor could they come to an anchor. These Islands were in about 14 and 15 degrees of south latitude. Sailing on still westward, they saw many more Islands in May, and had some trade with the natives, who attempted to surprise the ship, or at least the boat; but were soon scared away by the fire-arms, when they saw they did execution, for before they thought they had only made a noise. Finding no Continent, and perceiving they were at least sixteen hundred leagues to the westward of *Chile* or *Peru*, they steered to the northward; for fear they should fall south of *New Guinea*, and perhaps not be able to clear themselves of the coast, the winds being al-

6. Le Maire, and Schouten.

CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.
6. Le Maire,
and
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ways at east. Many more Islands are mentioned in the journal, at some of which they touched and got refreshment; but on the first of July they anchored near the coast of New Guinea, whence they sailed still along the shore, and amidst a multitude of islands, till they came into half a degree of south latitude; where they saw a small island off the shore of the land of *Papou*, and called it *William Schouten's Island* after the captain's name, and the westernmost point of it the Cape of Good Hope. September the 17th they arrived at the island *Ternate*, and thence in October to *Jacatra*, or *Batavia*, in the island of *Java*; where the president of the Dutch East India Company seized the ship and goods. Whereupon *William Cornelison Schouten* the master, *Jacob le Maire* the merchant, and ten seamen, put themselves aboard the *Amsterdam*, a Dutch ship homewards bound, and twelve others aboard the *Zealand*, and arrived in safety at Amsterdam in July; having discovered the new Strait called *le Maire*, as was said before, and performed the Voyage round the world in two years and eighteen days (*Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 88.)

7. Brower.

An. 1643, *Brewer*, or *BROWER*, went another way into the South Sea, by a passage called after his own name, which is east of *le Maire's Strait*; but whether this was a Strait with land on each side, or an open sea, is not known, his diary not being made public: but most maps make it a new Strait.

8. Cook,
1683.

An. 1683, One *JOHN COOK* sailed from Virginia in a ship of eight guns and fifty-two men a buccaneering; and with him one *Cowley*, as master. On the coast of Guinea they took a ship of forty guns by surprise, in which they sailed away to the South Sea, meeting by the way another ship commanded by one *Eaton*, who joined them to follow the same trade. They ran into 60 degrees of south latitude, and passed that way into the South Sea; where *Cowley* says they discovered several Islands about the line. Thence they sailed over to the *Ladrones*, whence they continued their course and anchored at *Canton* in China. Departing from *Canton*, they came to the island *Borneo*, where *Cowley*, the author of this relation, with nineteen others, got a great boat in which they went away to *Java*. At *Batavia* the author, with two others, shipped himself aboard a Dutch vessel, and so returned to Europe.—The relation of this Voyage is shortened, because there have been so many Voyages round the world before, and all of them performed in the same ship; whereas in this there was much shifting. Those that desire may see it at large in the collection of original Voyages, published by captain *Will. Hack*, (an. 1699.)

Captain *Dampier* in his first book of Voyages gives an account of this same last mentioned, but more at large, he being aboard with the same *Cowley*; and therefore no more needs be said of it, though there may be many circumstances which this discourse cannot descend to: wherefore here shall end the Voyages round the World, it being time to proceed to what remains.

After so long a discourse of VOYAGES and DISCOVERIES, it may seem superfluous to treat of the advantages the public receives by Navigation, and the faithful journals and accounts of travellers. The matter is natural, and no man can read the one without being sensible of the other; and therefore a few words may suffice on this

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subject, to avoid cloying the judicious reader with what is so visible and plain, and to save running out this Introduction to an unreasonable length. What was Cosmography before these discoveries, but an imperfect fragment of a science, scarce deserving to good a name? when all the known world was only Europe, a small part of Afric, and the lesser portion of Asia; so that of this terraqueous globe not one sixth part had ever been seen or heard of. Nay, so great was the ignorance of man in this particular, that learned persons made a doubt of its being round; others no less knowing imagined all they were not acquainted with, desert and uninhabitable. But now Geography and Hydrography have received some perfection by the pains of so many mariners and travellers; who to evince the rotundity of the earth and water, have sailed and travelled round it, as has been here made appear, to shew there is no part uninhabitable, unless the frozen polar regions; have visited all other countries, though never so remote, which they have found well peopled, and most of them rich and delightful; and to demonstrate the *Antipodes*, have pointed them out to us. Astronomy has received the addition of many constellations never seen before. Natural and moral History is embellished with the most beneficial increase of so many thousands of plants it had never before received; so many drugs and spices; such variety of beasts, birds, and fishes; such rarities in minerals, mountains, and waters; such unaccountable diversity of climates and men, and in them of complexions, tempers, habits, manners, politics, and religions. Trade is raised to the highest pitch, each part of the world supplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is accounted most precious and valuable; and this not in a niggard and scanty manner, as when the *Venetians* served all Europe with spice and drugs from India by the way of Turkey and the Red Sea; or as when gold and silver were only drawn from some poor European and African mines; but with plenty and affluence, as we now see, most nations resorting freely to the *East Indies*, and the *West*, yearly sending forth prodigious quantities of the most esteemed and valuable metals. To conclude, the empire of *Europe* is now extended to the utmost bounds of the earth, where several of its nations have conquests and colonies. These and many more are the advantages drawn from the labours of those, who expose themselves to the dangers of the vast Ocean, and of unknown nations; which those who sit still at home abundantly reap in every kind: and the relation of one traveller is an incentive to stir up another to imitate him, whilst the rest of mankind, in their accounts, without stirring a foot, compass the Earth and Seas, visit all countries, and converse with all nations.

It only remains to give some few Directions for such as go on long Voyages; which shall be those drawn up by Mr. *Roek*, a fellow of the Royal Society, and geometry professor of Gresham College, by order of the said society, and published in the philosophical transactions of the eighth of January 1665-6, being Number eight. They are as follow:

1. To observe the declination of the *Compass*, or its variation from the meridian of the place, frequently; marking withal the latitude, and longitude of the place, where

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Rook's
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Navigators.

such observation is made, as exactly as may be, and setting down the method by which they made them.

2. To carry dipping Needles with them, and observe the inclination of the Needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully *the ebbs and flowings of the Sea* in as many places as they can, together with all the accidents ordinary and extraordinary of the Tides; as, their precise time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at promontories or capes, which way the Current runs; what perpendicular distance there is between the highest tide and lowest ebb, during the Spring Tides and neep Tides; what day of the moon's age, and what times of the year the highest and lowest Tides fall out: and all other considerable accidents they can observe in the Tides, chiefly near ports, and about islands, as in *S. Helena's* island, and the three rivers there, at the *Bermudas*, &c.

4. To make *Plots and Draughts of prospect* of coasts, promontories, islands, and ports, marking the bearings and distances as near as they can.

5. To sound and mark the *Depth of Coasts and Ports*, and such other places near the shore, as they shall think fit.

6. To take notice of the nature of the ground *at the bottom of the Sea*, in all Soundings, whether it be clay, sand, rock, &c.

7. To keep a register of all *Changes of Wind and Weather* at all hours, by night and by day, shewing the point the wind blows from, whether strong or weak: the rains, hail, snow, and the like; the precise times of their beginnings and continuance, especially hurricanes and spouts; but above all, to take exact care to observe the Trade-Winds; about what degree of latitude and longitude they first begin, where and when they cease or change, or grow stronger or weaker, and how much; as near and exact as may be.

8. To observe and record all Extraordinary meteors, lightnings, thunders, *ignes fatui*, comets, &c. marking still the places and times of their appearing, continuance, &c.

9. To carry with them good scales, and glass-vials of a pint, or so, with very narrow mouths, which are to be filled with *Sea-Water in different degrees of Latitude*, as often as they please; and the weight of the vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the degree of latitude, and the day of the month; and that as well of water near the top, as at a greater depth.

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AN EXPLANATORY CATALOGUE OF VOYAGES, AND
GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS, BY MR. LOCKE.

LATIN.

Descriptio Africae, 8vo.*Descriptiones Asiae*.*De Lege Mahumetica*, and*De Rebus Mahumeticis*.Latin
Writers.

These four by JOHN * LEO, a Spaniard by birth, and a Mahometan by education, but afterwards converted; who before his conversion travelled through the greatest part of Afric, and has given the best light into it of any writer, as *Johannes Bodinus* affirms. He first writ them in the Arabic for his own nation, but afterwards translated them himself into Italian; and *John Florianus* into Latin. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, customs, and manners of the people of Afric, but is too brief in martial affairs, and the lives of the African princes.

Epistola viginti sex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty-six letters concerning the affairs of Japan, to be seen in several collections of this sort of letters.

Historia relatio de legatione regis Sinenfium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the Embassy sent by the emperor of China to *Taicosoma* king of Japan, *An.* 1596, and of the strange prodigies that happened before the embassy, *Rome* 1599, 8vo.

Historia relatio de rebus per Japoniam, *An.* 1596, à *patribus societatis durante persecutione gestis*: or an account of the proceedings of the Jesuits in Japan, in the year 1596, during the persecution. These three by F. LEWIS FROES, a Jesuit, who lived forty-nine years in the east, and thirty-six of them in the island of Japan as a missionary.—It is believed these relations were writ in Portuguese by the author, and afterwards translated into Latin.

De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopia patriarchis, *Lions*, 1615, 8vo. The author was F. NICHOLAS GODINHO, a Portuguese Jesuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous history writ by F. Urreta.

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutensi Toletana provincia usque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the university of Alcalá in Spain to Rome, by Dr. JAMES LOPEZ DE ZUNIGA, a pious and learned man.

LITERÆ ANNUÆ. The annual or yearly letters out of Ethiopia, China, India, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of those countries, and are to be found in several volumes, and scattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needless to give any account in this place.

ATHANASII KIRCHERI à *societate Jesu China, monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, illustrata*, fol. This is a complete history of China, and held in great reputation for some years, but of late

* John Leo, the African geographer, was a native of Grenada, and after the taking of that city in 1492, retired into Africa. He not only travelled through different parts of that Continent, but also both in Europe and Asia. His description of Africa which is given in the second volume of Purchas, book the sixth, was originally composed in Arabic, and thence translated into the Italian. It was translated into French by *Jean Temporal*, and printed at Lyons in 1556, in 2 vol. fol. The Latin translation by *Florian* is not much esteemed. See died in 1526. EDIT.

Latin
Writers.

its reputation has declined, since so many books of that empire have appeared writ by Missioners, who have resided there many years, and discovered great mistakes in *Kircher*.

JOH. LUDOLF *historia Ethiopiae*, fol. This history of Ethiopia is written by a German, who having gathered most of it from the writings of the Jesuits, yet makes it his business to contradict them, from the information given him by an Ethiopian he was acquainted with in Germany, for he was never near Ethiopia himself; and his whole book has more of controversy, and of the Ethiopian language, than of history.

Relatio eorum quæ circa S. Caf. Majest. ad magnum Moscorum Czarum a legatos anno æra christiana 1675, gesta sunt, stricim recensita per ADOLPHUM LYSECK, dictæ legationis secretarium, 8vo. Salzburg 1676. In this account of an Embassy to the Czar of Muscovy, we have an account of his travels through Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, and Muscovy, to the court of Moscow, and of all things of note the author saw or heard of; being an ingenious person, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as secretary to the Embassy (*Giorn. de Letter.*)

JOHANNIS SCHEFFERI *Argentoratensis Lapponia, id est regionis Lapponum et gentis, nova et verissima descriptio*, 4to. Lipsiæ 1674. An account of Lapland, which though it be not by way of travels, well deserves a place here; because we shall scarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a just relation of it. This however is authentic, as gathered from the Swedish writers, who are best acquainted with those parts.

THEODORI ET JOHANNIS DE * BRYE *India orientalis et occidentalis*, 6 vols. fol. Francfort 1624. This collection being three volumes of the East, and three of the West Indies, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of Congo in Afric, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been discovered before India; this account translated from the Italian writ by Philip Pigafetta.—Next follow five voyages of Samuel Bruno of Basil; the three first to Congo, Ethiopia, and other parts round the coast of Afric; the fourth to several parts in the Straits, and the fifth to Portugal and Spain, &c. translated into Latin from the author's original in High Dutch.—The next are *Linschoten's* Indian voyages, translated from the Dutch, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in those parts.—Then three Dutch voyages to the North-East Passage; and after them a great number of cuts and maps, besides very many dispersed throughout the book, and a considerable number at the beginning. These are the contents of the first Volume.—The second begins with a large account of Bantam, Banda, Ternate, and other parts of India, being a voyage of eight Dutch ships into those parts in the year 1598, translated out of High Dutch.—After that the description of Guinea out of Spilberg's voyage, An. 1601.—Gaspar Balbi's voyage, An. 1579.—In the third Volume Jacob Neck's voyage, An. 1603; Jo. Hermon de Bree, An. 1602; Corn. Nicolas, Cornelius Ven, and Stephen de Hagen, all to India.—Verhuff's voyage to India, An. 1607.—Dialogues in Latin and the Malay language.—Hudson's voyage to the North-East Passage.—An account of Terra Australis incognita, by captain Peter Ferdinand de Quir; and the description of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoefia.—Two voyages of Americus Vespulius to the East Indies.—A very strange relation of an Englishman, who being shipwrecked on the coast of Cambuja, travelled through

* *Theodore de Brye* was a German engraver, who died in 1598. The greater part of the plates in the Collection were made by him. This valuable work when complete is in seven volumes: it is divided into twenty-five parts, thirteen for what is termed *Les Grands Voyages*, and twelve for *Les Petits Voyages*, being printed in a smaller form. Of the few persons who have ever possessed a complete set, the Abbe de Rothelin is mentioned; who in 1743 printed a dissertation, intitled, *Observations et details sur la collection des grands et des petits voyages*; this curious treatise was only given to particular friends. EDIT.

many

many of those eastern countries; and the description of the northern country of Spitzbergen: the whole illustrated with a vast number of maps, and other cuts. *Thus far the three volumes of the East Indies.* The three of the West are composed of these parts. *Vol. I.* an ample account of Virginia. The unfortunate expedition of the French to Florida, *An. 1565.*—*Laudonniere's* voyage thither, *An. 1574.*—Two voyages of *John Stadius* to Brazil and the river of Plate, where he lived among the Indians.—*Leri's* account of Brazil.—*Villagano's* voyage to South America.—*Benzo's* history of the discovery of America. *Vol. II.* The second and third parts of *Benzo's* history of the West Indies.—*Faber's* description of several parts of America, where he travelled.—Voyages of Sir *F. Drake*, *Cavendish*, and *Raleigh.*—Dutch expedition to the Canaries.—General account of America.—*Sebald de Weert's* voyage through the straits of Magellan.—*Noort* round the world. *Vol. III.* Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius.* *Hamor's* account of the state of Virginia.—Captain *Smith's* description of New England. *Schouten* and *le Maire's* discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, called *Strait le Maire.* *Spilbergen's* voyage through the Straits of Magellan.—*Herrer's* description of the West Indies. These are the Contents of the Six Volumes, the whole illustrated and adorned with such a vast number of maps and cuts, representing all such things as require it, that the like is not in any other collection, nor is it likely that any will be at so excessive an expence. To be short, this Collection is a small Library, including all the Voyages and Discoveries of any note till the time it was published, when most of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent use and great value.

ITALIAN.

*Delle navigationi et viaggi, raccolte da M. GIO BATTISTA * RAMUSIO, Venice, 3 vol. fol. 1613.* Italian Writers.
Ramusio's collection of voyages and travels, the most perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatsoever: containing all the discoveries to the east, west, north, and south; with full descriptions of all the countries discovered; judiciously compiled, and free from that great mass of useless matter, which swells our English *Hackluyt* and *Purchas*; much more complete and full than the Latin *de Brye*, and in fine, the noblest work of this nature.—The contents of it as briefly as may be set down, are as follow. In the *first* Volume, *John Leo's* description of Afric.—*Alvise de ca da Mosto's* voyage; and that of *Peter da Santra* to the coast of Afric. *Hanno* the Carthaginian's navigation on the coast of Afric.—Voyage from Lisbon to the island of S. Thomas.—*Gama's* voyage to Calicut.—*Peter Alvarez* to India.—Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius.*—Voyages to India by *Tho. Lopez* and *Gio. da Empoli.*—*Barbema's* travels to, and account of, India.—*Corfali* to India.—*Alvarez* to Ethiopia.—Discourse of the overflowing of the Nile.—*Nearchus* admiral to *Alexander the Great*, his navigation.—Voyage down the Red Sea to Diu.—*Barbosa* of the East Indies.—Voyages of *Conti*, and *S. Stephano.*—First voyage round the world performed by the Spaniards.—*Gastan* of the discovery of the Molucco islands.—Account of Japan.—Extracts of *Barros's* history of India.—The *second* Volume; *Marcus Paulus Venetus's* travels.—*Hayton* the Armenian of the great Chams, or emperors of

* *Giov. Battista Ramusio*, a Venetian, was secretary of the council of the Republic, and died at Padua, in 1557. He published besides his collection of voyages, a treatise *De Nili incremento*. In order to have a perfect edition of his *Raccolta delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, the first volume, according to *De Bure*, should bear the date of 1563, the second of 1583, and the third of 1605, printed for the *Giunti*, Venice. (*De Bure* vol. V. p. 190.) *Du Fresnoy*, on the contrary, recommends that the first volume should have the date of 1606, or 1613; or that at least the two first volumes should be the editions of 1583, and 1588, and the third of 1606, or 1613. EDIT.

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Italian
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Tartary.—*Angiolello* of the wars betwixt *Uffuncassan* king of Persia, and *Mahomet* emperor of the Turks; of *Ismael Sophy* and the sultan of Babylon, and of *Selim* the Turk's subduing the Mamelucks.—*Barbaro's* travels to Tartary and Persia.—*Contarino's* embassy from the republic of Venice to *Uffuncassan* king of Persia.—*Campense* of Muscovy.—*Jovius* of Muscovy.—*Arianus* of the Euxine, or Black Sea.—*Geor. Interiano* of the Circassians.—*Quini's* shipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north latitude.—The same by *Christ. Fioravante* and *J. de Michele*, who were with him.—Baron *Herbertain* of Muscovy and Russia.—*Zeno's* voyage to Persia. *Nich.* and *Ant. Zeni's* discovery of Frizeland, Iceland, and to the north pole.—Two voyages to Tartary by *Dominicans*, sent by pope *Innocent IV.*—*Odoricus's* two voyages into the east. *Cabot's* voyage into the north-west.—*Guagnino's* description of Poland, Muscovy, and part of Tartary.—The same by *Michorus.*—In the *third* Volume; an abridgement of *Peter Martyr* of Angleria, his decads of the discovery of the West Indies.—An abridgement of *Oviedo's* history of the West Indies.—*Cortes's* account of his discovery and conquest of Mexico.—*Alvarado* of his conquest and discovery of other provinces above Mexico.—*Gadon* of several discoveries and conquests in New Spain.—Account of Mexico and New Spain, by a gentleman belonging to *Cortes.*—*Alvar Nunes* of the success of the fleet sent out by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, and his strange adventures for ten years.—*Nunno de Guxman* of several cities and provinces of New Spain. *Francis de Ull a's* voyage to California.—*Vasquez Coronado* and *Marco da Nizsa* of the provinces north of New Spain.—*Alarcon's* voyage by sea to discover the seven cities north of Mexico.—Discovery and conquest of Peru, writ by a Spanish captain.—*Xerex's* conquest of Peru.—The same by *Pizarro's* secretary.—*Oviedo's* account of a voyage up the great river of *Maranon.*—*Verazzano's* discovery of North America.—*Jacques Cartier's* first and second voyages to Canada or New France.—*Federici's* voyage to India, with a large account of the spice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in those parts.—Three voyages of the Dutch to discover the north-east passage to China and Japan, in which they found the straits of *Weygatz* and *Nova Zembla*, and the coast of *Greenland*, running to 80 degrees of north latitude.—These, with many learned discourses and observations of the author's, are the contents of the three Volumes.

Prima spedizione all' Indie orientali del P. F. GIOSEFFE di Santa Maria, 4to, Roma 1668. This author was sent by pope *Alexander VII.* to the Malabar Christians of *S. Thomas*, being himself a barefoot Carmelite, and has in this left a most excellent piece of curiosity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he saw; of birds, beasts, and other animals; and of the philosophy of the *Brahmans*, their secrets, and of all the other Malabars, as also of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vast empire of the Mogul, of the pearl fishery, of the *Sabeans* about Bassora, who pretend they received their religion from *S. John Baptist*; and concludes with the errors of the Jacobites, Nestorians, Greeks, Armenians, and other eastern sects.

Historia delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progressi dell' arme Mocoovite contro a Polacchi, relations della Mescovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. ALBERTO VININA BELLUNERO, 4to, Venetia 1672. Though the wars of Poland may not seem relating to travels, this work is inserted, as giving a good account of the Poles, Tartars, and Cossacks, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of Muscovy and Sweden, where the author travelled, and made his excellent observations.

Il viaggio all' Indie orientali, del P. F. VINCENZO MARIA di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. Roma 1673. A voyage to the East Indies, performed by *F. Vincent Maria* of *S. Catherine* of Siena, procurator-general of the barefoot Carmelites, and sent to India by the way of Turkey

and Persia by the pope; together with *F. Joseph* of S. Mary, who writ also an account of his Italian travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the *first* Writers. and *last*, is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The *second* treats of the affairs of the Malabar Christians. The *third* and *fourth* of all the nations of India, their manners, customs, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is so faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in those parts, that scarce any other can equal it.

Istorica descrizione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, et Angola, et delle missioni apostoliche essercitate da religiosi Capuccini, compilata dal P. GIO. ANTONIO CAVAZZI, et nel presente stile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamandini. fol. Bologna 1687. An historical description of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and Angola; the authors were Capuchin missionaries, who compiled it by order of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, and have given a most accurate description of those countries, and all things of note in them; as also of the Missions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relazione della città d'Atene, colle provincie dell'Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queste passaggiate da CORNELIO MAGNI l'anno 1674, 4to. Parma 1688. An account of Athens, and the provinces of Attica, Focia, Beotia, and Negropont, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of; and for further satisfaction conferred with Mr. Spon, who had travelled the same parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of Syria, Chaldea, and Mesopotamia, and principally enlarges himself upon the city of Athens, the condition whereof he describes more fully than any other has done.

Relazione e viaggio della Moscovia del signor cavaliere D. ERCOLE ZANI, Bolognese, 12mo, Bologna 1690. This voyage to Muscovy is writ by a most judicious person, who had spent a great part of his life in travelling, and deserves to be highly valued, as coming from such an hand; and the more, because we have but very imperfect accounts of that country.

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. JERONIMO DANDINA, 12mo. He performed this voyage to mount Libanus by order of pope Clement VIII. to inquire into the faith of the Maronite Christians; he describes the country, gives an account of the people's doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, bishops, priests, and religious men. A work very curious and useful. It is translated into French, and the translator has added many useful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Constantinopoli, et da GIO. BENAGLIA, 12mo. Bologna 1664. This is an account of Count Caprara's embassy to the great Turk, the author being his secretary; and has many good remarks of that court, and of the Turkish army, taken by him upon the spot, and therefore well worth the observation of the curious (*Biblioth. Univ.* vol. XV. p. 75.)

FRENCH.

*Relations de divers voyages curieux par M. MELCHISEDEC * THEVENOT.* There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a Collection of curious Travels in two volumes folio.—The *first* contains *Greaves's* description of the Pyramids of Egypt, and *Burattini's* account of the Mummies. An account of the Colicks, another of the Tartars, another of *Mingrelia*, and another of

* Melchisedec Thevenot possessed an ardent desire for travelling from a child, and at an early age his favourite propensity was in part gratified. The care of the king's library was afterwards intrusted to his diligent research. He died in 1692. EDIT.

Georgia.

French
Writers.

Georgia.—*Jenkinson's* voyage to Cathay.—An extract of the Dutch embassy to the Tartar. A relation of the conquest of the island *Formosa* by the Chinese; another of the court of, the Mogol.—*Sir Thomas Roe's* and *Terry's* voyage to the Mogol.—A Greek description of the East Indies.—The Arabic geography of *Abulfeda*.—The antiquities of *Persopolis*.—The beginning of a book of the Chaldeans of *Basfara*.—Relations of the kingdoms of *Golconda*, *Tanassari*, and *Aracan*, of the gulph of *Bengala* and of *Siam*.—*Bontekou's* voyages to India.—The discovery of *Terra Australis*.—The sailing course to India.—Instructions upon the trade of India to Japan.—*Beaulieu's* voyage to the West Indies.—Accounts of the Philippine islands, of Japan, of the discovery of the land of *Yedso*.—A description of the plants and flowers of China.—Ancient monuments of Christian religion in China.—The second Volume; the Dutch embassy to China; the Chinese Atlas.—The state of India.—The portraiture of the Indians. *Acarete's* voyage on the river Plate, and thence to Peru and Chile.—Journey by land to China. The second book of *Confucius* the Chinese philosopher.—The history of Ethiopia, and of some countries about it.—Travels to the province of *Zaide* in Egypt.—The history of Mexico in figures explained.—*Tasman's* voyage to *Terra Australis*.—Instructions for the navigation from Holland to *Batavia*.—Two embassies to the emperor of Cathay.—A chronological synopsis of the Chinese monarchy.—*Barros's* Asia, or conquest of India.—An account of the Christians of *St. John*.—A voyage to *Tercera*.—The elements of the Tartar language.—A fragment concerning the isles of Solomon; another of the history of some eastern princes.

Thevenot has also composed one volume in 8vo, in which is an Embassy from the Czar of *Moscovy* to China by land.—The discovery of some countries in North America, and of the great river *Mississippi*.—A discourse of navigation.—The natural histories of the *Ephemera*, or fly that lives but a day, and the *Cancellus*.

Les six voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes. These travels are printed in several sorts of volumes in French, according to the several editions, and have been translated into English. He is a faithful writer, and deserves full credit in what he delivers upon his own sight and knowledge; but in some relations taken from others, he was imposed upon, being a person of integrity, and not suspecting others would give a false information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great; having taken several ways in his six journeys. But above all, he gives the best description of the diamonds, mines, and rivers where they are found, and manner of finding them; having been upon the spot, as being a great dealer in those precious stones.

*Recueil de plusieurs relations et traites singuliers et curieux de Jean Baptiste * Tavernier, divise en cinq parties, 4to.* This is an addition to his voyages; in which he treats of the Dutch practices to exclude all Christians from Japan, negotiations of French deputies in Persia and India, remarks on the trade of India, an account of the kingdom of *Tunquin*, and the history of the proceedings of the Dutch in Asia.

Relation nouvelle de la CAROLINE, par un gentilhomme François, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau pais, ou il parle de la route qu'il faut tenir pour y aller le plus surement, et de l'etat ou il a

* *Jean Baptiste Tavernier* was born at Paris in 1635, where his father conducted the business of a geographer. Such was his love of travelling, that before he had reached his twenty-second year, he had visited almost every part of his own country, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Hungary, and Italy. During the space of forty years he made six voyages into Turkey, Persia, and the Indies. The two first volumes of his *Voyages* in 4to, were written from his notes by *Samuel Chappuzeau*, and the third by *Chopelle*, secretary to the first president *De Lamoignon*. He died in 1689. EDIT.

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trouve cette nouvelle contrée. *A la Haye* 1686, 12mo. This is a modern account of Florida, French its estate in the year 1684, and the best way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as Florida is one of those American countries we have not the best account of, this is a considerable light into it.

Relation du Voyage de monsieur l'ÉVÊQUE DE BERYTE par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes jusqu'au Royaume de Siam, et autres lieux, écrit par monsieur de Bourges, Prestre, 8vo. An account of the bishop of Berytus's journey by land through Turkey, Persia, and India, into China, by a priest that went with him; very curious in the description of those countries and manners of the people, with instructions for travellers to those parts (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 591.)

L'Embassade de D. GARCIA DE SILVA FIGUERRA. This is a translation out of Spanish, and the account of the book is among the Spanish under the title, *Embaxada*, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertised that he may see more concerning this translation in *Journ. des Scav.* (vol. I. p. 205.)

Les voyages de monsieur de MONCONYS. Monsieur Monconys's travels in three volumes, 4to. The first through Portugal, Italy, Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. The second into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy. The third into Spain. Besides the general account of those countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary observations and secrets in physic and chemistry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the press, it is in some measure imperfect, and has many particulars of no use to any but himself; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 339, and 424.)

Description des costes de l'Amérique septentrional, avec l'histoire de ce pays, par monsieur DENYS, 2 vol. 12mo. The first volume is a description of the northern coasts of America and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by several stories related. The second is the natural history, very curious and learned (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. III. p. 141.)

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais, et les établissements de plusieurs nations, &c. 12mo. This author set out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for several observations not easily to be found in others; but most for his account of the settlements of European nations, yet all short.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypte, par le P. VANSLEB en 1672, et 1673, 12mo. The author to what he saw himself, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to Egypt.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, aux années 1675, et 1676, par JACOB SPON, 12mo. 3 vols. This work, besides the general observations of travellers, is singular for its curiosity in the search of antiquities (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VI. p. 128, and 185.)

Voyage de FRANÇOIS PIRARD DE LA VAL aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, et au Brésil, &c. 4to. This is one of the exactest pieces of travels, and the most diverting hitherto made public. M. Pirard the traveller furnished the materials, which were digested, and methodised by several very able men in France. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and yet he has some curiosities which others have not touched upon (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VII. p. 85.)

AMBASSADE de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, An. 1641, fol. It is a perfect account of all that happened to the said ambassadors, and full description of the country, towns, cities, &c. with variety of cuts (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 130. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 499.)

French
Writers.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Constantinople, présentée au roy par le SIEUR GAELOT, An. 1680, in 4to. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the spot (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 296.)

Relation des missions et des voyages des Eveques vicaires apostoliques, et de leurs ecclesiastiques en années 1676, et 1677, in 8vo. This is a relation of what those preachers observed in their travels in Asia.

Les voyages de JEAN STRUYS en Moscovie, &c. in 4to. In these travels through Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, India, the isle of Madagascar, and other places, being a vast extent of ground, and to be travelled many several ways, there are abundance of notable observations, not to be found in other books of this sort; the whole very instructive and diverting (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. IX. p. 260.)

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des Peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fen et de Maroc, en l'an 1681, 12mo. Besides what these fathers did, as the peculiar business of their religious profession, this book contains many curiosities relating to the king of Morocco, and the customs of the country (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. X. p. 354.)

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduit par M. GOMBERVILLE, sur l'original Espagnol du P. d'Acuña jesuite. This is a relation of the said father's voyage down this vast river; to which the translator has added a dissertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of Manoa, Dorado, and the lake of Parima (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XI. p. 107.)

Relation du voyages de Venise a Constantinople de JACQUES GASSOT, 12mo. This author, though he writ above an hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious observations not to be found in later travellers (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XII. p. 139.)

Relation du voyage des Indes orientales, par M. DELLON, two volumes 12mo. The author affirms, he has inserted nothing but what he saw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors: but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coast of Malabar; and concludes with a treatise of diseases in those parts, and their cures (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 121.)

Histoire de la conquête de la Floride par les Espagnols, traduit du Portugais, 12mo. This is a very exact account of that country, and all that happened in the conquest of it, writ by a Portuguese gentleman, who served in that war, and was an eye-witness of all that passed (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 394.)

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, auxquels on a joint une nouvelle decouverte au Mexique, 12mo. It treats of two journeys the emperor of China made into the eastern and the western Tartary. The other part shews the settlement made by the Spaniards in the island of California, An. 1683 (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 446.)

Relation de l'embassade de Mr. LE CHEVALIER DE CHAUMONT a la cour du roy de Siam, 12mo. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an ambassador; and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often descending to things of less moment, worth the general observation; as the description of the country, customs and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 396. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. III. p. 521.)

Journal du voyage du CHEVALIER CHARDIN en Perse, et aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, et par la Colchide, fol. Though so many travellers as have visited those parts before, seem to have left nothing new to write of; yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be seen in any other, and remarks no where else to be found, and particularly the exposition of several passages in scripture, which the author makes out by customs preserved in the east

east from the time of Moses till our day (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 535. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. III. p. 520.)

French
Writers.

AMBASADES de la compagnie Hollandoise d'orient vers l'empereur du Japon, 2 vol. 12mo. It is an abridgement of a volume in folio, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the first is the description of Japan; the second an account of the embassy there; and the third of five other embassies. To which is added, a relation of the civil wars in Japan (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XV. p. 139.)

Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monsieur l'ABBE DE CHOISI, 4to. It is composed of several letters writ by this gentleman, who was sent by the king of France with the character of ambassador in case the king of Siam had embraced Christianity, as was hoped; and does not only inform us as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as Tonquin and Cochinchina, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 301.)

Histoire des Indes orientales, 4to. It is divided into two parts. The first treats of the voyage to, and observations at Cape Verde, of the isle of Madagascar, and several passages which happened in Argier and Constantinople; the second of two voyages into India (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 436. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. II. p. 307.)

Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de SIAM, 4to. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the situation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and customs of the people. 3. Their religion; and, 4. Of the king and court. Monsieur GERVAISE the author of it resided there four years, understood the language perfectly, read their books, and conversed with the most intelligent persons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made public (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 612.)

Relation nouvelle et exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12mo. Contains an exact description of all the places where the principal passages of our Saviour's passion happened; and many other things well worth observing, being very short, and yet full enough (*Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XVI. p. 204. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. III. p. 417.)

Voyage en Moscovie d'un ambassadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12mo. An. 1661. He describes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government, and religion of the people (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 232.)

Description historique du royaume de Macasar, 12mo. It is divided into three books, the first the description of the country, the second the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 532. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. V. p. 324.)

Relation de la Nigritie, 12mo. It contains an exact description of the kingdoms of the Blacks, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country; with the discovery of river Senegal, and a map of it; by four FRANCISCAN FRIARS, who went thither upon the mission in the year 1689, from France (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 311.)

Voyage du PERE TACHARD et des JESUITES envoyez par la roy, au royaume de Siam, An. 1685, 4to. This is an historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The first book is mostly astronomical observations in the

* François Timoléon de Choisy, was prior of S. Lo, Grand-doyen of the cathedral of Bayeux, and one of the forty of the Academie Française. He was born at Paris in 1644: in 1685 he was sent ambassador to the king of Siam; and died at Paris in 1724.

French
Writers.

voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; the second, a relation of the Table-mountain, and many other things about the aforesaid cape; the third, passages at Batavia and Macassar; the fourth, of affairs of Siam, and others; the fifth continues the same matter; the sixth, much natural history, concluding with the king of Siam's letters to the pope, king of France, and *F. le Chaise*; the seventh, the father's return home; and the eighth, from thence to Rome (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 415. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 472.)

Second voyage du PIERRE TACHARD et des JESUITES envoyés par le roy, au royaume de Siam, 1689, 8vo. This father returned from his first voyage to carry more missionaries; and this second voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical remarks, besides abundance of other observations and curiosities omitted in the first voyage (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIV. p. 445.)

Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon, par Mr. l'Abbé de T. 2 vol. 4to. It was writ by F. SOLIER, a Jesuit, and published by l'Abbé, who refined the language. This, though an ecclesiastical history, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being composed by those fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It is an excellent work, in twenty books (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 486.)

Journal du voyage fait à la Mer du Sud avec les Flibustiers de l'Amerique, en 1684, et années suivantes, par le SIEUR RAVENEAU DE LUSSE, 12mo. It is a buccaneering expedition, containing very much of robbery, with an account of the Isthmus of America, and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 721.)

Histoire de monsieur Constance premier ministre du roy de SIAM, et de la dernière révolution de cet estat. Par le P. d'ORLEANS, 12mo. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in Siam, where he attained to be first minister to that great monarch in the year 1685; and those that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the persecution that ensued against the Christians (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVIII. p. 373.)

Du royaume de SIAM. Par Mr. DE LA LOUBERE, envoyé extraordinaire du roy, auprès du roy de Siam, en 1687, et 1688, 2 vol. 12mo. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The first volume divided into three parts; the first geographical, the second of customs in general, and the third of manners in particular. The second volume begins with strange fables and superstitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary, curious, and remarkable (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 256, et 269.)

Relation du voyage d'Espagne, 3 vol. 12mo. Treats of the country in general, of the situation of its towns, of public and private structures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, &c. of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquisition: with many pleasant adventures, in which there is much of the romantic (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 364.) It is writ by the Countess d'Aunoi, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie. Par le P. CHRETIEN LE CLERCQ. 12mo. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the savages called *Gaspésians*, carrying crosses, and worshipping the sun; and other nations of Canada in North America. It was taken in twelve years, the author residing there as missionary, beginning An. 1675 (*Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 395. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIII. p. 86.)

Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le P. LE CLERCQ. missionnaire, 2 vol. 12mo. It is the complete history of Canada, or New France, from the first discovery of it till this time; containing the discoveries, settling of colonies, conquests, and all other passages from

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from those northern parts down to the gulph of Mexico; with the battles with the English French and Iroquois, *An. 1690 (Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 131.)*

Voyages en divers états d'Europe, et d'Asie, pour découvrir un nouveau Chemin à la Chine, 4^o. These travels were writ and performed by F. AVRIL, a Jesuit, who spent five years traversing Turkey, Persia, Muscovy, Poland, Prussia, Moldavia, and Tartary, and embarked in several seas to find out this way to China, to avoid the tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope and India. The relation is physical, geographical, hydrographical, and historical (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 187.*)

*Les aventures de JACQUES * SADEUR dans la decouverte, et le voyage de la Terre Australe, 12mo.* This is a very extraordinary account of *Terra Australis incognita*, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being cast upon that country after the loss of the ship he was in, and living thirty years among those savages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, studies, wars; of the birds and beasts, and other rarities (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 256.*)

Voyages historiques de l'Europe, 8 vol. 12mo. The first of these volumes treats only of France; the second of Spain and Portugal; the third of Italy; the fourth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the fifth of the Seven United Provinces; the sixth of the empire; the seventh of Muscovy; the eighth of Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. These volumes are travels into the most considerable parts of Europe, and contain abundance of singularities not observed by other travellers and writers (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXI. p. 93. 95. 276.*)

Relation du voyage, et retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691, par UN GARDE DE LA MARINE servant sur le bord de M. DUQUESNE commandant de l'Escaadre, 12mo. It has many curious observations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the Squadron touched at (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXI. p. 177.*)

Les voyages du SIEUR LE MAIRE aux isles Canaries, Cap Verde, Senegal et Gambie, 12mo. In this are many particulars of those African countries, little known, and scarce to be found in other travellers (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXIII. p. 364.*)

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1688, par le R. P. GABRIEL DE MAGAILLANS, de la Compagnie de Jesus, 8vo. This was originally writ in Portuguese, and ought to have been among the travels in that language, had we any number of them. It was thought worth translating into French first, and from that into English, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful account (*Hist. des ouvrages des Scav. vol. II. p. 203.*)

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne et moderne, par le SIEUR DE LA CROIX, 12mo. 4 vols. Besides the chronology and geography, it has the customs, manners, religion, trade, plants, and other particulars of the continent and islands; and what the king of France has done against the Barbary Corsairs, (*An. 1688, A Lyon.*)

Le Bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques et chretiens, &c. Avec une relation de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, et la Barbarie. Par le R. R. JEAN COPPIN, 4to. This father was first a soldier, then consul for the French nation at Damietta in Egypt, and

* Jacques Sadeur, his real name was Gabriel Feigni, a Cordelier: his voyage was first published in 1676. This work has lately lost considerably in point of credit. Feigni died at a convent in Savoy during the year 1692.

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lastly, a Religious man. The design of his work is to stir up Christian princes to make war on the Turk; and accordingly his first, and second books, are taken up in shewing of how great consequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the causes of the rise and decay of the Ottoman empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; first in Egypt, where he has many curious observations not to be found in other travellers, but more particularly, in that he took the pains to travel the great desert of Thebaida, where few besides him have been in these latter times; and this is the subject of his third and fourth books. The fifth treats of Barbary, Phœnicia, and the Holy Land; and the work concludes with an exact description of the city Damietta, where he resided some years. His relation is faithful, and deserves all credit, especially in those things he delivers as an eye-witness. It was published at Paris in the year 1686 (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. V. p. 103.)

Journal, ou suite du voyage de SIAM, en forme de lettres familières, fait en 1685, et 1686, par monsieur l'ABBE DE CHOISI, 8vo. It is the third account of the French ambassadors sent to Siam; monsieur de Chaumont and P. Taehard, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that Voyage, has all the sea-terms, much of the same as F. Taehard, and several other remarks. He treats of the war at Bantam, of the island of Java, of Batavia, the power of the Dutch in India, of Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c. (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. VI. p. 274.)

Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de SIAM, par monsieur GERVASE, 1688, 4to. The author lived four years at the court of Siam, and ascribes nothing but what he saw, or found in the best books of that country, as also by discourse with the best people there. He says little or nothing of what has been mentioned by other travellers to Siam; and adds much, which they, as being only passengers, could not observe. The work is divided into four parts: the first contains the description of the country; the second the laws, customs, manners, and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth speaks of the king, royal family, and court (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. X. p. 516.)

Relation nouvelle et exacte d'un voyage de la TERRE SAINTE, ou description de l'état présent des lieux, où se sont passées les principales actions de la vie de Jeshu Christ. Paris 1688, 8vo. This is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and therefore writ in a religious stile, and contains the account of all the holy places in Palestine, and a description of Malta; and is a good guide for such as desire to travel into those parts.

Voyages de M. de THEVENOT en Asie et en Afrique. Paris 1689, 3 vols. 12mo. It is to be observed, that whereas before mention is made of Thevenot's travels, that is a collection of other men as appears there; but these are M. Thevenot's own travels, divided into three parts: the first, of the eastern countries under the Turk; the second, continues other eastern parts, proceeding towards Persia; and the third, the East Indies. It is one of the most curious and exact works of this nature hitherto published, and well deserving to be read by all that are curious of travels (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIII. p. 246.)

Voyages d'Amerique, histoire des aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes, &c. Par ALEXANDER OLIVIER OEXMELIN. Paris 1688, 2 vols. 12mo. This was a surgeon sent over in the service of the French West India company, and sold in America, where he lived several years. The author of the *Biblioth. Univers.* gives a great character of this work; and says, no man has yet given so good an account of the manner of living in those parts, besides very good descriptions, and all that is requisite in such a work; of which see more in the said *Biblioth. Univers.* (vol. XVIII. p. 129.)

Nouveau

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688, avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles a ceux qui voudront faire le meme voyage. A la Haye, 1691, 2 vols. 12mo. Par monsieur MISSION. This author gives a general account of all things observable in Italy, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in Holland, of which he gives a short account; then crossing Germany and Tirol, he runs down Italy by the Adriatic shore, and returns on the other side through Tuscany, Genoa, Piedmont, Switzerland.

Voyage en divers etats d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin a la Chine. Par LE P. AVRIL. Paris 1693, 12mo. The first book contains the author's travels from Mar-seilles to Erivan in Persia; the second from Erivan to Moscow; in the third he gives an account of Tartary, but it was such as he received from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to Poland, thence to Constantinople, and thence for want of health to France (*Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIV. p. 303.)

Histoire de la revolution de l'Empire du Mogul, par monsieur F. BERNIER, 8vo. This history of the revolution of the Empire of the Mogul, contains the whole account of *Aureng Zeb* de-throning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the description of *Agra* and *Delhi*, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, customs, &c. of the Indians, the Mogul's journey to Cachemire, and other curious observations made by the author in his travels in that country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie, par le sieur ROLAND FREJUS, 8vo. The author of this voyage into Mauritania was sent by the king of France's order in the year 1666, to settle trade in the kingdom of Fes, and gives a very just, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of monsieur *Charant*, who lived twenty-five years in Suez and Morocco, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of those people.

Voyages en Asie, Afrique, et l'Amerique. Par monsieur JEAN MOCQUET, 8vo. (See this among the English.)

Voyage par monsieur du QUERRE aux Indes en 1691, et 1692, &c. (See more of this among the English, 8vo.)

Voyages historiques et curieux en Allemagne, Boheme, Suisse, Holland, &c. de monsieur CHARLES PATIN, 8vo. (See this among the English.)

Voyage aux Indes, de DILLON, 2 vol. 12mo.

Histoire de la Chine sous la domination des Tartares; par le P. GRESLON de la Comp. de Jesus, 8vo. Paris 1672. We have here a succinct history of China from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a missionary resident there many years; his principal subject is the astronomy of China, which gained the first admission to the missionaries; of which, and all its parts, and how used and practised there, he treats very ingeniously and learnedly (*Giorn. de Letter.*)

Voyage du Levant; par monsieur de LOIR, 12mo. A voyage to the Levant in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the islands of the Archipelago; Ephesus, Smyrna, Constantinople, Scutari, Negropont, Greece, the Morea, and all the coasts to Venice; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have said of them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no less learned than curious (*Giorn. de Letter. An. 1673.*)

Voyage d'Angleterre, par monsieur SORBIERE, 12mo. This account of England is not methodical, but contains some observations worth reading.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne et moderne, par le sieur de la CROIX, 4 vols. 12mo. Lyon 1688. This is the fullest, and most perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world.

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world being a judicious and laborious collection of all the best that has been writ on the subject (*Giorn. de Letter. An. 1629.*)

Histoire de l'isle de Ceylon, par le capitain JEAN RIBEYRO, traduite du Portugais en François, 12mo Paris 1701. This short history of Ceylon, though writ originally in Portuguese, and published in the year 1685, is here inserted in the French translation, because the translator Mr. Le Grand has added to it several chapters, collected from the best authors that have writ of that island. It is divided into three books: the first is the description of the island, its government, religion, product, &c. the second treats of the wars there between the Portugueses, the natives, and the Dutch; and the third, of the errors the Portugueses committed in their conquest of India; and the power of the Dutch in those parts (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXIX. p. 389.*)

Nouveaux memoires sur l'estat present de la Chine, par le P. LOUIS LE COMTE, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris 1696. F. Le Comte's memoirs of China have appeared in English; they have abundance of very remarkable passages and singular curiosities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be said of them (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXV. p. 58.*)

Dernieres decouvertes dans l'Amerique septentrionale de monsieur DU LA SALLE, mises au jour par monsieur le CHEVALIER TONTU, gouverneur du fort S. Louis aux Illinois, 12mo. Paris 1697. This is an account of a vast discovery in North America, being the whole length of the river Mississippi, from the French plantations in Canada down to the gulph of Mexico to the southward; and from the same plantation to the source of the said river northwards (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXV. p. 311.*)

Relation d'un voyage fait en 1696, et 1697, aux costes de l'Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, et isles Antilles, par le sieur FROGER. This is a relation of an expedition of six French ships, fitted out during the war with Spain in those years; it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all forts (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 164.*)

Memoires du Chevalier BEAUJEU, contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, et en Hongrie, 12mo. Paris 1679. The author of these memoirs having travelled in Poland, Germany, and Hungary, undertakes to rectify many mistakes in the maps as to distances of places; he gives a particular account of these countries, and most especially of Poland, and all things relating to it (*Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 284.*)

Relation du voyage du SIEUR DE MONTAUBAN capitain des Elibustiers en Guinée, dans l'année 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ship; but so that the captain escaped, and got ashore on the coast of Afric, of which he gives some account; thence he got over to Barbadoes, and thence into France.

Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie, contenant l'estat de cet empire, 12mo. Paris 1698. This account of Muscovy is composed by Mr. DE NEUVILLE, envoy from the king of Poland to the Czar, who during his residence there collected the best account of a way through Muscovy and Tartary to China, as convenient as any for travellers in Europe, which he says he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the Czar at the request of the Dutch has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du Voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait et passe par l'escadre de sa majesté, envoyée sous le commandement de M. de la HAYE, 12mo. Orleans 1697. This is a voyage of a French fleet to the Indies in the year 1670; it describes Goa, and gives some account of those coasts of taking the city of S. Thomas or Meliapor, and the losing it again to the Dutch and infidels, with the return of the French.

Voyage

Voyage d'Italie et de Grèce, avec une dissertation sur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12mo. French Paris 1698. This author set out from France in the year 1691, and gives such a description of the countries he passed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflection upon the extravagant humours of men, whose behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleasant and diverting than solid (*Journ. des Sav.* vol. XXVI. p. 535.)

SPANISH.

Historia del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embajada que RUY GONZALES DE CLAVIJO le hizo por mandado del senor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Castilla. Sevil 1582, fol. This is the first Spanish book of travels, at least of any reputation, now extant, and is of no less than 300 years antiquity; for though the book was published as above, the embassy was in the year 1403, in which the author spent three years, saw a considerable part of Asia, following *Tamerlan's* camp, and besides what he saw during those years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: it is a book rare and of great value.

Comentarios do grande ALPHONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE capitao general da India, collegidos por seu filho das proprias cartas, que elle escrivio ao rey D. Manuel. Lisboa 1576, folio. This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the first Portuguese conquerors of the East Indies; and a particular encomium of it is given by *Antonio Ferreira* in his poems.

Naufragios d'ALVAR NUNEZ Cabeza de Vaca, y—

Comentarios d'ALVAR NUNEZ Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Plata. Valladolid 1555, 4to. The first was writ by *Alvar Nunez* himself, wherein he gives an account of his shipwreck, and unparalleled sufferings in Florida. The second was composed by his order by *Pedro Fernandez* his secretary, and is an account of the province of the river of Plate, where he was governor: both curious and scarce.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Catayo, o Reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by *F. ANTHONIO D'ANDRADA*, a Jesuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the most remote eastern countries.

Verdadera description de la Tierra Santa como estava el anno de 1530. Alcalá 1531, 8vo. It is an exact account of the Holy Land at that time, writ by *F. ANTHONIO D'ARANDA*, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654, 4to. The description of the Holy Land in a pious style, for the help of pilgrims, by *F. ANTONIO DEL CASTILLO*, a Franciscan; who was superior of the monastery at Bethlehem.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los Padres de la compania de Jesus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1630 y 1631. Valladolid, 4to. An account of the travels and actions of the Jesuits in India and Japan, by *F. ANTONIO COLLACO*.

Jornada do Arcebispo da Goa D. F. Aleino de Meneses, &c. as serras de Malabar, et lugares em que moram os antigos Chrystaos de S. Thome. Coimbra 1606, fol. It was writ by *F. ANTONIO DA GOUVEA* of the order of S. Augustin, who treats very curiously of the inland parts of Malabar, and Christians of S. Thomas there.

Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las yslas, y Tierra Firme del mar oceano, escrita por ANTONIO DE HERRERA. Madrid 1615, 4 vols. folio. A most excellent and complete history of the Discovery and Conquest of America by the Spaniards, not omitting to mention the discoveries made at the same time by other nations. It reaches from *Columbus's*

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first discovery *an.* 1492, till 1554, divided into four volumes, and those into eight decads, with a very just description of that vast continent.

Historia general de la India oriental, los descubrimientos y conquista que han hecho los armos de Portugal en el Brasil, &c. hasta el año de 1562. Valladolid 1603, folio. This though ancient, is the fullest account there was till that time of the actions of the Portugueses in the East Indies and Brasil, writ by F. ANTONIO DE S. ROMAN of the order of S. Benedict.

Historia de la conquista espiritual de la provincia del Paraguay. Madrid 1639, 4to. It is an account of the progress of the Preaching Jesuits in that province, and written by one of them, who was rector of some colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra ano 1520. Coimbra 1565, 16mo. A journal of ANTONIO TENREIRO's travels from India by land into Portugal. It was more rare in those days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viaje desde Manila a la China. This voyage was performed by F. AUGUSTIN DE TORDESILLAS, a Franciscan, but published by *John Gonzales de Mendoza, an.* 1585, being a voyage from the Philippine islands to China; which I have not seen, nor met with any further account of it.

Historia del descubrimiento, y conquista del Peru, de AUGUSTIN DE ZARATE. Sevilla 1577, 8vo. The author was an examiner or controller of accounts in the king's household, and sent over to Peru to enquire into the king's revenue, during the rebellion in those parts; where he gathered materials for his history, which has always been in good esteem where known, as appears by its having been twice translated into Italian.

Historia da Ethiopia alta, de P. BALTASAR TELLEZ, folio. He was a Portugese Jesuit, who collected this history of Ethiopia from the writings of the Jesuits, who resided there. He is highly commended by D. *Francisco Manoel* in his epistles and his history, and no less by *Georgius Cordofus* in *Agiologio*.

Conquista de las islas Molucas, de BARTOLOME LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA. Madrid 1609, fol. This author was historiographer of the kingdom of Arragon, and the most accomplished master of the Spanish tongue in his time: so that his history is not only valuable for his excellent account of the Molucco islands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone most men.

Manual y relacion de las cosas del Peru, de F. BERNARDINO DE CARDENAS. Madrid 1634, 4to. The author was a native of Peru, and bishop of Paraguay; so that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577, 8vo. It is a short but ingenious treatise of the eastern Voyages, and some affairs of China.

Historia de Yucatan, de BERNARDO DE LIZANA. The author was a missionary in the province of Yucatan, whose history he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Historia de las cosas antiguas que los Indios usavan en su infidelidad, por F. BERNARDINO DE SANAGUN. This history treats of the idolatry, rites, and ceremonies of the Indians, and of their government, laws, and politics. The same author also writ *La Conquista*, or the Conquest of Mexico.

Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana, por BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, fol. The author of this history of the conquest of Mexico, served in it under *Cortes*, from the beginning till the last; and therefore speaks as an eye-witness, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be present at from those that were. He says he finished his work in the year 1568, but it was not published till some years after.

Relacion de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angeles de BERNARDO DE LA VEGA. Mexi- Spanish
co 1601, 8vo. This is only a collection of rarities in those parts, as the title imports. The Writers.
author was canon of the church of Tucuman in South America.

Sitio naturaleza y propiedades de Mexico, de DIEGO DE CISNEROS, 1618. The author was
physician to the Marquis de Guadalcacer viceroy of Peru, and gives a very good account of
that place.

Decadas da Asia, de JOAO DE BARROS. He finished three decades, in as many volumes, of
the history of India; of which the learned *Nicholaus Antonius*, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*, (pag.
498,) says it is a most complete work, which will last for ever to the honour of the com-
piler. His fourth volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finished by *John Baptist*
Lafanba, historiographer to K. Philip II. But after that, *James de Couto* undertook to con-
tinue the history from the third decade, where *Barros* ended, and writ nine more; so that
the whole work consists of twelve decades, but of these only seven have been printed at Lisbon.

Relaciones del Pegu, de DUARTE FERNANDEZ. Of this relation I find no further ac-
count.

Relacion de la provincia de Tucuman, de FERNANDO DE QUINTANA. This relation is of good
authority, and the author was one of the first that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las islas Philipinas, de FERNANDO de los rios Coronel. The author was
a priest in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the Philippine, but
of the Molucco islands; representing at the same time what faults there are in the government
of those parts to be redressed.

Verdadeira informacao do Preste Joao das Indias de FRANCISCO ALVAREZ. Lisboa 1540,
folio. The author, a man of great probity, was sent by king *Emanuel* of Portugal into Ethi-
opia, with his ambassador *Edward Galvao*, and resided there six years, returning thence in the
year 1533; and during his stay there had time to collect this historical account, in which he
gives a description of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the
stay of the Portuguese.

Relacao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. do P. FRANCISCO CORDIM.
The author was a Portuguese Jesuit, who had been in those parts; and his work was so well
approved of, that it was thought worthy to be translated into French, and printed at Paris
1645.

Historia general de las Indias de FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. This author wrote in a
commendable stile; but his history is of no credit, being full of false relations, as is made out
by all other authors that write of those parts, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the things
he misrepresents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquista del Peru, por FRANCISCO DE XERES. Salamanca 1547, fol. The author was se-
cretary to *Francis Pizarro* the great discoverer and conqueror of Peru; and wrote this account
of the conquest of that vast kingdom, as an eye-witness, which he presented to the emperor
Charles the fifth.

Commentarios de los reyes Incas del Peru. Lisboa 1609. Folio.

Historia general del Peru, 1617. Fol.

Historia de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695, 4to.
These three by GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, who calls himself *Inca*, as being the son of a Spa-
niard, who was one of the conquerors of the kingdom of Peru, by an Indian woman of the
imperial race of the *Incas*, from whom he took that name. The history of the ancient *Incas*
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he received from the natives, that of the actions of the Spaniards from his father and others, who had a share in them.

Trafado em que se contam muitopor estenfo as causas da China, e assi do regno de Ormuz, pelo P. GASPARD CRUZ. Ehora 1569, 4to. The author, a Dominican friar, travelled as a missionary in India, Persia, and China, where he made his observations; and dedicated his work to king *Sebastian* of Portugal: several authors of note make mention of him.

Historia general de las Indias. Salamanca 1547, fol.

Historia del Estrecho de Magallones, 1552. fol.

Navigacion del Rio Marañon. These three by GONZALO FERNANDES D'OVIEDO, who after many honourable employments in Spain, was sent governor of the city of *Santo Domingo* in Hispaniola, where he resided ten years; and compiled his history of the Indies mentioned in the first place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume above mentioned; to which is added one call'd, *Of shipwrecks*. The rest have not appeared, unless we allow his history of the Straits of Magellan, the second here spoke of, to be his twentieth book, which is published by itself. His account of the river *Marañon* is in the third volume of *Ramuseo's* travels.

Tratado de la Conquista de las islas de Persia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diversas gentes, y estranas y grandes batallas que vio, por JUAN ANGIER. Salamanca 1512, 4to. The author, of whom we have no further account, assures he saw all he writes; which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that it treats of the conquest of the islands on the coasts of Arabia and Persia, and of several nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Historia de las Cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran regno de la China. Madrid 1586, 8vo. This history of the most remarkable things, and the customs and manners of China, was writ by F. JUAN GONZALES DE MENDOZA, of the order of St. Augustin; who in the year 1580 was sent into China by K. *Philip* the second of Spain, where he gathered the materials of his history, and compos'd it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de D. JUAN DE PALAFOX Y MENDOZA, obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles, 4to. This is a treatise writ in defence of the Indians by the good bishop, and gives an account of their disposition and manners, in opposition to those that represented them as brutal, and scarce endued with reason. This, though it seems not a book of travels, being the manners and customs of strange nations, and by a traveller to those parts, very well deserves admittance among them.

Ethiopia Oriental, e varia historia de cousas notaveis do oriente, do P. F. JOAO DOS SANTOS. Ehora 1609, fol. It treats of the eastern parts of Afric, where the author, who was a Dominican, resided eleven years as a missionary, making his collections on the spot, which he after methodised in his own country.

Historia natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. JOSEPH D'ACOSTA. Madrid 1610, 4to. This history is so well known and generally esteemed, that little needs be said of it; the universal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the History Natural and Moral of the West Indies.

Descripcion del nuevo orbe, y de los naturales del, por el P. F. LUIS JERONYMO DE ORE. Lima 1598, fol. The author was an American by birth, a great traveller in those parts, an able scholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which rendered him capable to write well upon this subject.

Description

Description general de Africa, por LUIS DEL * MARMOL CARAVAJAL. 3 vols. folio. This Spanish is the fullest account extant of Afric, generally esteemed in all parts, and has been translated into French. The author being a slave at Morocco, there read and heard those accounts he afterwards published, of the interior parts of Afric which remain inaccessible to Christians. *Thuanus*, and *Ambrosius Morales*, in their histories commend this work.

Historia de Ethiopia, y

Historia de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por F. LUIS D'URRETA. 2 vols. 4to. Both these generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by F. *Nicholas Godinbo* in his book *de Abyssinorum rebus*.

Historia de las islas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. MORCELLO DE RIBADENEIRA, Barcelona 1601, 4to. This history of those eastern counties was collected there by the author, who travelled the greatest part of them as a missionary.

Relacion del Nombre, Sitio, Plantas, &c. de regno de Sardenha, por el Dr. MARTIN CAMILLO. Barcelona 1612, 4to. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being sent by King Philip of Spain into Sardinia, to inspect all the courts there, travelled over the whole island of Sardinia, and took that opportunity to write this learned Treatise of its name, situation, plants, conquest, conversion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Gobierno de los Quixos en Indias, 1608, 4to. An account of the province called *Los Quixos* in South America, writ by D. PEDRO DE CASTRO Eorle of Lemos. What more to say of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philipinas, por el P. PEDRO CHIRINO. Roma 1604, 4to. The author of this account of the Philippine islands, spent the greatest part of his life, and ended his days there, so that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it consists of the actions of the Jesuits in those parts, he being of that society.

Primera parte de la Chronica de Peru, de PEDRO CIECA DE LEON. Antwerp 1554, 8vo. It treats of the limits and description of the provinces of Peru, the founding of cities, and the customs and manners of the Indians. Only this first part is extant, the other four, which the author promises, and were historical, having never been published; which is a great loss, for by the value of this first we may judge of the rest.

Historia da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil. The history of the province of Santa Cruz, vulgarly Brasil, by PEDRO DE MAGALHAENS GANDAYO. Lisbon 1579, 4to. It is commended by *Antonius Leo*, in his *Bibliotheca Indica*.

Relacion dos reyes da Persia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1604. An account of the kings of Persia and Ormuz, and travels from India to Italy by land, in the year 1614, 4to. The author PEDRO TEIXEIRA, a Portuguese, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las misiones orientales, con una sumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eastern missions, and of the empire of the Mogol. Rome 1649, 4to. Composed by SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. HERNANDO CORTES Marques del Valle, de la conquista de Mexico, al emperador. The original letter writ by Cortes the famous conqueror of Mexico, giving the emperor

* *Louis Marmol* was a native of Grenada. His description of Africa was first printed at Grenada in 3 vols. folio, 1573. The French translation was published at Paris in 3 vols. 4to, 1667. Marmol was present at the siege of Tunis in 1536, and was for eight years prisoner in Africa. A great part of Marmol is taken from the Africa of John Leo. EDIT.

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Charles the fifth an account of his expedition. There is no need to speak of the value of such papers, than which nothing can be more authentic, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his sovereign.

Corta do P. GONZALO RODRIGUES do sua embaixada a Ethiopia, e do que la succedeo com o seu Rey Claudio. A letter giving an account of the embassy of F. Gonzalo Rodriguez, sent by the king of Portugal to the emperor of Ethiopia. It is to be seen in F. Nicholas Godinho de *resus Abyssinorum*, (lib. II. cap. 58.)

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitones BARTOLOME GARCIA DE NODAL, y GONZALO DE NODAL hermanos al descubrimiento del Estrecho Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magallanes. This is an account of a voyage performed by the two captains above named to the Straits of St. Vincent, which we call Strait *le Mayre*, and to view that of Magellan, in the years 1618, and 1619. Madrid 1621, 4to. It is an exact journal of their voyage and observations whilst they were out, which was 11 months; and they were both able seamen, who had served the king many years.

Viage a la santa ciudad de Jerusalem, descripcion suaya y de toda la tierra santa, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. BERNARDO ITALIANO. Naples 1632, 8vo. A journey to Jerusalem, the description of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount Sinai, performed by the author, a Franciscan friar.

Relacion de los Sagrados lugares de Jerusalem, y toda la Tierra santa. The author, F. BLAZE DE BUIZA, a Franciscan, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the Turks the tribute for the privilege of those holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at Salamanca 1624, 8vo.

Tratado de las Drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. Burgos 1578, 4to.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque se navega por aquellas partes. Both these by CHRISTOPHER DA COSTA, a native of Tangier; who spent many years in his travels in Africa and Asia, and was a doctor of physic, which enabled him to write that most excellent treatise first mentioned of these two, of the plants and drugs of the East Indies. The second is of the East India voyage, and of those seas.

Relacao da navegacao de DUARTE LOPEZ a Africa, e Congo, no anno de 1578. Or Lopez his voyage to Africa, and the kingdom of Congo, which is to be seen in Latin in *Theodore de Bry's* collection.

Viage de D. FRADRIQUE HENRIQUEZ DA RIBERA a Jerusalem. Lisboa 1580, 4to. This is a pilgrimage to Jerusalem performed by this nobleman, who was Marquis of Tarifa, and spent two years in it, setting out in November 1518, and returning in October 1520, when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de FERNAN MENDEZ PINTO. Lisboa 1614, fol. Pinto's travels in India, so fabulous that the general consent of the world has exploded them, though some few have taken the pains to defend those chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem FRANCISCO GUERRERO. Sevil 1645. This is another pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of Sevil, and can only be a repetition of what we see in the others above mentioned.

Chorographia de alguns lugares que sam em hum caminho que Fez GASPAR BARREIRAS, o ano de 1546, de Badajoz em Cassel la ate Milan en Italia. Coimbra 1561, 4to. The author gives an account of the places he passed through in his journey from Badajoz in Spain, to the city of Milan: but Andrew de Resende complains that he stole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inserted them as his own.

Itinerario

Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a descripcao de Jerusalem. Lisboa 1611, 4to. Spanish. This journey was performed and book writ by F. GASPAR DA SA, a Portuguese Franciscan, Writers. being a journal of his travels from India to Portugal by land, and a description of Jerusalem; but of this sort there are several, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others.

Viage de JERONIMO DE SANTISTEVAN de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y su buelta a Portugal. A voyage by Jerome de Santistevan from Genoa by the way of Grand Cairo to India, and his return to Portugal. It is to be seen in Italian in the first volume of Ramusio's collection.

Itinerario d'Esparca a las Philipinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by F. MARTIN IGNATIUS DE LOYALA, a Franciscan; who took his way from Spain to America, thence to the Philippine islands, thence to China, and so round home by the East Indies. It is printed in F. John Gonzales de Mendonza's history of China, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585, but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da terra Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by F. NICHOLAS DIAZ, of the order of St. Dominic.

Itinerario da terra santa, e todas as suas particularidades. Another pilgrimage still to the Holy Land, by F. PANTALEO D'AVEIRO. Lisbon 1593, 4to.

Relacao de PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL da sua navegacao a India oriental. This Cabral was the next after Gama sent by Emanuel king of Portugal into India; and accidentally being drove thither by storms, discovered Brasil. This relation is to be seen in Italian in John Baptista Ramusio's collection.

Relacao de PEDRO DA CINTRA, da sua navegacao a costa de Guiné, y a India. A voyage to the coast of Guinea and India, by Pedro da Cintra, of which I find no more, but that it was translated into Italian by Aloisius Cadamustus.

Relacao do viage de PEDRO COVILLAM de Lisboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo, 1587. This Covillam was one of the first sent from Portugal to discover India by land, before the way to it had been opened by sea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to Grand Cairo.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem el P. F. PEDRO de Santo Domingo, de la orden del mismo santo. This was a Dominican lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600, and printed at Naples in 1604, in 8vo.

Viage de Jerusalem de PEDRO GONZALES GALLARDO. Another Holy Land voyage, printed at Sevil 1605, 8vo.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la Costa del Peru, de PEDRO GOVEO DA VICTORIA. This is an account of a shipwreck and travels in America by this Goveo in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610, in 8vo.

Viage del mundo, por PEDRO ORDONEZ DE ZEVALLOS, 4to. This, though the author calls it the voyage of the world, only shews a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than America; a part whereof the author saw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India THOMAS LOPEZ, el anno de 1502. This voyage to India by Lopez, is to be seen in Italian in Ramusio's collection.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new discovery of the great river of the Amazons, by CHRISTOPHER D'ACUNA, a Jesuit, who went upon that expedition by order of the king of Spain. Madrid 1641, 4to.

Relacion

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Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de DIEGO RAMIREZ. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers *Bartholomew* and *Garcia de Nodal* to the straits of *Le Mayre*; their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by *Antonio de Leon* in his *Biblioth. Ind. occident.* (p. 91.)

Relacion del naufragio de la Nao Santiago, y Itinerario de la gente, que dell: se salvo, el año de 1585. This is an account of a Portuguese ship cast away, and of the great sufferings of those that were saved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed *An.* 1602, in 8vo.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de FERNANDO D'ALARCON. The discovery of seven cities in the north America by *Ferdinand d'Alarcon*; it is to be found in Italian in *Ramusio's* collection, (vol. III.)

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de FRANCISCO VASQUEZ CORONADO. The discovery of the seven cities last mentioned by *Coronado*, and to be found in the same volume of *Ramusio*.

Tratado de las guerras de los Chichimecas. An account of those northern people in America, called *Chichimecas*, and the wars with them, by *GONZALO DE LOS CASAS*, a native of Mexico, and lord of the province of *Zanguitan* in that country.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los PADRES DE LA COMPANIA DE JESUS en la India oriental y Japon en los años 1600, 1601, 1607, y 1608. This account was first writ in Portuguese, and translated in Spanish, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Historia eclesiastica del Japon desde el año 1602, hasta el de 1621. This is an ecclesiastical history of Japan for those years above mentioned, composed by *F. JACOBO COLLADO*, and printed at Madrid, *An.* 1623, in 4to. It was continued to the year 1622, by *F. Jacintus Offanel* of the order of *S. Dominic*, as was the other.

Historia evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. JUAN BAPTISTA MORALES. This history of China has been always in good repute; the author was a Dominican and missionary first in *Camboya*, and then in *China*, where he suffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then banished. Coming to *Rome* he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and spent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of *Fokien*. Thus much has been said of him, to shew that he was well acquainted with what he writ, and well deserves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. GARCIA DA SILVA FIGUEROA a la Persia. This ambassador was a man curious and knowing, and observed many considerable things which other authors have not spoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient historians have writ of the eastern countries. He gives an account of the manners and customs of the people, and description of all places in the way he went from *Goa* to *Ispahan*, the capital of *Persia*. The relation of the Persians taking *Ormuz* from the Portuguese; a description of *Chilminara* the ancient palace of *Persopolis*, burnt by *Alexander the Great* when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original Spanish, the French translation being vitiated by the translator, so that there is no relying on it.

Conquista y antiquesdades de las islas de la Gran Canaria, su descripcion, &c. por el licenciado JUAN NUNEZ DE LA PENA, 4to. Madrid. The conquest and antiquities of the Canary islands, being perhaps the best relation we have of them, both as to their present state and antiquities.

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HACKLUYT, a minister by profession, is the first Englishman that compiled any Collection of travels now extant: he himself was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was published in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, composing one thick volume in folio. THE FIRST contains the following Voyages: 1. *K. Arthur* to Iceland, An. 517.—2. *K. Malga* to Iceland, Gotland, &c. An. 580.—3. *K. Edwin* to Anglesey and Man, An. 624.—4. *Bertus* to Ireland, An. 684.—5. *Osber* beyond Norway, An. 890.—6. *Osber* into the Sound.—7. *Wolstan* into the Sound. 8. *K. Edgar* round his monarchy, An. 973.—9. *Edmund* and *Edward* into Hungary, An. 1017.—10. *Harald* into Russia, An. 1067.—11. An Englishman into Tartary, Poland, and Hungary, An. 1243.—12. *F. de Plano's* wonderful Voyage, An. 1246.—13. *F. de Rubricis's* journal, An. 1253.—14. *F. de Linna* towards the North Pole, An. 1360.—15. *Hen. E.* of *Derby* into Prussia, An. 1390.—16. *F. of Woodstock* into Prussia, An. 1391.—17. *Sir H. Willoughby* to Lapland, An. 1553.—18. *Chancellor's* discovery of Muscovy by sea, An. 1553. 19. *Burrough* to the river Ob, An. 1556.—20. *Johnson* to the Samoeds, An. 1556. 21. *Burrough* to Wardhouse, An. 1557.—22. *Jenkinson* to Russia, An. 1557.—23. *Jenkinson* from Moscow into Baetria, An. 1558.—24. *Jenkinson* through Russia into Persia, An. 1561. 25. *Alcock*, &c. by land to Persia, An. 1563.—26. *Johnson*, &c. by land to Persia, 1565. 27. *Soulham* and *Spark* to Novogrod, An. 1566.—28. *Jenkinson* to Russia, An. 1566. 29. *Edwards*, &c. by land to Persia, An. 1568.—30. *Banister* and *Ducket* by land to Persia, An. 1569.—31. *Burrough* to Livonia, An. 1570.—32. *Jenkinson* to Russia, An. 1571. 33. *Burrough* by land to Persia, An. 1579.—34. *Pei* and *Juckman* to the north-east, An. 1580.—35. *Horsey* by land from Moscow to England, An. 1584.—36. Russians to the north-east.—37. Voyage to Siberia and the river Ob.—38. Vanquishing the Spanish armada, An. 1588.—39. Voyage to Cadiz, An. 1596. Thus far the first volume; the first sixteen of which Voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two last are warlike expeditions, which were not properly placed among discoveries; the rest of the volume is filled with treaties, patents, and letters. Thus it appears all these, except the two last, are northern Voyages. THE SECOND VOLUME contains Voyages to the straits, coast of Afric, and the East Indies. Of these the greatest part are pilgrimages to Jerusalem, many of very little moment; expeditions for the Holy Land; common trading Voyages, that have little or nothing of curiosity, and sea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inserting here: the small remaining part are Voyages to Guinea, and other coasts of Afric, and some few to the East Indies; of all which there is a much better account in *Purchas*, and others, and therefore they are not inserted in this place. Besides, as in the first part, there are abundance of letters, discourses, patents, and such Original Papers. THE THIRD VOLUME, not to mention many of no worth, has these considerable Voyages: *Sebastian Cabot's* to North America—three of *Sir Martin Forbisher* to the North-West passage—two of *Davis's* to the north-west—*Hore* and *Gilbert* to Newfoundland—*Granpre*, and others, to the isle of Ramea—three of *Jaques Cartier* to Newfoundland, Canada, &c.—*Roberval* to Canada.—*Amadas*, *Bal-low*, *Greenvil*, and others to Virginia—*Verazzano*, *Ribault*, *Laudonniere*, and *Gourges* to Florida—*Marco de Nica*, *Francis Vazquez Coronado*, and *Antony de Espejo* to Cibola, Culiacon, and New Galicia—*Ulloa*, *Alarcon*, and *Drake* to California—*Ovulle* to the Philippine islands, Lequeos, China, and back to Acapulco—*Tonson*, *Bodenham*, *Chilton*, *Hawks*, *Philips*, and *Hortop* to New Spain, Peru, and Panuco—*Pert* and *Cabot* to Brasil—*Tison* and *Hawkins* to

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the West Indies—*Hawkins* to Guinea, and the West Indies—*Drake* to *Nombre de Dios*—*Oxnamm*, *Barker*, *Drake*, *Mitchelson* to Mexico, &c.—*Newport* to Puerto Rico, &c.—*May* to the Straits of Magellan—*Dudley*, *Preston*, *Drake*, *Sherley*, *Parker*, to several parts of the West Indies—*Raleigh* to the island Trinidad, and to Guiana—*Hawkins*, *Reniger*, *Hare*, *Lancaster* to Brasil—two Englishmen and *Drake* up the river of Plate—*Drake* round the world—*Silva* through the Straits of Magellan—*Winter* into the South Sea—*Fenton* to Brasil—*Withrington* to 44 deg. of south latitude—*Candish* round the world—*Ship Delight* to the Straits of Magellan—*Candish* his last Voyage *. Thus have we briefly run over the Contents of *Hackluyt's* Collection, precisely setting down all in the first volume, to give the reader a taste of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad; which has been abridged in relation to the second and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The Collection is scarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out: but it might be wished the author had been less voluminous, delivering what was really authentic and useful; and not stuffing his work with so many stories taken upon trust, so many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, so many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and such a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries.

PURCHAS was the next great English collector of travels after *Hackluyt*, whom he has imitated too much, swelling his work into five volumes in folio. The whole Collection is very valuable, as having preserved many considerable Voyages which might otherwise have perished. But to particularise with him, as has been done before with *Hackluyt*: his FIRST VOLUME is divided into five books. The first contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the apostles, and philosophers, with the warlike expeditions of *Alexander the Great*, and other princes; to which is added an enquiry into languages, and an account of the several forts of religions. The second book treats of Navigation in general; the Discoveries made by *Henry* prince of Portugal, king *John* of Portugal; *Columbus* of the West, and *Cama* of the East Indies: then follow *Magellan*, *Drake*, *Candish*, *Noort*, and *Spilbergen* round the world, and *le Maire's* discovery of the new Strait of his name. The third book is filled with some private Voyages to the East Indies, and the seven first made by the East India Company; with descriptions, and an account of all those parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. but all, as delivered by the first that resorted there and made no long stay, imperfect, and far short of what we have had since. The fourth book contains the eighth Voyage of the East India company—*Capt. Saris* to Japan—*Finch* to India—ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Voyages of the Company—*Observations* for Sailors—*Steel* to the Mogul's court—*Milward* to India—*Peyton* to India—An extract of *Sir Thomas Roe*, ambassador from king *James* to the Mogul, his journal—*Coryn's* travels. The fifth book still continues upon accounts of the East Indies, of all parts thereof, and from many several hands; upon differences between the Dutch and English; wars of the natives; engagements of the English and Portuguese; and many other passages and occurrences to the same purpose. The sixth book, being the first in the SECOND VOLUME, begins with collections of *John Leo's* history of Afric, and *R. C.'s* history of Barbary: then follow *Nicholay's* description of Argier; an expedition to Argier under *Sir Robert Mansel*; and some relations of Afric. The seventh book begins *Jobson's* Voyage to Guinea; *Battle's* account of Angola is next, then *Pigafetta's* relation of Congo; *Alvarez's* Voyage to Ethiopia;

* The price of this Collection is increased through the insertion of the voyage to Cadiz, by the Earl of Essex, in 1596: even without this a good copy sells for five guineas. EDIT.

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D. John de Castro from India to Suez; *Bermudes* the patriarch to Ethiopia, and *Nunbes Barreto* English of the same country. The eighth contains several pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Christian expeditions to the Holy Land; *Barton's* (*Q. Elizabeth's* ambassador to the great Turk) account of his Voyage, and the adventures of *J. Smith*. The ninth book consists of *Sherley's* travels into Persia—*Benjamin* the son of *Jonas* his peregrination—*Terry's* Voyage to the Mogul—*Baribema's* to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India—Collections of Asia out of Arabic—*Meneses* his account of India—*Figueras* to Ispahan—*J. de Santos* to Ethiopia—*Joson* on Gambia river—account of the *Grand Signior's* seraglio—*Sanderfon's* voyages in the Straits—*Timberley* from Cairo to Jerusalem—*Newberry* of the eastern parts of the world—*Fran. Pyrard de la Vol* to the East Indies. The tenth book has a collection of Spanish and Portuguese Voyages out of *Galvan*—*Trigautius* his Voyage to India—Letter touching Japan—*Frederick's* Indian observations—*Dalbi* to Pegu—*Fitz* to Goa, and other parts of India—*Pimenta's* observations of India—*Linschoten's* Voyages to India—relation of Ormuz—*Sir Rob. Sherley* to Persia—*Coryate's* travels—*Lithgow Scot* to the Holy Land, &c.—Intelligence out of Turkey—*Brown's* Indian voyage—Dutch proceedings at Amboyna; and description of the bay of *Todos os Santos*. THE THIRD VOLUME, book the first, contains as follows: *W. de Rubricis* travels into the east—Relations of *Bacon*, and *Balvacensis*—*Wendover* of the Tartars—*M. Paulus Venetus* his Voyages—*S. J. Mandevile's* travels—Extraits of an Arabic history of *Tamerlan*—Travels of *Chaggy Memet*, a Persian—Treatise of China, of *F. Gaspar da Cruz*—*Pereira* of China. The second book has, *Sir H. Willoughby*, *Chancellor*, and *Jenkinson's* Voyages to the north-east—Extraits of *Fernan Mendez Pinto's* travels—Discovery and planting of the Philippine islands—*Goe's* travels from Lahor to China by land—Jesuits first entrance into China and Japan—*Pantoja's* account of China—Discourse of China out of *Riccus* and *Trigautius*. The third book, *Fletcher's* treatise of Russia—*Edge's* Northern Voyages—*Barent's* into the North Sea—*Gerart de Veer's* Northern Voyages—*Iver Boty* of Iceland and Greenland—Description of Siberia, *Samoieda*, and *Tingoesia*—*Gourdon* to *Pecora*—*Logan* to *Pechora*, and his wintering there—*Puffglove* to *Pechora*, and wintering there—*Gourdon* wintering at *Pustoza*—Voyages to Cherry island—*Hudson's* Northern Voyages—Discovery of *Nicholas* and *Antonio Zeni*—*Quirino's* shipwreck—*Barclay's* travels in Europe, Asia, Afric, and America—*Broniovius* ambassador to the Crim Tartar—*Bleskin's* Voyages and history of Iceland and Greenland—*Angrim Jonas'* history of Iceland. The fourth book, *Sir T. Smith* to Cherry island. *Poole* to Greenland.—*Bassin* to Greenland.—*Fosterby* to Greenland.—Several Northern Voyages—Revolutions in Russia—*Cossack's* travels out of Siberia to Catay—Discovery of the river Ob—*Cabot*, *Thorn*, and *Weymouth's* Voyages to the south-west—*Hall* to discover Greenland—*Knighi* to the North-West Passage. Other Northern Voyages. The fifth book, *Herrera's* description of the West Indies—*Acosta* and *Oviedo* of the West Indies—Mexican history in cuts—Conquest of Mexico by *Cortes*—other particulars of America. THE FOURTH VOLUME begins with the sixth book, and in it as follows: The first book, *Earl of Cumberland's* Voyage—*Cabot*, *Pert*, *Hawkins*, and *Drake's* Voyages and seafights.—*Carder* living among the savages in Brasil—*Candish's* unfortunate Voyage to the Straits of Magellan—*Knivet's* adventures with *Candish*—*Turner* in Brasil—*Parker* taking Puerto Bello—*Middleton* and *Geare* to the West Indies—Description of the island *Trinidad*, country of Guiana, and river *Oronoko*, by *F. Sparrey*—*Leigh's* Voyages to Guiana—Massacre of English in Guiana—*Wilson's* relation of Guiana—*Harcourt* to Guiana—Description of the river of the Amazons. The seventh book, a treatise of Brasil, written by a Portuguese. Extraits of *Leri's* history of Brasil—*Schmidel's* twenty years travels—*Hawkins* to the South Sea—

English
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Sea—*Ellis* of the same voyage—Relation of an Englishman thirteen years prisoner in Peru, *Urfino* of the coast of the firm land, and secrets of Peru and Chili—Notes of the West Indies out of *Peter Ordonez de Cevallos*—New discovery in the South Sea by *Peter Fernandez Quirao*. *Lope Vas* of American affairs—Extracts of *Benso* of the new world, and of *Garcilasso Inca* of Peru—*Pizarro's* conquest of Peru; Occurrences in Peru after the conquest. The eighth book, *Alvar Nunes* of Florida—*Soto* to Florida—Discoveries to the northward of Mexico by *Nuno de Guzman*, *Marco de Nica*, *D. Fr. Vasquez Coronada*, and *D. Ant. de Espejo*—*Casas* of the cruelties of the Spaniards—Voyages and plantations of French in North America—*Gosnol* to Virginia—Other voyages to Virginia—Description of the Azores. The ninth book, Description of Virginia, and proceeding of the English colonies there—Wreck of *Sir Thomas Gate*, and account of the Bermudas—*Argol* from Virginia to Bermudas—Affairs relating to Virginia—Fight of an English and two Spanish ships—Voyages to the Summer Islands, and history of them. The tenth book, Discovery and plantation of New England—*Chalton's* Voyage for north Virginia—Extracts of *Smith* of New England's trials—Other accounts of New England—New Scotland the first planting of it—Newfoundland the first settlements there, and account of the island—Warlike fleets sent out by queen *Elizabeth* against the Spaniards—The duke of *Medina's* for invasion of England—Squadron of the galeons of Portugal. The expedition to Portugal by *Sir John Norris* and *Sir Francis Drake*, supposed to be writ by colonel *Antony Wingfield*—Expedition to Cadiz, and the success against the Spanish ships, and in taking the town—The earl of *Essex* his fruitless expedition to the Azores, the conclusion of the work. * The *fifth volume* is a theological and geographical History of the world, consisting of the description, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like *Hackluyt*, as was observed at first, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many Volumes, and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for such as can make choice of the best, the Collection is very valuable.

A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689, giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants, and factory of English; describing Madaira, Santiago, Annobos, Cablanda, Malamba, S. Helena, Bombay, Mafcate, Mycate, the Cape of Good Hope, and island of Ascension, the revolution of Golconda, description of Arracan and Pegu, an account of the coins of India and Persia, and observations concerning silk-worms; by J. OVERTON, 8vo. London 1696. This is the most modern English account of those parts, and by a person well qualified to make such observations.

Travels and Voyages into Asia, Africa, and America, performed by monf. JOHN MORQUET, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of France in the Tuilleries, in six books, with cuts. Translated from the French by NATHANIEL PULLEN gent. 8vo. London, 1696. For so many travels the relation is too short; however there are things in it worth observing.

A new Voyage to the East Indies, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a description of several islands, and of all the forts and garrisons in those parts, now in possession of the French, the customs, &c. of the Indians, by monf. DU QUISNE. It has also a description of the Canaries, and of Senaga and Gambia on the coast of Africa, with several cuts and a map of the Indies, and another of the Canaries. Made English from the Paris edition, 12mo. London, 1696. Of the French factories in those parts we have no such account; and few better for the bulk of all other places the author undertakes to speak of.

* *Purchas* is very scarce: a good copy at the lowest price, which fluctuates and advances, is at present worth fifteen guineas. EDIT.

The

The Voyages and Travels of Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE Knt. shewing the way to the Holy Land English and Jerusalem, to the Great Cham, Prester John, India, and other countries, 4to. London, 1696. It is needless to say much of this book, as being so universally allowed to be fabulous. Writers.

Two journeys to Jerusalem, the first an account of the travels of two English pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c. The second of fourteen Englishmen in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in scripture; there are also ancient and modern remarks of the Jewish nation, the description of the Holy Land, captivity of the Jews, what became of the ten tribes, &c. Here is very much promised, but the performance scarce answers, the volume being too small, and looks more like a collection out of some real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Holland, and other parts of Europe, describing the most considerable cities and palaces of princes; with historical relations, and critical observations upon ancient medals and inscriptions, by CHARLES PATIN M. D. of the faculty of Paris, made English and illustrated with copper cuts, 8vo. London, 1696-7. For those who are curious in Medals this piece will be most acceptable; yet this does not lessen the value of the descriptions and other relations.

A new Discovery of a vast country in America, extending above 4000 miles between New France and New Mexico, with a description of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, customs, and languages of the Indians, &c. by L. HENNEPIN; to which are added new Discoveries in North America, and not published in the French edition, 8vo. The promise is very great, but there is little, or rather no proof of such a vast extent of land, which no man has yet seen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is no groundless, idle relations of Indians; the other parts have more in them, yet only what are collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to St. Kilda, the remotest of all the *Hebrides* or western isles of Scotland; with an history of the island natural, moral, and topographical, containing an account of the people's religion and customs, of the fish, fowl, &c. As also of a late impostor there, pretending to be sent by *St. John Baptist*. By M. MARTIN gent. 8vo. London, 1698. We have here the only history and account of this island, that ever perhaps appeared in any language; and being such, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to lessen it.

The History of the Buccaneers * of America, 8vo.

A new account of East India and Persia in eight letters; being nine years Travels, containing Observations of the moral, natural, and artificial state of those countries, as the government, religion, laws, customs, soil, seasons, diseases, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and measures, in the principal places there. By JOHN FRYER, M. D. with maps and tables, London 1698.

A Voyage to the East Indies, giving an account of the isles of Madagascar and Mascarenhas, of Surat, the coast of Malabar, Goa, Gomron, Ormuz, and the coast of Brasil, &c. and of the religion, customs, trade, &c. of the inhabitants; also a treatise of distempers peculiar to

* This curious, and valuable work, was written originally in Dutch, by *John Esquemeling*, one of the Buccaneers, who was present at those tragedies; and thence translated into Spanish, by *Alonso de Bonne-maison*, M. D. It was first translated into English, in 1684, and printed in a small quarto volume, with plates. EDIT.

English
Writers.

the Eastern countries. There is annexed an abstract of *Monf. Renfard's* history of the East Indies, with his proposals for improvement of the East India Company; written originally in French, by *Monf. DELLON*, M. D. 8vo. London, 1698. This work has been well received both in French and English.

A new Voyage and description of the Isthmus of America, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coasts, hills, rivers, wood, soil, weather; trees, fruit, beasts, birds, and fish; the Indian inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, customs, employments, marriages, feasts, hunting, computation, and language; with remarkable occurrences on the South Sea and other places, by *LIONEL WAFER*, with cuts, 8vo. London, 1698. A work that has been well received by the public.

A new account of North America, as it was lately presented to the French king; containing a more particular account of that vast country, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto published, 8vo. London, 1698. We have here a French account of those countries, particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

THE NEW ATLAS; or Travels and Voyages in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, &c. 8vo. London, 1699. A little volume, which seems rather some collections out of books and travels, than any real Voyage.

An account of a Voyage from Archangel in Russia, in the year 1697, of the ship and company wintering near the north Cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: their manner of living, and what they suffered by the extreme cold; also remarkable observations of the climate, country, and inhabitants: with a Chart describing the place where they lay, land in view, soundings, &c. By *THOMAS ALLISON*, commander of the ship. This is the latest relation we have of any such northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with such others as write of those northern parts.

A relation of two several Voyages made into the East Indies, by *CHRISTOPHER FRYKE* surgeon, and *CHRISTOPHER SCHWARTZER*, particularly describing those countries that are under the Dutch, 8vo. London, 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a DUTCH EMBASSY TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA, writ by one of the ambassadors' retinue, fol. It is a translation from the Dutch original, and contains a description of the country, and all places they passed through, with 200 cuts drawn upon the spot: it treats also of the government of China, and manners of the people.

The Description of the island of Ceylon by captain *KNOX*. He lived 19 years upon the island, being taken, and kept there all this while by the Dutch, and had the opportunity of seeing the greatest part, and being informed of the rest by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that befel him till he made his escape, and then treats very fully of all things that relate to the island. The Dutch who are masters of Ceylon, have thought this account worth translating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which must add to its reputation.

Travels to Dalmatia, Greece, and the Levant, by *Mr. GEORGE WHEELER*. He travelled with *Mr. Spon*, who published the same travels in French; but *Mr. Wheeler* remaining there behind him, has several curiosities that escaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; so that his work seems the most compleat, or at least both together confirm one another.

TERRY's Voyage to the East Indies, begun in the year 1615, 12mo. He was chaplain to *Sir Thomas Roe*, ambassador to the *Mogol* from *K. James the first*, and gives an account of some

some things in that country omitted by Sir *Thomas* in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with discourses of his own, very little to the purpose.

English
Writers.

An account of several late Voyages and Discoveries to the south and north, containing Sir *John Narbrough's* voyage through the Straits of Magellan, to the coast of Chile, in the year 1669.—Capt. *Wood's* voyage for the discovery of the North-East Passage, *An.* 1676.—Capt. *Tasman's* round *Terra Australis*, *An.* 1642; and *Frederick Martens* to Spitsberg and Greenland, *An.* 1671. With a supplement, containing Observations and Navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of several voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and seems very well to deserve it.

Collection of Original Voyages, published by Capt. *Hack*, 8vo. It contains *Cowley's* voyage round the world, which is the same with *Dampier's* mentioned in the next place.—Capt. *Sharp's* voyage into the South Sea, both buccanier voyages. The third is Capt. *Wood's* voyage through the Straits of Magellan, which is the same as Sir *John Narbrough's* before mentioned: and the fourth Mr. *Robert's* adventures among the Corsairs of the Levant; so that there is little new in them, the three first being in other collections, and the last a very indifferent piece.

DAMPIER'S Voyages in three volumes, 8vo: the first a new voyage round the world, begun *An.* 1697. It describes the Isthmus of America, and several of its coasts and islands, the passage by *Tierra del Fuego*, the ile of Guam, one of the *Ladrones*, the *Philippines*, *Formosa*, *Luconia*, *Celebes*, the Cape of Good Hope, and island of *S. Helena*.

The second volume, he calls a supplement to his voyage round the world, where he describes *Tonquin*, *Achen*, *Malacca*, &c: their product, inhabitants, manners, and trade; the countries of *Campeche*, *Yucatan*, *New Spain* in America; and discourses of trade, winds, breezes, storms, seasons, tides, currents, of the torrid zone.

The third volume, is his voyage to *New Holland*, which has no great matter of new discovery, but gives an account of the *Canary* islands, some of those of *Cabo Verde*, and the town and port of *Baya de Todos os Santos*, in *Brasil*. All the three volumes have cuts and maps.

A Collection of Voyages by the *DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY*, being three to the north-east, two to the East Indies, and one to the Straits of Magellan: little can be said in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be seen in several other collections, 8vo.

An historical relation of the island of Ceylon in the East Indies, &c. illustrated with cuts and a map of the island, fol. The author, who lived long in that country, gives a general description of it, referring the reader to the map; and then the whole natural history.

LASSEL's travels through Italy, first printed in one volume, 12mo. then in two. He was there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of most things of note there.

Relation of the discovery of the island Madera, 4to. This is a discovery before it was peopled, and it continued lost again for several years, and has little of certainty.

GAGE's survey of the West Indies, 8vo. This book has gained some reputation.

The Discoveries of *JOHN LEDERER*, in three several marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other parts of the Continent, begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670, 4to. This is a small account of the author's, who was a German, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; it is contained in about four sheets, published by Sir *WILLIAM TALBOT*, in which there is much worth observing.

Relation of the Travels and captivity of W. DAVIES, 4to. A small pamphlet of a few sheets.

Account

English
Writers.

Account of the captivity of THOMAS PHELPS at Machanefs in Barbary, and his escape ; another small 4to. pamphlet.

THE GOLDEN COAST, or description of Guinea, in which are four English Voyages to Guinea ; a 4to. pamphlet and has several good observations.

HERRERT's Travels into divers parts of Africa, and Asia the Great, more particularly into Persia and Indostan, fol. These travels have always deservedly had a great reputation, being the best account of those parts, written by any Englishman, and not inferior to the best of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent description of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur ; not to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

BROWN's Travels in divers parts of Europe, (fol.) The author, a doctor of physic, has shewed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the observation of so curious a person ; having spent much time in the discovery of European rarities, and that in those parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themselves with seeing France, and Italy, and the Low Countries ; whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli ; adding to these Germany, the Low Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all which he has composed a work of great use and benefit.

The Voyages and Travels of J. ALBERT DE MANDELSLO, a gentleman belonging to the embassy sent by the duke of Holstein, to the duke of Muscovy and king of Persia, (fol.) These are also known by the name of OLEARIUS's Travels ; the first part, which is of Muscovy and Persia, being altogether his, who was secretary to the aforesaid embassy : but then the following part, which treats of all parts of the East Indies, is solely Mandelslo's, who left the ambassadors and Olearius at Ispahan, and proceeded to view those remoter parts. It is needless to give any other character of this work, than to inform such as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the most accomplished books of travels now extant.

BLUNT's Travels to the Levant, is a very short account of a journey through Dalmatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt. The whole very concise, and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions ; his account of the religions, and customs of those people, only a brief collection of some other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A Description of the present state of Samos, Nacaria, Patmos, and mount Athos ; by Jos. GEORGIRENES, archbishop of Samos, 8vo. This prelate resided long as archbishop at Samos, and saw Nicaria, as being a dependence of his diocese ; but being weary of that function, he retired to Patmos, where he continued some time, and after visited mount Athos ; so that all he delivers of these places is as an eye-witness, and indeed the most particular account we have of them. The description is very exact, and what he says of the Creek religion may be relied on, as having so much reason to know it. All that can be excepted against, is what he says of the people in Nicaria, conversing at four or five miles distance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface, the reader must observe, is the translator's, not the author's, which is requisite to be known.

A Voyage to Constantinople, by Monf. GRELLOT, 8vo. translated into English by J. PHILIPS. This, though perhaps in the relation it may not contain much more than what may be picked out

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out of other travellers who have writ of those parts, yet it exceeds them in fourteen curious cuts, the exactness of which is attested by several travellers that have been at Constantinople, and seen the places they represent; besides that all the ingenious people of Paris gave their approbation of the work, and upon their testimony, the king himself having seen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any scruple to reckon it among the best books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to *Constantinople*, the *Propontis*, *Hellepont*, and *Dardanelis*, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worship, government, manners, &c. of the Turks, are singular.

English
Writers.

A description of the islands and inhabitants of Færoe, being seventeen islands, subject to the king of Denmark, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in *Danish*, and translated into *English*, 12mo. The description is very particular and curious, and indeed more than could well be expected of those miserable Northern Islands; but the author was Provost of the churches there, and had time to gather such an account, which is somewhat enlarged with philosophical observations on whirlpools and other secrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and favours more of affection than sincerity; but the worst part of this small book, is first a collection of some romantic stories of the ancient inhabitants of Færoe; and in the next place, what is yet worse, a parcel of insignificant tales.

JOSSELIN's two Voyages to New England, 8vo. In the first of these there is little besides the Sea-Journal and common observations, unless it be an account of *desiderata* for planters. The second is a very particular description of all the Country, its beasts, fowl, fish, plants, and trees, the manners and customs of the English inhabitants, the time of their settling there, with many other matters well worth observing. Of the Indians he has very little or nothing. The Relation is curious and faithful, but in many places where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddest uncouth expressions imaginable, which look very conceited, but that is only as to his style. He concludes with what he calls chronological observations of America, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the rest is of no great use, especially for that there are several errors in it.

JOSSELIN's New England rarities, a very small 8vo. is a more particular account of the fowl, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, plants, stones, minerals, metals, and earth of that Country, than he has given in his Voyages.

The Adventures of M. T. S. an *English merchant*, taken prisoner by the Turks of Argier, and carried into the inland country of Afric, 12mo. Containing a short account of *Argier* in the year 1648, of the country about it, and more particularly of the city *Tremizen*, where the author resided three years, going abroad with several parties which his master commanded. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn out at the straits' mouth with a westerly wind.

WYCHE's relation of the *river Nile*, its source and current, a small octavo. This is only a translation of a Portuguese Jesuit's account who lived in Ethiopia some years; being the same that is given by *F. Alvarez*, and others of the society who lived there, and no doubt is very authentic, as delivered by an eye-witness, who was a person of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradise, pelican, and phoenix, he writes upon hearsay, which deserve not the same credit; particularly what he says that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have seen in England to be otherwise; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are also sufficiently known. But these are trifles: he discourses well of the reason of calling the Ethiopian emperor *Prester John*, on the Red Sea, and of the palm or cocoon-tree.

English
Writers.

RAY's travels, or his observations topographical, moral, and physiological, made in a journey through part of the *Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France*. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious description of every town he saw, observes some particulars of the customs and dispositions of the people; and curiously lays before us any thing that is rare in itself, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one so understanding in those particulars, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuse for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. *Venice* he describes more particularly than any other place; but of all universities, as being himself a scholar, he says more than of other towns. Of *France* not much, as having made but a short stay there. He closes his work with a Latin catalogue of Plants he observed abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in England. He has inserted *Willoughby's* travels in Spain.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, *Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and English*, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore those who miss any in the English, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of *Dutch*, because they are not very many, and all of them will be found, as they were translated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in some places it is quoted where they were had; but if such authority be not quoted, it is because the books have been purposely perused and examined, where such account could not be found of them. Lastly, the reader must observe, that in this Catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in Churchill's collection, which would be a needless repetition, they being all mentioned and characterised in the general preface.

* * To the *Latin writers* mentioned by *Mr. Locke* (page 171.), and the *Italian writers* (page 173.), may be added the two following curious books:

Novus Orbis Regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica. Basil, folio, 1537, 600 pages. It contains among other articles, a Latin translation of the Voyages of Cado Mosto, Columbus, Pedro Alonso, Piazon, and Vesputius. The whole collected by SIMON GRVNEUS.

Saggio sulla Nautica Antica de' Veneziani; con una illustrazione d'alcune Carte idrografiche antiche della. Biblioteca di S. Marco, che dimostrano Viole Antille prima della scoperta di *Cristoforo Colombo*, di VINCENZIO FORMALEONI. In Venezia, 1783, 8vo. 124 pages.

APPENDIX (C.)

OBSERVATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

BY THE LATE

DR. ROBERTSON.

THESE OBSERVATIONS, I TRUST, WILL SERVE TO ILLUSTRATE MANY PARTICULARS IN THE GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE, AND TO POINT OUT EFFECTS OR CONSEQUENCES OF VARIOUS EVENTS, WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN GENERALLY OBSERVED, OR CONSIDERED WITH THAT ATTENTION WHICH THEY MERITED.

(*Disquisition concerning India, Sect. iv. p. 191.*)

I. AFTER viewing the great and extensive effects of finding a new course of Navigation to India by the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, it may appear surprising to a modern observer, that a Discovery of such importance was not made, or even attempted, by any of the Commercial states of the *ancient world*. But in judging with respect to the conduct of nations in remote times, we never err more widely, than when we decide with regard to it, not according to the ideas and views of their age, but of our own. This is not, perhaps, more conspicuous in any instance, than in that under consideration. It was by the *Tyrians*, and by the *Greeks*, who were masters of Egypt, that the different people of Europe were first supplied with the productions of the East. From the account that has been given of the manner in which they procured these, it is manifest that they had neither the same inducements with modern nations, to wish for any new communications with India, nor the same means of accomplishing it. All the Commercial transactions of the *ancients* with the East were confined to the ports on the *Malabar coast*, or extended at farthest to the island of *Ceylon*. To

these Staples, the natives of all the different regions in the eastern parts of Asia brought the commodities which were the growth of their several Countries, or the product of their ingenuity, in their own vessels, and with them the ships from Tyre and from Egypt completed their investments. While the operations of their Indian trade were carried on within a sphere so circumscribed, the conveyance of a cargo by the Arabian Gulf, notwithstanding the expence of land carriage, either from *Elath* to *Rhinoculura*, or across the desert to the Nile, was so safe and commodious, that the merchants of Tyre and Alexandria had little reason to be solicitous for the discovery of any other. The situation of both these cities, as well as that of the other considerable Commercial states of antiquity, was very different from that of the countries to which, in later times, mankind have been indebted for keeping up intercourse with the remote parts of the globe. *Portugal, Spain, England, Holland*, which have been most active and successful in this line of Enterprise, all lie on the Atlantic Ocean (in which every European Voyage of Discovery must commence), or have immediate access to it. But Tyre was situated at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, *Alexandria* not far from it; *Rhodes, Athens, Corinth*, which came afterwards to be ranked among the most active trading cities of antiquity, lay considerably advanced towards the same quarter in that sea. The Commerce of all these States was long confined within the precincts of the Mediterranean, and in some of them never extended beyond it. The pillars of Hercules, or the Straits of Gibraltar, were long considered as the utmost boundary of Navigation. To reach this was deemed a signal proof of Naval skill; and before any of these states could give a beginning to an attempt towards exploring the vast unknown Ocean which lay beyond it, they had to accomplish a Voyage (according to their ideas) of great extent and much danger. This was sufficient to deter them from engaging in an arduous undertaking, from which, even if attended with success, their situation prevented their entertaining hopes of deriving great advantage.

But could we suppose the discovery of a new passage to *India* to have become an object of desire or pursuit to any of these States, their science as well as practice of navigation was so defective, that it would have been hardly possible for them to attain it. The vessels which the ancients employed in trade were so small, as not to afford stowage for provisions sufficient to subsist a crew during a long voyage. Their construction was such that they could seldom venture to depart far from land, and their mode of steering along the coast (which I have been obliged to mention often) so circuitous and slow, that from these as well as from other circumstances which I might

* The only voyage of Discovery in the Atlantic Ocean towards the south, by any of the ancient commercial states in the Mediterranean, is that of Hanno, undertaken by order of the Republic of Carthage. As the situation of that city, so much nearer the Straits than Tyre, Alexandria, and the other seats of ancient trade which have been mentioned, gave it more immediate access to the ocean; that circumstance, together with the various settlements which the Carthaginians had made in different provinces of Spain, naturally suggested to them this Enterprise, and afforded them the prospect of considerable advantages from its success. The Voyage of Hanno, instead of invalidating, seems to confirm the justness of the reasons which have been given, why no similar attempt was made by the other commercial states in the Mediterranean.

have

have specified *, we may pronounce a Voyage from the Mediterranean to India by the Cape of Good Hope, to have been an undertaking beyond their power to accomplish, in such a manner as to render it, in any degree, subservient to Commerce. To this decision, the account preserved by Herodotus, of a Voyage performed by some Phœnician ships employed by a king of Egypt, which, taking their departure from the Arabian Gulf, doubled the southern promontory of Africa, and arrived at the end of three years, by the Straits of Gades, or Gibraltar, at the mouth of the Nile †, can hardly be considered as repugnant; for several writers of the greatest eminence among the ancients, and most distinguished for their proficiency in the knowledge of geography, regarded this account rather as an amusing Tale, than the history of a real transaction; and either entertained doubts concerning the possibility of sailing round Africa, or absolutely denied it ‡. But if what Herodotus relates concerning the course held by these Phœnician ships had ever been received by the ancients with general assent, we can hardly suppose, that any state could have been so wildly adventurous as to imagine that a Voyage, which it required three years to complete, could be undertaken with a prospect of commercial benefit.

II. The rapid progress of the Moderns in exploring INDIA, as well as the extensive power and valuable settlements which they early acquired there, mark such a distinction between their mode of conducting Naval Operations, and that of the Ancients, as merits to be considered and explained with attention. From the reign of the first Ptolemy, to the conquest of Egypt by the Mahomedans, Europe had been supplied with the productions of the East by the Greeks of Alexandria, by the Romans while they were masters of Egypt, and by the subjects of the Emperors of Constantinople, when that kingdom became a province of their dominions. During this long period, extending almost to a thousand years, none of those people, the most enlightened, undoubtedly, in the ancient world, ever advanced by sea farther towards the East than the Gulf of Siam, and had no regular established trade but with the ports on the coast of Malabar, or those in the island of Ceylon. They attempted no conquest in any part of India, they made no settlements, they erected no forts. Satisfied with an intercourse merely commercial, they did not aim at acquiring any degree of power or dominion in the countries where they traded; though it seems to be probable that

* Goguet Orig. des Loix des Arts, &c. ii. 303. 329.

† Lib. iv. c. 42.

‡ Polyb. lib. iii. p. 193. edit. Casaub. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 6. Ptol. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.—Though the intelligent authors whom I have quoted considered this Voyage of the Phœnicians as *fabulous*, Herodotus mentions a circumstance concerning it, which seems to prove that it had really been performed. "The Phœnicians," says he, "affirmed that, in sailing round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand, which to me appears not to be credible, though it may be deemed so by others." (Lib. iv. c. 42.) This, it is certain, must have happened, if they really accomplished such a Voyage. The science of astronomy, however, was in that early period so imperfect, that it was by experience only that the Phœnicians could come at the knowledge of this fact; they durst not, without this, have ventured to assert what would have appeared to be an improbable fiction. Even after what they related, Herodotus disbelieved it.

they might have established it without much opposition from the natives, a gentle effeminate people, with whom, at that time, no foreign and more warlike race was mingled. But the enterprising activity of the *Portuguese* was not long confined within the same limits; a few years after their arrival at *Calecut*, they advanced towards the East, into regions unknown to the ancients. The kingdoms of *Cambodia*, *Cochin China*, *Tonquin*, the vast empire of *China*, and all the fertile Islands in the great *Indian Archipelago*, from *Sumatra* to the *Philippines*, were discovered; and the *Portuguese*, though opposed in every quarter by the Mahomedans of Tartar or Arabian origin, settled in many parts of India, enemies much more formidable than the natives, established there that extensive influence and dominion which I have formerly described.

Of this remarkable difference between the Progress and operations of the Ancients and Moderns in India, the imperfect knowledge of the former, with respect both to the theory and practice of Navigation, seems to have been the principal cause. From the coast of *Malabar* to the *Philippines*, was a Voyage of an extent far beyond any that the ancients were accustomed to undertake, and, according to their manner of sailing, must have required a great length of time to perform it. The nature of their Trade with India was such, that they had not (as has been formerly observed) the same inducements with the moderns, to prosecute Discovery with ardour; and, according to the description given of the vessels in which the merchants of Alexandria carried on their trade from the Arabian Gulf, they appear to have been very unfit for that purpose. On all these accounts, the ancients remained satisfied with a slender knowledge of India; and influenced by reasons proceeding from the same cause, they attempted neither conquest nor settlement there. In order to accomplish either of these, they must have transported a considerable number of men into India. But, from the defective structure of their ships, as well as from the imperfection of their art in navigating them, the ancients seldom ventured to convey a body of troops to any distance by sea. From *Berenice* to *Mysris*, was to them, even after *Hippalus* had discovered the method of steering a direct course, and when their naval skill had attained to its highest state of improvement, a Voyage of no less than seventy days. By the ancient route along the coast of Persia, a Voyage from the Arabian Gulf to any part of India must have been of greater length, and accomplished more slowly. As no hostile attack was ever made upon India by sea, either by the Greek monarchs of Egypt, though the two first of them were able and ambitious princes, or by the most enterprising of the Roman emperors, it is evident that they must have deemed it an attempt beyond their power to execute. *Alexander the Great*, and in imitation of him, his successors, the monarchs of Syria, were the only persons in the ancient world who formed an idea of establishing their dominion in any part of India; but it was with armies led thither by land, that they hoped to achieve this.

III. The sudden effect of opening a direct communication with the East, in lowering the price of Indian commodities, is a circumstance that merits observation. How compendious soever the ancient intercourse with India may appear to have been,

it was attended with considerable expence. The productions of the remote parts of *Asia*, brought to *Ceylon*, or to the ports on the *Malabar coast*, by the natives, were put on board the ships which arrived from the *Arabian Gulf*. At *Berenice* they were landed, and carried by camels two hundred and fifty-eight miles to the banks of the Nile. There they were again embarked, and conveyed down the river to *Alexandria*, whence they were dispatched to different markets. The addition to the price of goods by such a multiplicity of operations must have been considerable, especially when the rate chargeable on each operation was fixed by monopolists, subject to no controul. But, after the passage to India by the *Cape of Good Hope* was discovered, its various commodities were purchased at first hand in the countries of which they were the growth or manufacture. In all these, particularly in *Indyjan* and in *China*, the subsistence of man is more abundant than in any other part of the earth. The people live chiefly upon rice, the most prolific of all grains. Population, of consequence, is so great, and labour so extremely cheap, that every production of nature or of art is sold at a very low price. When these were shipped in different parts of *India*, they were conveyed directly to *Lisbon*, by a navigation, long indeed, but uninterrupted and safe, and thence circulated through Europe. The carriage of mercantile goods by water is so much less expensive than by any other mode of conveyance; that as soon as the *Portuguese* could import the productions of India in sufficient quantities to supply the demands of Europe, they were able to afford them at such a reduced price, that the competition of the *Venetians* ceased almost entirely, and the full stream of Commerce flowed in its natural direction towards the cheapest market. In what proportion the *Portuguese* lowered the price of Indian commodities, I cannot ascertain with precision, as I have not found in contemporary writers sufficient information with respect to that point. Some idea, however, of this, approaching perhaps near to accuracy, may be formed, from the computations of *Mr. Munn*, an intelligent English merchant. He has published a table of the prices paid for various articles of goods in India, compared with the prices for which they were sold in *Aleppo*, from which the difference appears to be nearly as three to one; and he calculates, that, after a reasonable allowance for the expence of the Voyage from India, the same goods may be sold in England at half the price which they bear in *Aleppo*. The expence of conveying the productions of *India* up the *Persian Gulf* to *Bassora*, and thence either through the *Great* or *Little Desert* to *Aleppo*, could not, I should imagine, differ considerably from that by the Red Sea to *Alexandria*. We may therefore suppose, that the *Venetians* might purchase them from the merchants of that city, at nearly the same rate for which they were sold in *Aleppo*; and when we add to this, what they must have charged as their own profit in all the markets which they frequented, it is evident that the *Portuguese* might afford to reduce the commodities of the East at a price below that which has been mentioned, and might supply every part of Europe with them more than one-half cheaper than formerly. The enterprising schemes of the *Portuguese* monarchs were accomplished sooner, as well as more completely, than in the hour of most sanguine hope they could have presumed to expect; and early in the

the sixteenth century, their subjects became possessed of a monopoly of the trade with India, founded upon the only equitable title, that of furnishing its productions in greater abundance, and at a more moderate price.

IV. We may observe, that in consequence of a more plentiful supply of Indian goods, and at a cheaper rate, the demand for them increased rapidly in every part of Europe. To trace the progress of this in detail, would lead me far beyond the period which I have fixed as the limit of this Disquisition; but some general remarks concerning it will be found intimately connected with the subject of my inquiries. The chief articles of importation from India, while the Romans had the direction of the trade with that country, have been formerly specified. But upon the subversion of their empire, and the settlement of the fierce warriors of Scythia and Germany in the various countries of Europe, the state of society, as well as the condition of individuals, became so extremely different, that the wants and desires of men were no longer the same. Barbarians, many of them not far advanced in their progress beyond the rudest state of social life, had little relish for those accommodations, and that elegance, which are so alluring to polished nations. The curious manufactures of silk, the precious stones and pearls of the East, which had been the ornament and pride of the wealthy and luxurious citizens of Rome, were not objects of desire to men, who, for a considerable time after they took possession of their new conquests, retained the original simplicity of their pastoral manners. They advanced, however, from rudeness to refinement in the usual course of progression which nations are destined to hold; and an increase of wants and desires requiring new objects to gratify them, they began to acquire a relish for some of the luxuries of India. Among these they had a singular predilection for the Spiceries and Aromatics which that country yields in such variety and abundance. Whence their peculiar fondness for these arose, it is not of importance to inquire. Whoever consults the writers of the middle ages, will find many particulars which confirm this observation. In every enumeration of Indian commodities which they give, spices are always mentioned as the most considerable and precious article*. In their cookery, all dishes were highly seasoned with them. In every entertainment of parade, a profusion of them was deemed essential to magnificence. In every medical prescription they were principal ingredients†. But considerable as the demand for Spices had become, the mode in which the nations of Europe had hitherto been supplied with them, was extremely disadvantageous. The ships employed by the merchants of Alexandria never ventured to visit those remote regions which produce the most valuable spices; and before they could be circulated through Europe, they were loaded with the accumulated profits received by four or five different hands through which they had passed. But the *Portuguese*, with a bolder spirit of Navigation, having penetrated into every part of Asia, took in their

* Jac. de Vitriac. Hist. Hieros. ap. Bongars, l. p. 1099. Wilk. Tyr. lib. xii. c. 23.

† Du Cange, Glossar. Verb. *Aromata*, *Species*. Henry's Hist. of G. Brit. vol. iv. p. 597, 598.

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cargo of spices in the places where they grew, and could afford to dispose of them at such a price, that, from being an expensive luxury, they became an article of such general use, as greatly augmented the demand for them. An effect similar to this may be observed, with respect to the demand for other commodities imported from India, upon the reduction of their price by the *Portuguese*. From that period a growing taste for Asiatic luxuries may be traced in every country of Europe, and the number of ships fitted out for that trade at Lisbon, continued to increase every year.

V. Lucrative as the trade with INDIA was, and had long been deemed, it is remarkable that the *Portuguese* were suffered to remain in the undisturbed and exclusive possession of it, during the course of almost a century. In the ancient world, though *Alexandria*, from the peculiar felicity of its situation, could carry on an intercourse with the East by sea, and circulate its productions through Europe with such advantage, as gave it a decided superiority over every rival; yet various attempts (which have been described in their proper places) were made from time to time, to obtain some share in a Commerce so apparently beneficial. From the growing activity of the Commercial spirit in the sixteenth century, as well as from the example of the eager solicitude with which the *Venetians* and *Genoese* exerted themselves alternately to shut out each other from any share in the Indian trade, it might have been expected that some competitor would have arisen to call in question the claim of the *Portuguese* to an exclusive right of traffic with the East, and to wrest from them some portion of it. There were, however, at that time, some peculiar circumstances in the political state of all those nations in Europe, whose intrusion, as rivals, the *Portuguese* had any reason to dread, which secured to them the quiet enjoyment of their monopoly of Indian commerce, during such a long period. From the accession of Charles the fifth to the throne, SPAIN was either so much occupied in a multiplicity of operations in which it was engaged by the ambition of that monarch, and of his son Philip the second, or so intent on prosecuting its own discoveries and conquests in the New World, that, although, by the successful enterprise of Magellan, its fleets were unexpectedly conducted by a new course to that remote region of Asia which

• Notwithstanding this increasing demand for the productions of *India*, it is remarkable that during the sixteenth century some commodities, which are now the chief articles of importation from the East, were either altogether unknown, or of little account. *Tea*, the importation of which, at present, far exceeds that of any other production of the East, has not been in general use, in any country of Europe, a full century; and yet during that short period, from some singular caprice of taste, or power of fashion, the infusion of a leaf brought from the farthest extremity of the earth, of which it is perhaps the highest praise to say that it is innoxious, has become almost a necessary of life in several parts of Europe; and the passion for it descends from the most elevated to the lowest orders in society. In 1785 it was computed that the whole quantity of *Tea* imported into Europe from China was about nineteen millions of pounds; of which it is conjectured that twelve millions were consumed in Great Britain, and the dominions depending upon it. (Dodley's Annual Register for 1784, and 1785, p. 156.) In 1789 twenty-one millions of pounds were imported. The porcelain of China, now as common in many parts of Europe as if it were of domestic manufacture, was not known to the ancients. *Marco Polo* is the first among the moderns who mentions it. The *Portuguese* began to import it not long after their first voyage to China, A. D. 1517: but it was a considerable time before the use of it became extensive.

was the seat of the most gainful and alluring branch of trade carried on by the *Portuguese*, it could make no considerable effort to avail itself of the commercial advantages which it might have derived from that event. By the acquisition of the crown of Portugal, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the kings of Spain, instead of the rivals, became the protectors of the *Portuguese trade*, and the guardians of all its exclusive rights. Throughout the sixteenth century, the strength and resources of France were so much wasted by the fruitless expeditions of their monarchs into Italy, by their unequal contest with the power and policy of Charles the fifth, and by the calamities of the civil wars which desolated the kingdom upwards of forty years, that it could neither bestow much attention upon objects of Commerce, nor engage in any scheme of distant enterprise. The *VENETIANS*, how sensibly soever they might feel the mortifying reverse of being excluded, almost entirely, from the Indian trade, of which their capital had been formerly the chief seat, were so debilitated and humbled by the league of Cambray, that they were no longer capable of engaging in any undertaking of magnitude. *ENGLAND*, weakened (as was formerly observed) by the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, and just beginning to recover its proper vigour, was restrained from active exertion, during one part of the sixteenth century, by the cautious maxims of Henry the seventh, and wasted its strength, during another part of it, by engaging inconsiderately in the wars between the princes on the continent. The Nation, though destined to acquire territories in India more extensive and valuable than were ever possessed by any European power, had no such presentiment of its future eminence there, as to take an early part in the commerce or transactions of that country, and a great part of the century elapsed before it began to turn its attention towards the East.

While the most considerable nations in Europe found it necessary, from the circumstances which I have mentioned, to remain inactive spectators of what passed in the East, the *Seven United Provinces* of the Low Countries, recently formed into a small state, still struggling for political existence, and yet in the infancy of its power, ventured to appear in the Indian ocean as the rivals of the *Portuguese*; and, despising their pretensions to an exclusive right of commerce with the extensive countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, invaded that monopoly which they had hitherto guarded with such jealous attention. The *English* soon followed the example of the *Dutch*, and both nations, at first by the enterprising industry of private adventurers, and afterwards by the more powerful efforts of trading companies, under the protection of public authority, advanced with astonishing ardour and success in this new career opened to them. The vast fabric of power which the *Portuguese* had erected in the East (a superstructure much too large for the basis on which it had to rest), was almost entirely overturned, in as short time, and with as much facility, as it had been raised. *England* and *Holland*, by driving them from their most valuable settlements, and seizing the most lucrative branches of their trade, have attained to that pre-eminence in Naval power and Commercial opulence, by which they are distinguished among the nations of Europe.

VI. The

VI. The Co-incidence, in point of time, of the Discoveries made by Columbus in the west, and those of Gama in the east, is a singular circumstance, which merits observation, on account of the remarkable influence of those Events in forming or strengthening the Commercial connection of the different quarters of the globe with each other. In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to India. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art. But when the communication with India was rendered so much more easy, that the demand for its commodities began to increase far beyond what had been formerly known, if Europe had not been supplied with the gold and silver which it was necessary to carry to the markets of the East from sources richer and more abundant than her own barren and impoverished mines, she must either have abandoned the trade with India altogether, or have continued it with manifest disadvantage. By such a continual drain of gold and silver, as well as by the unavoidable waste of both in circulation and in manufactures, the quantity of those metals must have gone on diminishing, and their value would have been so much enhanced, that they could not have continued long to be of the same utility in the Commercial transactions between the two countries. But before the effects of this diminution could be very sensibly felt, America opened her mines, and poured in treasures upon Europe in the most copious stream to which mankind ever had access. This treasure, in spite of innumerable anxious precautions to prevent it, flowed to the markets where the commodities necessary for supplying the wants, or gratifying the luxury of the Spaniards, were to be found; and from that time to the present, the English and Dutch have purchased the productions of China and Indostan, with silver brought from the mines of Mexico and Peru. The immense exportation of silver to the East, during the course of two centuries, has not only been replaced by the continual influx from America, but the quantity of it has been considerably augmented, and at the same time the proportional rate of its value in Europe and in India has varied so little, that it is chiefly with silver that many of the capital articles imported from the East are still purchased.

While AMERICA contributed in this manner to facilitate and extend the intercourse of Europe with Asia, it gave rise to a traffic with Africa, which, from slender beginnings, has become so considerable, as to form the chief bond of Commercial connection with that continent. Soon after the Portuguese had extended their Discoveries on the coast of Africa beyond the river Senegal, they endeavoured to derive some benefit from their new settlements there, by the sale of slaves. Various circumstances combined in favouring the revival of this odious traffic. In every part of America, of which the Spaniards took possession, they found that the natives, from the feeble-

ness of their frame, from their indolence, or from the injudicious manner of treating them, were incapable of the exertions requisite either for working mines, or for cultivating the earth. Eager to find hands more industrious and efficient, the *Spaniards* had recourse to their neighbours the *Portuguese*, and purchased from them negroe slaves. Experience soon discovered, that they were men of a more hardy race, and so much better fitted for enduring fatigue, that the labour of one negroe was computed to be equal to that of four Americans*; and from that time the number employed in the New World has gone on increasing with rapid progress. In this practice, no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion, the *Spaniards* have unhappily been imitated by all the nations of Europe, who have acquired territories in the warmer climates of the New World. At present the number of negroe slaves in the settlements of Great Britain and France in the West Indies, exceeds a *million*; and as the establishment of servitude has been found, both in ancient and in modern times, extremely unfavourable to population, it requires an annual importation from Africa of at least *fifty-eight thousand*, to keep up the stock†. If it were possible to ascertain, with equal exactness, the number of slaves in the Spanish dominions, and in North America, the total number of negroe slaves might be well reckoned at as many more.

Thus the Commercial genius of Europe, which has given it a visible ascendancy over the three other divisions of the earth, by discerning their respective wants and resources, and by rendering them reciprocally subservient to one another, has established an Union among them, from which it has derived an immense increase of opulence, of power, and of enjoyments.

VII. Though the Discovery of a New World in the West, and the opening of a more easy and direct communication with the remote regions of the East, co-operated towards extending the Commerce, and adding to the enjoyments, of Europe, a remarkable difference may be observed, with respect both to the Time and the Manner in which they produced these effects. When the *Portuguese* first visited the different countries of *Asia*, stretching from the coast of *Malabar* to *China*, they found them possessed by nations highly civilized, which had made considerable progress in elegant as well as useful arts, which were accustomed to intercourse with strangers, and well acquainted with all the advantages of Commerce. But when the *Spaniards* began to explore the *New World* which they discovered, the aspect which it presented to them was very different. The Islands were inhabited by naked savages, so unacquainted with the simplest and most necessary arts of life, that they subsisted chiefly on the spontaneous productions of a fertile soil and genial climate. The Continent appeared to be a forest of immense extent, along the Coast of which were scattered some feeble tribes, not greatly superior to the islanders in industry or improvement. Even its two large Monarchies, which have been dignified with the appella-

* Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 340.

† Report of Lords of the Privy Council, A. D. 1788.

tion of civilised states, had not advanced so far beyond their countrymen, as to be entitled to that name. The inhabitants, both of *Mexico* and *Peru*, unacquainted with the useful metals, and destitute of the address requisite for acquiring such command of the inferior animals as to derive any considerable aid from their labour, had made so little progress in Agriculture, the first of all arts, that one of the greatest difficulties with which the small number of Spaniards, who overturned those highly extolled empires, had to struggle, was how to procure in them what was sufficient for their subsistence.

It was of consequence, with a very different spirit, that the intercourse with two countries, resembling each other so little in their degree of improvement, was begun and carried on. The *Portuguese*, certain of finding in the East, not only the productions with which the bountiful hand of Nature has enriched that part of the globe, but various manufactures which had long been known and admired in Europe, engaged in this alluring trade with the greatest eagerness. The encouragement of it their monarchs considered as a chief object of government, towards which they directed all the power of the kingdom, and roused their subjects to such vigorous exertions in the prosecution of it, as occasioned that astonishing rapidity of progress which I have described. The sanguine hopes with which the *Spaniards* entered upon their career of Discovery, met not with the same speedy gratification. From the industry of the rude inhabitants of the *New World*, they did not receive a single article of Commerce. Even the natural productions of the soil and climate, when not cherished and multiplied by the fostering and active hand of man, were of little account. Hope, rather than success, incited them to persist in extending their researches and conquests; and as government derived little immediate benefit from these, it left the prosecution of them chiefly to private adventurers, by whose enterprising activity, more than by any effort of the state, the most valuable possessions of Spain in America were acquired. Instead of the instantaneous and great advantages which the *Portuguese* derived from their Discoveries, above half a century elapsed before the *Spaniards* reaped any benefit of consequence from their conquests, except the small quantities of gold which the islanders were compelled to collect, and the plunder of the gold and silver employed by the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* as ornaments of their persons and temples, or as utensils of sacred or domestic use. It was not until the Discovery of the mines of *Potosi* in *Peru*, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-five, and of those of *Sacotecas* in Mexico, soon after, that the Spanish territories in the *New World* brought a permanent and valuable addition of wealth and revenue to the mother country.

Nor did the trade with *India* differ more from that of *America*, in respect of the particular circumstance which I have explained, than in respect to the manner of carrying it on, after it grew to be a considerable object of political attention. Trade with the East was a simple mercantile transaction, confined to the purchase either of the natural productions of the country, such as spices, precious stones, pearls, &c. or of the manufactures which abounded among an industrious race of men, such as

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silk and cotton stuffs, porcelain, &c. Nothing more was requisite in conducting this trade, than to settle a few skilful agents in proper places, to prepare a proper assortment of goods for completing the cargoes of ships as soon as they arrived from Europe, or at the utmost to acquire the command of a few fortified stations, which might secure them admission into Ports where they might careen in safety, and find protection from the insults of any hostile power. There was no necessity of making any attempt to establish Colonies, either for the cultivation of the soil, or the conduct of manufactures. Both these remained, as formerly, in the hands of the natives.

But as soon as that wild spirit of Enterprise, which animated the *Spaniards* who first explored and subdued the New World, began to subside, and when, instead of roving as adventurers from province to province in quest of gold and silver, they seriously turned their thoughts towards rendering their conquests beneficial by cultivation and industry, they found it necessary to establish Colonies in every country which they wished to improve. Other nations imitated their example in the settlements which they afterwards made in some of the islands, and on the continent of North America. *Europe*, after having desolated the New World, began to repopulate it, and under a system of colonization (the spirit and regulations of which it is not the object of this Disquisition to explain) the European race has multiplied there amazingly. Every article of Commerce imported from the New World, if we except the furs and skins purchased from the independent tribes of hunters in North America, and from a few tribes in a similar state on the southern continent, is the produce of the industry of *Europeans* settled there. To their exertions, or to those of hands which they have taught or compelled to labour, we are indebted for sugar, rum, cotton, tobacco, indigo, rice, and even the gold and silver extracted from the bowels of the earth. Intent on those lucrative branches of industry, the inhabitants of the New World pay little attention to those kinds of labour which occupy a considerable part of the members of other societies, and depend, in some measure, for their subsistence, and entirely for every article of elegance and luxury, upon the ancient Continent. Thus the *Europeans* have become manufacturers for America, and their industry has been greatly augmented by the vast demands for supplying the wants of extensive countries, the population of which is continually increasing. Nor is the influence of this demand confined solely to the nations which have a more immediate connection with the American colonies; it is felt in every part of Europe that furnishes any article exported to them, and gives activity and vigour to the hand of the artisan in the inland provinces of Germany, as well as to those in Great Britain and other countries, which carry on a direct trade with the New World.

But while the Discovery and Conquest of *America* is allowed to be one principal cause of that rapid increase of industry and wealth, which is conspicuous in Europe during the two last centuries, some timid Theorists have maintained, that throughout the same period Europe has been gradually impoverished, by being drained of its treasure, in order to carry on its trade with *India*. But this apprehension has arisen from inattention to the nature and use of the precious metals. They are to be con-

sidered in two different lights; either as the signs which all civilized nations have agreed to employ, in order to estimate or represent the value both of labour and of all commodities, and thus to facilitate the purchase of the former, and the conveyance of the latter from one proprietor to another; or gold and silver may be viewed as being themselves commodities or articles of Commerce, for which some equivalent must be given by such as wish to acquire them. In this light, the exportation of the precious metals to the East should be regarded; for, as the nation by which they are exported must purchase them with the produce of its own labour and ingenuity, this trade must contribute, though not in the same obvious and direct manner as that with America, towards augmenting the general industry and opulence of Europe. If *England*, as the price of Mexican and Peruvian dollars which are necessary for carrying on its trade with India, must give a certain quantity of its woollen or cotton cloth, or hard-ware, then the hands of an additional number of manufacturers are rendered active, and work to a certain amount must be executed, for which, without this trade, there would not have been any demand. The Nation reaps all the benefit arising from a new creation of industry. With the gold and silver which her manufactures have purchased in the *West*, she is enabled to trade in the markets of the *East*, and the exportation of treasure to India, which has been so much dreaded, instead of impoverishing, enriches the kingdom.

VIII. It is to the Discovery of the passage to *India* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and to the vigour and success with which the PORTUGUESE prosecuted their conquests and established their dominion there, that *Europe has been indebted for its preservation from the most illiberal and humiliating Servitude that ever oppressed polished nations*. For this observation I am indebted to an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated, and whose eloquence has adorned the history of the Settlements and Commerce of modern nations in the *West Indies* *; and it appears to me so well founded as to merit more ample investigation. A few years after the first appearance of the *Portuguese* in India, the dominion of the Mameluks was overturned by the irresistible power of the Turkish arms, and Egypt and Syria were annexed as provinces to the Ottoman empire. If after this event the Commercial intercourse with *India* had continued to be carried on in its ancient channels, the Turkish sultans, by being masters of Egypt and Syria, must have possessed the absolute command of it, whether the productions of the East were conveyed by the Red Sea to *Alexandria*, or were transported by land-carriage from the Persian Gulf to *Constantinople*, and the ports of the Mediterranean. The monarchs who were then at the head of this great Empire, were neither destitute of abilities to perceive the pre-eminence to which this would have elevated them, nor of ambition to aspire to it. *Selim*, the conqueror of the Mameluks, by confirming the ancient privileges of the *Venetians* in Egypt and Syria, and by his regulations concerning the duties on Indian goods, which I have already mentioned, early discovered his solicitude to secure all the advantages of Commerce with the East to his own dominions. The attention of *Solyman the Magnificent*, his suc-

* M. L'Abbé Raynal.

cessor, seems to have been equally directed towards the same object. More enlightened than any monarch of the Ottoman race, he attended to all the transactions of the European states, and had observed the power as well as opulence to which the republic of *Venice* had attained by engrossing the Commerce with the East. He now beheld *Portugal* rising towards the same elevation, by the same means. Eager to imitate and to supplant them, he formed a scheme suitable to his character for political wisdom and the appellation of *Institutor of Rules*, by which the Turkish historians have distinguished him, and established, early in his reign, a System of commercial laws in his dominions, by which he hoped to render Constantinople the great staple of Indian trade, as it had been in the prosperous ages of the Greek empire *. For accomplishing this scheme, however, he did not rely on the operation of laws alone; he fitted out about the same time a formidable fleet in the Red Sea, under the conduct of a confidential officer, with such a body of janizaries on board of it, as he deemed sufficient not only to drive the *Portuguese* out of all their new settlements in India, but to take possession of some commodious station in that country, and to erect his standard there. The *Portuguese*, by efforts of valour and constancy, entitled to the splendid success with which they were crowned, repulsed this powerful armament in every enterprise it undertook, and compelled the shattered remains of the Turkish fleet and army to return with ignominy to the harbours from which they had taken their departure, with the most sanguine hopes of terminating the expedition in a different manner †. *Solyman*, though he never relinquished the design of expelling the *Portuguese* from India, and of acquiring some establishment there, was so occupied during the remainder of his reign, by the multiplicity of arduous operations in which an insatiable ambition involved him, that he never had leisure to resume the prosecution of it with vigour.

If either the measures of *Selim* had produced the effect which he expected, or if the more adventurous and extensive plan of *Solyman* had been carried into execution, the Command of the wealth of India, together with such a Marine as the monopoly of trade with that country has, in every age, enabled the power which possessed it to create and maintain, must have brought an accession of force to an empire already formidable to mankind, that would have rendered it altogether irresistible. *Europe*, at that period, was not in a condition to have defended itself against the combined exertions of such Naval and Military power, supported by Commercial wealth, and under the direction of a monarch whose comprehensive genius was able to derive from each its peculiar advantages, and to employ all with the greatest effect. Happily for the human race, the despotic system of Turkish government, founded on such illiberal fanaticism as has extinguished Science in Egypt, in Assyria, and in Greece, its three favourite mansions in ancient times, was prevented from extending its dominion over Europe, and from suppressing liberty, learning, and taste, when beginning to make successful efforts to revive there, and again to bless, to enlighten, and to polish mankind.

* Paruta Hist. Venet. lib. vii. p. 589. Sandi Stor. Civ. Venez. part ii. p. 902.

† Asia de Barros, dec. iv. lib. x. c. i. &c.

APPENDIX (D.)

THE
Voyages of two Mohammedans
IN THE
Indian Ocean,
DURING THE NINTH CENTURY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPT BY THE ABBE RENAUDOT, WITH THE
ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF ROBERTSON AND CAMPBELL.

* * * DR. ROBERTSON, in his *Historical Disquisition concerning ancient India*, (p. 118,) makes some remarks on the following Narrative, which he styles

“ The relation of a Voyage from the Persian Gulph towards the east, written by an Arabian merchant in the year of the Christian æra eight hundred and fifty-one, about two centuries after Persia was subjected to the Caliphs; and explained by the commentary of another Arabian, who had likewise visited the eastern parts of Asia.

“ This Voyage, together with the observations of Abu Zeid al Hafan of Siraf, was published by M. Renaudot, A. D. 1718, under the title of *Anciennes Relations des Indes, et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le Neuvieme Siecle, traduites de Arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces Relations*. As M. Renaudot, in his remarks, represents the literature and police of the Chinese, in colours very different from those of the splendid descriptions which a blind admiration had prompted the Jesuits to publish, two zealous Missionaries have called in question the authenticity of these relations, and have asserted that the authors of them had never been in China (P. Premare, *Lettr. edifiantes et curieuses*, tom. xix. p. 420, &c. P. Parennin, *ibid.* tom. xxi. p. 158, &c.). Some doubts concerning their

authenticity were entertained likewise by several learned men in England, on account of *M. Renaudot's* having given no notice of the Manuscript which he translated, but that he found it in the library of *M. Le Comte de Seignelay*. As no person had seen the Manuscript since that time, the doubts increased, and *M. Renaudot* was charged with the crime of imposing upon the public. But the *Colbert Manuscripts* having been deposited in the king's library, as (fortunately for literature) most private collections are in France, *M. de Guignes*, after a long search, discovered the identical manuscript to which *M. Renaudot* refers. It appears to have been written in the twelfth century; (*Journal des Sçavans*, December 1764, p. 315, &c.) As I had not the French edition of *M. Renaudot's* book, my references are made to the English translation. The relation of the two Arabian travellers is confirmed in many points by their countryman *Massoudi*, who published his treatise on universal history, to which he gives the fantastical title of "Meadows of Gold, and Mines of Jewels," an hundred and six years after their time. From him, likewise, we receive such an account of *India* in the tenth century, as renders it evident that the Arabians had then acquired an extensive knowledge of that country.—According to his description, the peninsula of *India* was divided into four kingdoms. The *first* was composed of the provinces situated on the Indus, and the rivers which fall into it; the capital of which was *Moultau*. The capital of the *second* kingdom was *Canoge*, which from the ruins of it still remaining, appears to have been a very large city; (*Rennell's Memoirs*, p. 54.). In order to give an idea of its populousness, the Indian historians assert, that it contained thirty thousand shops, in which betel-nut was sold, and sixty thousand sets of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to government; (*Ferishta*, translated by Dow, vol. i. p. 32.). The *third* kingdom was *Cachemire*. *Massoudi*, as far as I know, is the first author who mentions this paradise of *India*, of which he gives a short but just description. The *fourth* is the kingdom of *Guzerate*, which he represents as the greatest and most powerful; and he concurs with the two Arabian Travellers, in giving the sovereigns of it the appellation of *Balhara*. What *Massoudi* relates concerning *India* is more worthy of notice, as he himself had visited that country; (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. i. p. 9, 10.) *Massoudi* confirms what the two Arabian travellers relate, concerning the extraordinary progress of the Indians in astronomical science. According to his account, a temple was built during the reign of *Brahman*, the first monarch of *India*, with twelve towers, representing the twelve signs of the Zodiac; and in which was delineated a view of all the stars as they appear in the heavens. In the same reign was composed the famous *Sind-Hind*, which seems to be the standard treatise of Indian astronomy; (*Notices*, &c. tom i. p. 7.) Another Arabian author, who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century, divides *India* into three parts. The *northern*, comprehending all the provinces on the Indus. The *middle*, extending from *Guzerate* to the *Ganges*. The *southern*, which he denominates *Comar*, from *Cape Comorin*; (*Notices*, &c. tom ii. p. 46.)"

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EXTRACTS FROM THE VOYAGES OF TWO MOHAMMEDANS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, DURING THE NINTH CENTURY.

(*Harris's Collection, Vol. I. p. 521.*)

THE most natural, easy, and certain method of attaining a perfect knowledge of the *Discoveries* made in the *East Indies*, is unquestionably that of reading the best Voyages and Travels into those parts, in the order of time in which they were made; for by this means they illustrate each other, and serve as a kind of Commentaries; deliver the history of places and persons with the least possible confusion, and show us at once the different state of the countries mentioned in them at different periods of time, and the advances that were made in perfecting the knowledge of those countries by such as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had seen and heard, for the information of others and of posterity. Of all the travellers into these parts of the world, whose writings are still preserved, those which are contained in this section are beyond all doubt the most ancient, and in that respect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render these as clear and as intelligible as is possible to our readers, we shall first insert some memoirs of that eminent French Critic who translated and made them public, and shall next give a succinct account from the materials he has afforded us of the authors themselves, the nature of their works, the circumstances which peculiarly recommend them, the reasons which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the credit which on that account is their due.

It was EUSEBIUS RENAUDOT, who delivered these venerable remains of antiquity from the obscurity in which they had been buried for ages, and sent them abroad in the *French* language, with some very valuable notes and Dissertations of his own. He was a person whose family had been distinguished for their learning through several descents. His grandfather, *Theophrastus Renaudot*, established the *French Gazette* in the year 1631, under the patronage of cardinal *Richelieu*. His father was first physician to the Dauphin, son to *Lewis XIV.* This gentleman addicted himself chiefly to the study of divinity and the oriental languages, which might have raised him to some eminent station in the church, if, from his great modesty and unaffected love of privacy, he had not studiously declined it. He was very early taken notice of at court, where the politeness of his manners recommended him as strongly to the principal ministers, as the severity of his studies endeared him to most of the learned men of his time.

In the year 1689 he was chosen a member of the *French Academy*, and in 1691 became a member of that of *Inscriptions*, and of the *Belles Lettres*. He accompanied Cardinal *Noailles* to *Rome* in 1700, and was with him in the conclave in which *Clement XI.* was raised to the Papal throne; by whom the *Abbé Renaudot* was so much esteemed, that he kept him at *Rome* seven or eight months after the cardinal's departure, and forced upon him a benefice, which he had the modesty to refuse, though his circumstances were not such as made it unnecessary to him.

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In his return to *France*, the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* kept him a whole month at *Florence*, where he had an apartment in the palace; and during his stay there, was received into the famous academy of *la Crusca*; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with presents, and sent him to *Marfeilles* in his own vessels.

He published, after his return to *France*, many learned works, and particularly in the year 1713, *The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, from St. Mark to the close of the thirteenth century*, with an Appendix, containing the history of the *Mahomedans* in *Egypt*, from their own writers; which gained him great reputation. In 1716 he published, in two volumes in quarto, the history of the *Oriental Liturgies*, which was also much esteemed. And in the year 1718 he sent abroad these *Voyages and Travels*, which were likewise received with universal applause. Besides these, he published many other learned treatises; and having for many years weakened his constitution by an assiduous application to his studies, he died on the 1st of *September* 1720, in the 74th year of his age, with the reputation of being one of the most learned men, and one of the exactest critics of his time *.

As to the first of these *Voyages*, we know not by whom it was written, the beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the year of the *Hegira* 237, A. D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a commentary or discourse upon the former, appears to have been the work of *Abu Zeid al Hafan of Siraf*, who penned it about the year of the *Hegira* 303, A. D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at least, two centuries older than any accounts that had been published before. They were translated from an original manuscript in the library of the Count de *Seignelay*, the age of which was ascertained by the character in which it was written. But there is still a plainer proof of its being penned in the year of the *Hegira* 619, A. D. 1173, because there are at the end of it some observations in the same hand, relating to the extent of the walls and fortifications of the city of *Damascus*, under the reign of the famous Sultan *Noureddin*, and of other cities under his dominion; in which the writer speaks of him as still living: and therefore, as that monarch died the same year, this manuscript is clearly between five and six hundred years old †.

It is also very apparent, that there is nothing in either of these works, that can create the least suspicion that they are later than these dates speak them; but, on the contrary, all the facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other histories, afford the clearest testimonies of their being genuine and authentic. The great value of these relations arises from their giving us a large account of *China*, above four hundred years earlier than the *Travels* of *Marco Polo* ‡, who, till these accounts were published, was always esteemed the first author we had on that subject.

The first of them begins abruptly, on account of there being a page or two wanting in the original manuscript; which very probably contained the name and country

* *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Tom. V. p. 384.

† See M. *Renaudot's* Preface to these Relations. ‡ *Marco Polo* returned from his voyage A. D. 1295.

of its author, and the occasion of his Voyage; the loss of which there is great reason to regret.

Of the Sea of Herkend, and of the Islands therein.

I. "THE third of the Seas we have to mention, is that of *Herkend* *. Between this sea and that of *Delarow*, are many islands, to the number, as they say, of nineteen hundred, which divide those two seas from each other †, and are governed by a queen ‡. Among these Islands they find ambergris in lumps of extraordinary bigness, as also in lesser pieces, which resemble plants torn up. This Amber is produced at the bottom of the sea, as plants upon earth; and when the sea is tempestuous, the violence of the waves tears it up from the bottom, and washes it to the shore in the form of a mushroom or truffle. These Islands are full of that kind of palm-tree which bears the cocoa-nut, and are from one to four leagues distant from each other, all inhabited. The wealth of the inhabitants consists in shells, of which even the queen's treasury is full. They say there are no workmen more expert than these islanders; and that of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make shirts all of a piece, as also vests or tunics. Of the same tree they build ships and houses, and they are skilful in all other workmanship. Their shells they have from the sea at such times when they rise up to the surface; when the inhabitants throw branches of the cocoa-nut tree into the sea, and the shells stick to them. They call them *Kaptaje* in their language.

"Beyond these islands, in the sea of *Herkend*, is *Serendib* §, or *Ceylon*, the chief of all those islands, which are called *Dobijat*. It is all compassed by the sea, and on its coast

* By the Sea of *Herkend*, in all probability, our author means the sea about the Maldives; which, according to the eastern geographers, divides that part of the Indian Ocean from the sea of *Delarow*, which is the gulph called by the ancients *Sinus Magnus*. The eastern writers frequently speak of the Seven Seas, which seems to be rather a proverbial phrase, than a geographical definition. The seas, without comprehending the ocean, which they call *Bab-Mahit*,—are the sea of *China*, the sea of *India*, the sea of *Persia*, the sea of *Kalsuma*, or the *Red Sea*, so called from a town which is thought to be the *Clyfma* of the ancients; the sea of *Rum*, or of *Greece*, which is the *Mediterranean*, the sea called *Al-Cbozar*, or the *Caspian*, and the sea of *Pont*, or the *Pontus Euxinus*; but these are not all the names they give them, for the Sea of *India* is very often called the *Green Sea*; that of *Persia*, the sea of *Bassora*, and other names they have for particular parts of these seas.

† It is no wonder that the *Arabs* had but a very imperfect knowledge of these Islands, since we are not very well informed about them to this day. The reader may probably think that our author has multiplied them, from the number he speaks of; but the truth is, that he rather diminishes them; for the most accurate writers we have, assure us that there are twelve thousand of them; and this is said to be the signification of their name in the *Malabar* tongue, viz. *Male Dive*, i. e. a thousand islands; that round number being put for the true number of them, let it be what it will.

‡ The subsequent accounts we have had of the *Maldives* do not justify this particular, if the intent of the author was to inform us that these islands were always governed by a woman. It might perhaps be so in his time, where, by accident, one woman might have succeeded another, as queen *Elizabeth* did queen *Mary* here.

§ This is the *Taprobana* of the ancients; and I think scarce any island has been called by more names than those which have been bestowed on this; but whereas in the ancient work of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, it is called

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coast they fish for pearl. In this country there is a mountain called *Rabun*, to the top of which it is thought *Adam* ascended, and there left the print of his foot in a rock, which is seventy cubits in length; and they say that *Adam* at the same time stood with his other foot in the sea. About this mountain are mines of rubies, opals, and amethysts. This Island, which is of great extent, has two kings; and here are found lignum, aloes, gold, precious stones, and pearls, which are fished for on the coast; as also a kind of large shells, which they use instead of trumpets, and are much valued.

"In the same Sea, towards the *Serendib*, there are other isles, but not so many in number, though of vast extent, and unknown. One of these Islands, called *Ramni**, is under several princes, in which there is great plenty of gold. The inhabitants here have cocoa-nut trees, which supply them with food, and therewith also they paint their bodies, and oil themselves.

"These Islands separate the Sea of *Herkend* from the Sea of *Shelabet*, and beyond them are others called *Najabalus*, which are pretty well peopled. When shipping is among these islands, the inhabitants come off in embarkations, and bring with them ambergris and cocoa-nuts, which they truck for iron; for they want no clothing, being free from the inconveniences either of heat or cold. Beyond these two Islands, lies the Sea of *Andaman*: the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw. They have no sort of barks or other vessels; if they had they would seize and devour all the passengers they could lay hands on. When ships have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in these seas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coast for the sake of water; and upon these occasions they commonly lose some of their men †.

"Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited Island, where, it is said, there are mines of silver; but as it does not lie in the usual track of shipping, many have sought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty mountain, which is called *Kasbenai*. It once so happened, that a Ship sailing in this latitude had sight of the mountain, and shaped her course for it; and falling in with the land, sent a boat on shore, with hands to cut wood: the men kindled a fire, and saw silver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a mine of this metal in that place; they shipped therefore as much of the earth or ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their Voyage they met with such a storm, that to lighten their ship, they were under the necessity of throwing all their ore overboard.

called *Siendiba*; it is very easy to account for this, and to shew that it is only a Greek termination given to the true name; *f* or *b* is often put for *u*, and consequently *Siendiba* is the same with *Siendive*; that is, *Sielen Island*; whence the modern name, as we usually write it, viz. the island of *Ceylon*.

* In some of the *Arabian* geographers, these are called the Islands of *Rami*.

† It is most certain, that, upon a strict inquiry, most of these stories of *Man-eaters* have been found to be fables void of all foundation; but the very latest accounts we have of the *Indies*, give these people the same character.

" Since

" Since that time the Mountain has been carefully sought, but it has never since been seen.—To conclude; there are many such Islands in the sea, more in number than can be set down, some inaccessible by seamen, and some unknown to them. In these Seas it often happens, that a whitish cloud at once spreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin tongue or spout, quite to the surface of the water, which then is turned round as by a whirlwind; and if a vessel happens to be in the way, she is immediately swallowed up thereby: but at length this cloud mounts up again, and discharges itself in a prodigious rain. It is not known whether this water is sucked up by the clouds, or how this comes to pass. All these Seas are subject to great storms, which makes them boil up like water over a fire: then it is that the surf dashes ships against the islands, and breaks them to pieces with unspeakable violence, and then also it is that fish of all sizes are thrown dead ashore upon the rocks. The wind, which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Herkend*, is from another quarter, *viz.* from the N. W. but the Sea is also subject to as violent agitations as those just mentioned, and then ambergris is torn up from the bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the ambergris.

" It is likewise observed, with respect to that Sea, that when it is thus tossed by the tempestuous winds, it sparkles like fire, and that it is infested by a certain kind of fish called Lockham, which frequently preys upon men." This is probably no other than the shark, which is common enough on all the coasts of the *Indies*. --- Here there is a part of the Manuscript lost, wherein the author treated of the Trade to *China*, as it stood in his time, and of the causes which had brought it into a declining condition. He then proceeds thus:

" *Of the Trade to China,—Navigation and Tides.—Siraff, Calabar, Kaukam, &c.*

--- II. " AMONGST others, the fires that frequently happen at *Canfu* are not the least. *Canfu* is the Port of all the ships of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*, and fires are there very frequent, because the houses are built with nothing but wood, or else with split cane; besides, Ships are often lost in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a stay in harbours, or to sell their goods out of the country subject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their cargo. In short, Ships are under a necessity of waiting a considerable time in refitting, not to speak of any other causes of delay.

" *Soliman*, the Merchant*, relates, that at *Canfu*, which is the principal resort of merchants, there is a *Mahomedan* appointed judge over those of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of *China*; and that he is judge of all the *Mahomedans* who resort to those parts.

* As to this *Soliman* the Merchant, it is very probable that some account was given of him in the page that is lost; but as to the *Mahomedan* Consul, it is a very extraordinary fact, and deserves particular notice, because it plainly shews, that the *Mahomedans* had for some time carried on a regular and settled Trade to *China*, which is what from other accounts we could never have suspected.

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"As for the places whence Ships depart, and those they touch at, many persons affirm, that the Navigation is performed in the following order:—most of the *Chinese* Ships take in their cargo at *Siraff**, where also they ship their goods which come from *Bafra*, or *Baffora*, *Oman*, and other ports; and this they do, because in this Sea there are frequent storms, and shoal water in many places. From *Bafra* to *Siraff* is an hundred and twenty leagues; and when Ships have loaded at this last place, they there water also; and from thence make sail for a place called *Mascat*, which is in the extremity of the province of *Oman*, about two hundred leagues from *Siraff*. On the east coast of this Sea, between *Siraff* and *Mascat*, is a place called *Nafis Bani al Safak*, and an island called *Ebn Kabowwan*; and in this Sea are rocks called *Oman*, and a narrow strait called *Durdur*, between two rocks, where vessels do venture, but the *Chinese* Ships dare not. There are also two rocks called *Koffir* and *Houware*, which scarce appear above the water's edge: After they are clear of these rocks, they steer for a place called *Sbitu Oman*, and at *Mascat* take in water, which is drawn out of wells; and here also they are supplied with cattle of the province of *Oman*: From thence Ships take their departure for the *Indies*, and first they touch at *Kaukam-mali*: and from *Mascat* to this place it is a month's sail with a fair wind.

"This is a frontier place, and the chief arsenal in the province of the same name. And here the *Chinese* Ships put in, and are in safety; fresh water is to be had here, and the *Chinese* pay a thousand drams for duties, but others pay only from one *dinar* to ten *dinars*. From *Mascat* to *Kaukam-mali* it is a month's sail; and then having watered at this place, they begin to enter the Sea of *Herkend*, and having sailed through it, touch at a place called *Lajabalus*, where the inhabitants understand not the *Arabic*, or any other language in use with merchants. They wear no cloaths, are white, and weak in their feet.

"From hence Ships steer towards *Calabar*, the name of a kingdom on the coast to the right hand beyond the *Indies*.—*Bar* signifies a Coast in the language of the country; and this depends on the kingdom of *Zapage*. The inhabitants are dressed in those sorts of striped garments, which the *Arabs* call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally observed by persons of every degree. At this place they commonly take in water, which is filled from wells fed by springs, and which they like better than what is drawn out of cisterns and tanks. *Calabar* is about a month's Voyage from a place called *Kaukam*, which is almost upon the skirts of the sea of *Herkend*. In ten days after this, Ships reach *Betuma*; from whence, in ten days more, they come up with *Kadrangé*.

* It is a very difficult thing to distinguish, at this distance of time, the route laid down by our author, chiefly by reason of the changes of names, of which we have particularly an instance in this great port of *Siraff*, not to be met with in any of our maps; however we have some mention made of it in other *Arabian* writers who say, that it lay sixty leagues from *Sbiray*, that it stood in the gulph of *Persia*, and that when it decayed, the trade thereof was transported to the island of *Ormuz*.

"It is to be observed, that in all the Islands and Peninsulas of the *Indies*, they find water when they dig for it. In this last mentioned place, there is a very lofty mountain, which is peopled by none but slaves and fugitives: from thence in ten days they arrive at *Senif*; here is fresh water, and hence comes the aromatic wood we call *Hud of Senef*. Here is a king, the inhabitants are black, and wear two striped garments. Having watered at this place, it is ten days passage to *Sanderfulat*, an Island where is fresh water; then they steer through the Sea of *Sanji*, and so to the gates of *China*; for so they call certain rocks and shoals in that Sea, forming a narrow strait, through which Ships pass. It requires a month to sail from *Sanderfulat* to *China*; and it takes up eight whole days to steer clear of these rocks.

"When a Ship has got through these gates, she, with the tide of flood, goes into a fresh water gulph, and drops anchor in the chief Port of *China*, which is that of *Canfu*; and here they have fresh water both from springs and rivers, as they have also in most of the other cities of *China*.

"In this Port it ebbs and flows * twice in twenty-four hours; but with this difference, that whereas from *Basra* to the island called *Bani Kabouan*, it flows when the moon is at full, and ebbs when she rises, and when she sets; from near *Bani Kabouan* quite to the coast of *China*, it is flood when the moon rises, and when she is towards her height it is at ebb: and so, on the contrary, when she sets it is flowing water, and when she is quite hidden under the horizon, the tide falls." - - -

"Our author seems here to interrupt his Narration, and to take occasion from what he has before reported (and which, in the main, is confirmed by later writers,) to compare the customs of the *Indians* and *Chinese*, intermixing his discourse also with other matters.

"The *Indians* and *Chinese* agree, that there are four great or principal kings in the world; they all allow the king of the *Arabs* to be the first, and to be, beyond dispute, the most powerful of kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way; because he is the prince and head of a great religion, and because no other surpasses him.

"The Emperor of *China* reckons himself next after the king of the *Arabs*, and after him the king of the *Greeks*, and lastly the *Balhara*, king of *Moharmi al Adon*, or of these who have their ears bored †.

"This *BALHARA* is the most illustrious prince in all the *Indies*; and all the other kings there, though each is master and independant in his kingdom, acknowledge thus far

* It is very probable, or rather certain, from the account given by our author, that this must be the Port of *Canton*; and the irregularity of the Tide is a circumstance that strongly confirms it; and which shews at the same time, that the *Arabs* were not so ignorant in those matters as they are generally imagined.

† We may conjecture, that this *Balhara*, or monarch of the nations with their ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Samorin*, or emperor of *Calicut*, who, according to the reports of the most ancient *Portuguese* historians, was acknowledged as a kind of emperor in the *Indies*, six hundred years before they discovered the passage to them by the *Cape of Good Hope*.

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his pre-eminence. When he sends ambassadors to them they are received with extraordinary honours, because of the respect they bear him. This king makes magnificent presents after the manner of the *Arabs*, and has horses and elephants in great numbers, and great treasures in money. He has of those pieces of silver called *Thartarian Drams*, which weigh half a dram more than the *Arabian Dram*. They are coined with the dye of the prince, and bear the year of his reign from the last of the reign of his predecessor.

"They compute not their years from the era of *Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the years of their kings. Most of these princes live a long time, and many of them have reigned above fifty years; and those of the country believe, that the length of their lives, and of their reigns, is granted them in recompence for their kindness to the *Arabs*. In truth, there are no princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their subjects profess the same friendship for us.

"*BALHARA* * is not a proper name, but an appellative common to all these kings, as was *Cosroes* and some others. The Country under the dominion of this prince begins on the coast of the province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by land to the confines of *China*. He is surrounded by the dominions of many kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches against them.

"After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State distant from the coast, and called *Kaschbin*, the inhabitants are white, and bore their ears; they have camels, and their country is for the most part desert, and full of mountains; farther upon the Coast there is a small kingdom called *Kitrang*, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the sea throws up great quantities of ambergris; they have also elephant's teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather. Beyond these kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of number unknown, and among the rest that of *Mujet*; the inhabitants are white, and dress after the *Chinese* mode; their country is full of mountains, with white tops, and of very great extent; here are very great quantities of Musk, esteemed the most exquisite in the world. They have war with all the neighbouring kingdoms.

"The kingdom of † *Mabed* is beyond that of *Mujet*; therein are many cities, and the inhabitants have a great resemblance to the *Chinese*, even more than those of *Mujet*; for they have officers or eunuchs, like those who govern the cities amongst the *Chinese*; the country of *Mabed* is bordering upon *China*, and is at peace with the emperor, but not subject to him. The *Mabed* send every year ambassadors and presents to the Emperor of *China*, who on his part sends ambassadors and presents to

* This is another good reason why the monarch here mentioned should be taken for the emperor of *Calicut*, since he likewise was not called by his proper name, but by such an appellative as this; and if we could obtain an etymology of these words, that could be depended upon, it is very likely that *Balhara* and *Samaria* would be found to mean the same.

† It would be an endless thing to fatigue the reader with conjectures about these countries, the names of which are totally unknown to us; so that all we can say of them with certainty is, that they lie between *Cape Comarin* and *China*.

them.

them. Their Country is of great extent; and when the ambassadors of *Mabed* enter China, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to survey the country, for fear they should form designs of conquering it; which would be no difficult task for them, on account of their great numbers, and because they are divided from China only by mountains and rocks.

"They say that in the kingdom of *China* there are above two hundred cities, with jurisdiction over others, that have each a governor, and an eunuch, or lieutenant. *Canfu* is one of these cities, being the Port for all shipping, and presiding over twenty towns.

"They coin a great deal of copper money, like what the *Arabs* call *Falus*: they have treasures like other kings; but they have only this sort of small money, which is current all over the country; for though they have gold, silver, pearls, silk, and rich stuffs in great abundance, they consider them only as moveables and merchandize, and the copper-pieces are the only current coin: from foreign parts they have ivory, frankincense, copper in pigs, tortoise-shells, and unicorns' horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their girdles. Of their own stock, they have abundance of beasts of burden, horses, asses, and dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* horses.

"They have an excellent kind of earth, wherewith they make a ware of equal fineness with glass, and equally transparent. When merchants arrive here *, the *Chinese* seize on their cargoes, and convey them to warehouses, where they remain six months, and till the last merchantman be arrived; then they take three in ten, or thirty *per cent.* of each commodity, and return the rest to the merchant. If the Emperor hath a mind for any particular thing, his officers have a right to take it, preferably to any other persons whatsoever, paying for it to the utmost value. They dispatch this business immediately, and without the least injustice; they commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty *Fakuges per man*, and the *Fakuge* is worth a thousand *Falus*, or pieces of copper. When it happens that the emperor does not take Camphire, it sells for half as much again.

"They have no duty imposed upon their lands, but are subject to a poll-tax, which is levied upon men only, and that according to their condition and capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other strangers, are in this country, the *Chinese* tax them according to their substance. When any dearth makes necessaries dear, then the king opens his Store-Houses, and sells all sorts of provisions much cheaper than they are to be had at market: and hence no dearth is of any long continuance among the *Chinese*. The sums that are gathered from this capitation-tax, are laid up in the public treasury; and I believe, that from this tax fifty thousand *dinars* are paid every day into the treasury of *Canfu* alone, although this city is not one of the largest in *China*.

* This account of the conduct of the *Chinese* towards the merchants, corresponds both with ancient and modern relations.

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"The Emperor reserves likewise to himself the revenues which arise from the Salt Mines, and from a certain *HERB* which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are sold in all the cities of *China*, to the amount of considerable sums; they call it *Itcha*, that is tea; and it is a shrub, more bushy than the pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleasant smell, but has a kind of bitterness with it. Their way is to boil water, which they pour upon this leaf; and this Drink cures all sorts of diseases.—Whatever sums come into the treasury, arise from the poll-tax, the duties upon salt, and the tax upon the Leaf*.

"In each City there is a small bell hung to the wall above the prince's or governor's head; and this bell may be rung by a string, which reaches about three miles, and crosses the highway, to the end that people may get at it; when the string is pulled; the bell strikes over the governor's head, and straight he commands that the person who thus demands justice, be brought before him: and accordingly the complainant sets forth his case in person; and the same practice is in use throughout all other provinces.

"If a man has a mind to travel from one place to another, he must take two passes with him, the one from the governor, the other from the eunuch or lieutenant. The governor's Pass permits him to set out on his journey, and takes notice of the name of the traveller, and of those also of his company, the age and family of the one and the other; for every body in *China* whether a native, or an *Arab*, or any other foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himself, nor can he possibly be excused.

"The Eunuch, or lieutenant's Pass, specifies the quantity of goods or money which the traveller and those with him take along with them; and this is done for the information of the frontier places, where these two passes are examined; for whenever a traveller arrives at any of them, it is registered, that such an one, the son of such an one, of such a family, passed through this place on such a day, in such a month, in such a year, and in such a company; and by this means they prevent any one from carrying off the money or effects of other persons, or their being lost: so that if any thing has been carried off unjustly, or the traveller dies on the road, they immediately know what is become of it, and the article missing is either restored to the claimant or to his heirs†.

"The *Chinese* have a Stone which is ten cubits high, erected in the public squares of their cities; and on this stone are engraved the names of all sorts of Medicines, with the exact price of each; and when the poor stand in need of any relief from physic, they go to the treasury, where they receive the price each medicine is rated at. There

* It appears from hence, that the custom of drinking Tea in *China*, is much more ancient than we have generally imagined it; for it must have prevailed long before our traveller went into this country, otherwise a tax upon it would have been ineffectual.

† This was a settled regulation among the ancient *Indians*; so that it is very probable the *Chinese* derived a great part of their policy from the *Indians*.

is in *China* no tax upon land; they only levy so much *per* head, according to the wealth and possessions of the subject. When a male child is born, his name is immediately entered in the king's books; and when this child has attained his eighteenth year, he begins to pay for his head; but they demand it not of the man who has seen his eightieth year, on the contrary, he receives a gratification by way of pension from the public treasury: and in doing this, the *Chinese* say, that they make this provision for him in his old days, in acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

"In the *Indies*, when a man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, the custom is to ask the accused if he is willing to go through the Trial by fire; and if he answers in the affirmative, they heat a piece of iron till it is red-hot. This done, they bid him stretch forth his hand, and upon it they put seven leaves of a certain tree, and upon these leaves they put the red-hot iron, and in this condition he walks backward and forward for some time, and then throws off the iron. Immediately after this they put his hand into a leathern bag, which they seal with the Prince's signet; and if at the end of three days he appears, and declares he has suffered no hurt, they order him to take out his hand; when, if no sign of fire is visible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the punishment which threatened him, and his accuser is condemned to pay a *Man* of gold as a fine to the prince.

"Sometimes they boil water in a cauldron *, till it is so hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an iron ring into it, and command the person accused to thrust his hand down, and bring out the ring. I saw one who did this, and received no manner of hurt. The accuser is in this case also to pay a *Man* of gold.

"It is an universal custom all over the *Indies* to burn the bodies of the dead. The island of *Sarandib* is the last of the islands of the *Indies*. When they burn a king, it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire and to burn with him; but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

"In the *Indies* there are men who profess to live in the woods and mountains, and to despise what other men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild herbs and fruits as spring in the woods. Some of them are quite naked, or have only a leopard's skin thrown over them, and in this plight keep standing with their faces towards the sun. I formerly saw one in the posture I have described; and returning to the *Indies*, about sixteen years afterwards, I found him in the very same attitude;

* This manner of finding out the truth by appealing to God in so extraordinary a manner, was in use in most countries. Sophocles mentions it as practised by the ancients. The *Cassres* on the coast of *Mosambique*, if they are accused of any capital crime, lick iron to prove their innocence. The *Indians of Calicut* decide their differences in the same manner. If a man is accused of theft, he and the accuser are brought before the judges; a pint of oil is heated till it almost boils, and then the party accused dips in three of his fingers, which are immediately bound up, and opened on the third day; when, if it appears he is scalded, he suffers death; and if not, the same sentence falls upon the accuser. All this is the more probable, since this was once the common law of our own country, as the reader will perceive by consulting any of our glossographers on the word *Odeal*.

and was astonished he had not lost his eye-sight by the heat of the sun *. In all these kingdoms the sovereign power resides in the royal family, and never departs from it; and the next heirs of this family succeed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of physicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of these are mixed with a family of a profession different from their own. The several states of the *Indies* are not subject to one king, but each province has its own king. The *Balbara* is nevertheless in the *Indies* as king of kings. The *Chinese* are fond of gaming, and all manner of diversions; on the contrary, the *Indians* condemn them, and have no pleasure in them. They drink no wine, nor make any use of vinegar, because it is made of wine; and yet they abstain not therefrom as a religious duty, but for another reason. They say, that if a king is given to wine, he ought not to be deemed a king: for, continue they, as there are frequent wars with the neighbouring states, how should a drunkard manage the affairs of his kingdom?

"The *Chinese* have no Sciences; and their religion, and most of their laws are derived from the *Indians*; nay, they are of opinion that the *Indians* taught them the worship of idols, and consider them as a very religious nation; both the one and the other believe the *Metempsychosis*: but they differ in many points touching the precepts of their religions. Physick and philosophy are cultivated among the *Indians*, and the *Chinese* have some skill in medicine; but it almost wholly consists in the art of applying hot irons or cauteries. They have also some smattering of Astronomy, but therein also the *Indians* surpass the *Chinese*. I know not that there is so much as one of either nation that has embraced Mohammedism, or speaks *Arabic*.

"*China* is a pleasant and fruitful country: most of the *Indian* provinces have no cities; whereas in *China* there are many in number, great in extent, and well fortified: the climate of *China* is more wholesome, and the country itself is less fenny. The air there is also much better, and there is scarce a blind person to be seen, or any one subject to the diseases of the eyes; and the same advantages are enjoyed by several provinces of the *Indies*. The Rivers of these two countries are large, and surpass our greatest rivers; much rain falls in both these countries. In the *Indies* are many desert tracks, but *China* is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole extent.

"Beyond the Continent of *China*, there is a country called *Tagazgaz*, from the name of a nation of the *Turks*, who there inhabit; and also the country of *Kakhan*, or *Tibet*, which is bordering on the country of the *Turks* †. The Islands of *Sila* are inhabited by white people, who send presents to the emperor of *China*, and who are persuaded, that if they did not send him presents, the rain of heaven would not fall upon their country. None of our people have been there to inform us concerning them."

* These Penances among the *Indians*, as surprising or as incredible as they seem to be, are confirmed by all the travellers that have written of those countries, whether ancient or modern.

† The Nations here mentioned are to be considered as dwelling in their native region, before they became famous by their irruption into *Persia*, which is the country every where meant by the name of *Irak*, and before they became *Mahomedans*; which is the more necessary, because from the present state of things it is very natural to connect the ideas which we have of the modern *Turks*, with these accounts of their ancestors.

AS WE ARE NOW ARRIVED TO THE END OF THIS WORK, it may not be amiss to offer here some Remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing Discourse, and prepare us at the same time for that which is to come.—We are informed that the date of this Narration was of the *Hegira* 237. (A. D. 851.) which circumstance, though preserved to us in the ensuing Discourse, was very probably contained in the first leaf of this, which is wanting in the manuscript. But though it was written then, yet it seems highly probable, that our Author's first journey to the *Indies* was, at least, twenty years before; because he observes, that he made a second journey there sixteen years afterwards; and we may very well allow four years for the time spent in the first journey, and the space that might intervene between his return, and his composing this Treatise. According to this calculation, his first Voyage to the *Indies* was in the year of the *Hegira* 217. (A. D. 833.) and his second *An. Heg.* 235. (A. D. 849.)

As to the occasion of his Voyages, there is nothing occurs in this account that can give us the least light into it; however, it seems most probable, that he underwent these fatigues on the score of Commerce; for it can hardly be supposed, that a man would have made so long a journey, a second time, purely out of curiosity, and to satisfy the desire of being better acquainted with these people, which had been excited by his former intercourse with them. There is not much to be observed with respect to the form of this Treatise, or the stile in which it is written; and yet something there is worth mentioning with respect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boast much of the regularity of his method; and yet it would be unjust to condemn it entirely; because, for want of having the introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his plan, and consequently cannot say how far he came up to or fell short of it. One thing I think is manifest, which is, that the scope of his undertaking is a *Comparison between the Indians and the Chinese*; at least he falls into this immediately after he has described the usual Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*; and considered in this light, his Treatise appears regular enough. As to his stile, it is extremely simple and plain, and has nothing of that swelling, hyperbolical eloquence which is generally observed in oriental writers: upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, this was a vice that prevailed in later times, after poetry and rhetoric had been more cultivated than they were in the first ages of their empire, which has been the case in most other nations.

One cannot possibly doubt, that this piece was extremely well received when it first came abroad; and that it had maintained its reputation for a considerable space of time, appears from the Second Treatise which we are about to give our readers. It seems, that when the affairs of *China* were better known, some prince, or other person of distinction, desired the author of the following pages to look over that Discourse; and to inform him, how far the facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by succeeding relations. What time this happened, we cannot with any certainty say, from the comparison of the two pieces, or from the lights given us by the learned and accurate Critic who published them. The Manuscript which the

Abbé

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Abbé RENAUDOT made use of, was apparently older than the year of the *Hegira* 569, which answers to the year of Christ 1173; but the Discourse must certainly have been written long before that time.—In our Notes we have shewn that *Eben Wabab* travelled into *China* A. H. 285, A. D. 898; and the author of this last Treatise informs us, that he had conversed with this man after his return, and had from him the facts which he has inserted in his Discourse: so that the book itself must have been two centuries older than the Manuscript from which the Abbé RENAUDOT published it, and might probably be written sixty or seventy years after the foregoing Treatise. These are all the lights which, from an assiduous study of these valuable fragments of antiquity, we have been able to give the reader; and therefore we shall detain him no longer from the piece itself, which in the Original bears the following title:

(Preface of the second Author in confirmation of what the former had delivered.)

THE DISCOURSE OF ABU ZEID AL HASAN OF SIRAF, CONCERNING THE VOYAGE TO THE INDIES AND CHINA.

“ Having very carefully examined the book I was directed to peruse, that I might confirm what the author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the affairs of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the coast, and the State of the countries; and that I might add upon this head, what I have elsewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this book—I find it was written in the year of the *Hegira* 257, and that the accounts the author gives in regard to things at Sea, were in his time very true, and agreeable to what I have understood from merchants, who from *Irak* sailed through those Seas. I find also, that all the author writes is agreeable to truth except some few passages.

“ He told us, that since those days the affairs of *China* wear quite another face; and since much is related to shew the reason why the Voyages to *China* are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many customs abolished, and the empire divided, I will here declare the causes I know of this Revolution*.

“ The great Troubles which have embroiled the affairs of this Empire; which have put a stop to the justice and righteousness there formerly practised; and which have in fine interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, flowed from this source: an officer who was considerable for his employment, though not of the royal

* The account here given by our author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was considered in his time as very ancient, and of very great consequence; inasmuch that whatever affected the peace of that country, was looked upon as a thing of common concern to all the nations of the East. But till these travels were published, who could have imagined this? Who would have suspected that the affairs of *China* were so well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when these things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had reason to advance it as a thing highly probable, that long before this, the empires of *China* and the *Indies* were in the most flourishing condition, as well in point of foreign Commerce, as of domestic Economy.

family,

family, revolted some time ago; this man's name was *Baichu*, and he began with committing hostilities in the country, marching his armies into many places, to the great loss of the Inhabitants; till, winning a party over to him by his liberalities, he got together a multitude of vagabonds and abandoned people, whom he formed into a considerable body of troops.

"His army thus strengthened, and himself in a condition to undertake any thing, he discovered his design of subduing the Empire; and marched straight to *Canfu*, one of the most noted cities in *China*, and at that time the Port for all the *Arabian* merchants. This city stands upon a great River some days distance from the entrance, so that the water there is fresh: but the citizens shutting their gates against him, he resolved to besiege the place, and the siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the year of the *Hegira* 264, and of *Christ* 877.

"At last he became master of the City, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. There are persons fully acquainted with the affairs of *China*, who assure us, that besides the *Chinese* who were massacred upon this occasion, there perished one hundred and twenty thousand *Mohammedans*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Parsters*, who were there on account of traffic. The number of the professors of these four religions, who thus perished, is exactly known, because the *Chinese* are exceedingly nice in the accounts they keep of them.

"He also cut down the mulberry trees, and almost all the trees of other kinds: but we speak of the Mulberry in particular, because the *Chinese* cultivate it carefully for the sake of its leaf, on which their Silkworms subsist. This devastation is the cause why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which used to be driven therein through all the countries under the *Arabs*, is quite at a stand. Having sacked and destroyed *Canfu*, he possessed himself of many other cities, which he attacked one after another; the emperor of *China* not having it in his power to stop his progress. He advanced then to the capital city, called *Cumdan*; and the Emperor left this, his royal seat, making a precipitate retreat to the city of *Hamdu*, on the frontiers, towards the province of *Tibet*.

"The Rebel, puffed up by these great successes, and perceiving himself master of the countries, fell upon the other cities, which he demolished; having first slain most of the inhabitants, with a view, in this general butchery, to involve all the several branches of the royal blood, that none might survive to dispute the Empire with him. We had the news of these Revolutions, and of the total ruin of *China*, which still continues.

"Thus were affairs situated, and the Rebel stood uncontrolled by any disadvantage that might abate his authority *.

"At

* It is a very difficult thing to pretend to settle the Chronology of the *Chinese* Empire; and the very learned editor of these travels confesses that he is not able to give any satisfactory account of this revolution. It so falls out, however, that Father *du Halde*, in his history of *China*, lately published, has enabled us to set this matter right, or at least very nearly right. He informs us, that in the reign of the Emperor *Hi Tjong*, who

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"At last the Emperor of *China* wrote to the king of *Tagazgaz* in *Turkestan*, with whom, besides the nearness of his dominions, he was, in some degree, allied by marriage; and, at the same time, sent an embassy to him, to implore his assistance for reducing this rebel. Upon this, the king of *Tagazgaz* dispatched his son, at the head of a very numerous army, to fight this oppressor; and, after many battles, and almost continual skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the rebel: some believe he fell in battle, while others thought he ended his days in another manner.

"The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumdan*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much dispirited because of the embezzlement of his treasures, and the loss of his captains and best troops, and because of all the late calamities; he nevertheless made himself master of all the provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid hands on the goods of his subjects, but satisfied himself with what was yet left in his coffers, and the small remainders of public money; his condition indispensably obliged him to take up with what his subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but obedience to his mandates; forbearing to squeeze money from them, because the King's governors had exhausted them already.

"Thus *China* became almost like the Empire of *Alexander* after the defeat and death of *Darius**, when he divided the provinces he took from the *Persians* amongst so many chiefs, who erected themselves into so many kings; for now each of these *Chinese* princes joined with some other to wage war against a third, without consulting the Emperor; and when the strongest had subdued the weakest, and was become master of his province, all was wasted and unmercifully plundered, and the subjects of the vanquished prince were unnaturally devoured; a Cruelty allowed by the laws of their religion, which even permit Human Flesh to be exposed to sale in the public markets.

was the eighteenth of the dynasty of *Tang*, the affairs of *China* fell into very great disorder; from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, and a great famine, caused by the inundation of rivers, and infinite numbers of grass-hoppers that destroyed their harvests. While things were in this situation, there happened several revolts in the provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whose name was *Hoon Tzia*, to put himself at the head of the malecontents; and that with such success, as to drive the Emperor from the imperial city, of which he made himself master; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor restored. It must be owned, that there is about twenty years difference between the time mentioned by our author, and the date of this revolution, assigned by *Father du Halde*; I shall not take upon me to decide where the mistake lies; but I conceive that the reader will be of the same opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Revolution mentioned in the text.

* All the Oriental writers agree in giving a different account of the division of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, from that which is given us by the *Greeks*; and that this notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the author of the first book of *Maccabees*, who having related the conquest of the *Persian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable words: (1 *Maccab.* i. 5, 6.) "And after these things, he fell sick and perceived he should die. Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."

"Then

"Then arose, as was natural from these confusions, many unjust dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the force of a precedent; there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised upon the *Arabs*, and the masters of ships: they extorted from the Merchants what was uncusomary, they seized upon their effects, and behaved towards them in a manner directly opposite to ancient usages, and for these things has God punished them, by withdrawing his blessing from them in every respect; and particularly by causing the Navigation to be forsaken, and the Merchants to return in crowds to *Siraf* and *Oman*; agreeable to the all-ruling will of the Almighty Master, whose name be blessed!

"The eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal officers, wear very magnificent dresses of silk, so fine, that none of this sort is brought into the country subject to the *Arabs*; the *Chinese* keep it up at so high a rate. One of the chief merchants, whose words cannot be called in question, relates—that he waited on an eunuch, whom the Emperor had sent to *Canfu*, in order to purchase some things he wanted out of the goods carried thither from the country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his breast he perceived a short vest, which was under another silk vest, and which seemed to be under two other vests of the same kind; that the eunuch observing him to look steadfastly upon his breast, said, "I see you keep your eyes fixed upon my stomach, what may be the meaning of it?" The Merchant immediately cried out, *I am surpris'd at the beauty of that little vest, which appears under your other garments.* The eunuch laughed, and held out his shirt-sleeve to him; "Count," says he, "how many Vests I have above it!" he did so, and counted five, one on another; and the waistcoat, or short vest was underneath. These garments are wove with raw Silk, which has never been washed or sullied; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors, is still more rich, and more exquisitely wrought.

"There was formerly a man of the tribe of *Korkish*, whose name was *EBN WAHAB*, descended of *Hebar* the son of *Al Asud*, and he dwelt at *Basra*; this man left *Basra* when that city was sacked, and came to *Siraf*, where he saw a Ship ready to sail for *China*. The humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *China*, where in the sequel he had the curiosity to travel to the Emperor's court; and leaving *Canfu*, he reached *Cumdan*, after a journey of two months: he staid a long time at the Emperor's court, and presented several petitions; wherein he signified that he was of the family of the prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a house appointed for him, and to be supplied with every thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the governor of *Canfu*, commanding him carefully to inform himself among the Merchants concerning the relation this man pretended to bear to the prophet of the *Arabs*; and the governor by his answers, confirming the truth of what he had said, touching his extraction, the Emperor gave him audience, and made him rich presents, wherewith he returned to *Irak* *.

"This

* It seems a little strange, that the learned *Abbé Renaudot* did not endeavour to settle the time when this Arabian traveller went to *China*, especially when there is a circumstance which seems to fix it, viz. the plun-

"This man, when we saw him, was much advanced in years, but had his senses perfectly; and told us, that when he had his audience, the Emperor asked him many questions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had destroyed the kingdom of the *Persians*. *Ebn Wabab* made answer, that they did it by the assistance of God; and because the *Persians* were immersed in idolatry, adoring the stars, the sun and moon, instead of worshipping the true God.

"To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the most illustrious kingdom of the whole earth; the best cultivated, the most opulent, the most pregnant of fine wits, and of the most extensive fame. Then said he, *What account do the people in your parts make of the other Kings of the earth?* To which the *Arab* replied, that he knew them not. Then said the Emperor to the interpreter, "Tell him we esteem but five kings; that he whose kingdom is of widest extent, is the master of *Irak*, for he is in the midst of the world, and surrounded by the territories of other kings; and we find he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor here present, and we find that he is stiled the King of mankind; for no king is invested with a more absolute authority over his subjects, nor is there a people under the sun more dutiful and submissive to their Sovereign, than the people of this country. We therefore, in this respect, are the Kings of the human race; after us the king of the *Turks*, whose kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the King of lions. Next is the King of the elephants, who is the king of the *Indies*; whom we also call the king of wisdom, because he derives his origin from the *Indians*. And last of all the king of *Greece*, whom we stile the King of men; for upon the face of the earth, there are no men of better manners, nor of comlier presence, than his subjects. These, added he, are the most illustrious of all Kings, nor are others to compare with them."

"Then said *Ebn Wabab*, he ordered the interpreter to ask me, "If I knew my master and my lord, meaning the prophet (Mohammed), and if I had seen him?" I made answer, "How should I have seen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean; I ask you, what sort of a man he was in his person?" I replied, "That he was very handsome." Then he called for a great box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the interpreter, "Shew him his master and his lord;" and I saw in the box the image of the prophets; whereat I moved my lips, praying to myself in honour of their memory.

"The Emperor did not imagine I should know them again, and said to the interpreter, "Ask him why he moves his lips?" I answered, "I was praying in memory of

dering of *Bassora*, upon which it is said he took a resolution of going to *Siraff*. In order to supply this defect, I have consulted *Abul Pharajus*, who informs us, that A. H. 285. which answers to A. D. 898. there was one *Abu Said*, who revolted against the Khalif, and ruined *Bassora*, which occasioned the walling and fortifying that city, which cost fourteen thousand pieces of gold. The Khalif then reigning was *Al Mahdi* in whose time *Elmacinus* informs us, things were in great confusion; and he likewise takes notice of this rebellion. The date agrees very well with the rest of this history, and particularly with the account given by this man, of the reasons which induced him to quit his country in his conference with the emperor of *China*.

"the

"the prophets;" *How do you know them*, said the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the representation of their histories; "There," said I, "is *Noah* in the ark, who was saved with those that were with him at the same time." Then the Emperor said, "Thou art not mistaken in the name of *Noah*, and thou hast named him right; but as for the Universal Deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true indeed, that a Flood covered part of the earth; but it reached not our country, nor even the *Indies*." I made my answer to this, and endeavoured to remove his objections the best I could; and then said again to him, "There is *Moses* with his rod, and the children of *Israel*." He agreed with me as to the small extent of their country, and the manner how the ancient inhabitants were destroyed by *Moses*. I then said to him; "He there, is *Jesus*, upon an ass, and here are his apostles with him." "He," said the Emperor, "was not long upon earth, seeing that all he did was transacted within the space of somewhat better than thirty months."

"After this, he said, "What is your opinion concerning the age of the world?" I made answer, that opinions varied upon that head; that some were for six thousand years, and others would not allow so many; and that others reckoned it at a still higher rate; but that it was, at least, as old as I had said. At this the Emperor and his first minister, who was near him, broke out into laughter, and the Emperor made many objections to what I had advanced. At last, said he, "What does your prophet teach upon this subject; does he say as you do?" My memory failed me, and I assured him *that he did*.

"To this he subjoined many other things, which through length of time have escaped my remembrance. At last he asked me; "How is it that thou hast forsaken thy king, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the place of thy abode, but by blood also, than thou art to us?" In return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had happened at *Bassora*, and how I came to *Siraf*, where I saw a ship ready to sail for *China*; and that having heard of the glory of his Empire, and its abundance in all necessaries, curiosity excited me to a desire of coming into his country, that I might behold it with mine own eyes: that I should soon depart for my own Country, and the kingdom of my cousin, and that I would make a faithful report of what I had seen of the magnificence of the empire of *China*, and the vast extent of the provinces it contains; and that I would make a grateful acknowledgment of the kind usage I there met with, which seemed to please him very much.

"We asked *Ebn Wabab* many questions concerning the City of *Cumdan*, where the Emperor keeps his Court; he told us that the city was very large, and extremely populous; that it was divided into two parts by a very long and very broad street; that the Emperor, his chief ministers, the soldiery, the supreme judge, the eunuchs, and all belonging to the imperial household, lived in that part of the city which is on the right hand eastward; that the people had no manner of communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the places watered by canals from different rivers, the borders of which were planted with trees, and adorned with magnificent palaces. The part on the left-hand westward, is inhabited by the ordinary people and the merchants,

chants, where are also great squares, and markets for all the necessaries of life. At break of day, the officers of the King's household, with the inferior servants, the purveyors, and the domestics of the grandees of the court, come some on foot, others on horseback, into that division of the city, where are the public markets, and the habitations of such as deal in all sorts of goods; where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same place till their business calls them thither next morning. It is by the same Traveller related, that this city has a very pleasant situation in the midst of a most fertile soil, watered by several rivers, and hardly deficient in any thing except palm-trees, which grow not there.

"In our times Discovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to those who lived before us. Nobody imagined that the Great Sea which extends from the *Indies* to China, had any communication with the Sea of *Syria*, nor could any one apprehend the possibility of any such thing. Now behold what has come to pass in our days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of *Rum*, or the *Mediterranean*, they found the wreck of an *Arabian* ship which had been shattered by tempests; for all her men perishing, and she being dashed to pieces by the waves, the remains of her were driven by wind and weather into the Sea of *Chozars*, and from thence to the Canal of the *Mediterranean* sea, and at last were thrown on the shore of *Syria* *.

"This renders it evident, that the Sea surrounds all the country of *China* and *Sila*, the uttermost parts of *Turkestan*, and the country of the *Chozars*; and that then it enters at the *Strait* till it washes the shore of *Syria*. The proof of this is deduced from the construction of the Ship we are speaking of; for none but the Ships of *Siraf* are so put together, that the planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were sewn. Whereas the planking of all Ships of the *Mediterranean* sea, and of the coast of *Syria*, are nailed, and not joined together in that way †.

"We have also heard it reported, that *Ambergis* has been found in the sea of *Syria*, which seems hard to believe, and was unknown to former times. If this be as is

* This is one of the most curious passages in this Treatise, inasmuch as it plainly proves, that the *Arabians* had the same notions in Geography with the *Greeks*, or, to speak with greater propriety, had their notions of Geography from them. Our author says plainly, that, according to his judgment, the *Indian* Ocean washed the coast of *Great Tartary*, and so fell into the *Caspian Sea*, by which passage he supposes that this Ship was driven from the *Indian* Sea into the *Mediterranean*. The Conjecture was wrong; but there is still something in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the bottom something of truth too; for though it was impossible that this Ship should come into the *Mediterranean* in the manner our author imagines, yet it is not impossible but it might have come through the North-East Passage, agreeable to the first part of his supposition; and if by the Sea of *Chozars* we understand that of *Muscovy*, he would be quite right.

† I very much doubt, whether the construction of this Vessel, as our author describes it, be sufficient evidence of its coming from the *Indies*. It is very possible that it might have been a boat belonging to the inhabitants of *Greenland*, or of some other country bordering upon *Hudson's Bay*; since it is very certain that there are such Vessels in these parts, and it is not at all impossible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, absolutely to contradict him, but only to shew that the argument he uses is not conclusive, though I think, as things then stood, he had sufficient grounds to believe it was conclusive.

said, it is impossible that amber should have been thrown up in the sea of Syria, but by the sea of Aden, and of Kolzum, which has communication with the Seas where amber is found: And because God has put a separation between these Seas, if this story be true, it must necessarily have been, that this Amber was driven first from the Indian Sea into the others, and so from the one to the other, till it at last came into the sea of Syria *.

" We will now begin to speak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is opposite to *China*, and distant from thence a full month's sail by sea, or less, if the wind be fair.

" The King of this country is stiled *Mehroge*, and they say his dominions are nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this king is master of many Islands which lie round about. Thus altogether this kingdom is above a thousand leagues in extent; among those Islands there is one called *Serbeza*, which is said to be four hundred leagues in circuit; and another called *Rabmi*, which is eight hundred leagues in compass, and produces redwood, camphire, and many other commodities. In this same kingdom is the Island of *Cala*, which is the mid passage between *China* and the country of the *Arabs*.

" This Island, they say, is fourscore leagues in circumference; and hither they bring all sorts of merchandize; wood-aloes of several sorts, camphire, sandal-wood, ivory, the wood called cabah, ebony, red wood, all sorts of spice, and many other things too tedious to enumerate. At present the Commerce is carried on between this Island and that of *Oman*. The *Mehroge* is the sovereign over all these Islands; and that in which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous, that the towns almost crowd one upon another.

" Yet what follows from the testimony of several persons, is the most remarkable particular we have heard concerning the Island of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, *Mehroge*. His palace is still to be seen on a river as broad as the *Tygris* at *Bagdat*, or at *Bassora*. The Sea intercepts the course of its waters, and drives them back again with the flood; and during the ebb, it streams out fresh water a good way into the sea. This River is let into a small pond close to the king's palace; and every morning the officer, who has charge of his household, brings an Ingot of gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the pond in the presence of the king. The tide rising, covers it with the rest, and quite conceals them from sight: but low water discovers them, and they appear plain by the beams of the sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an apartment of state, which looks upon this pond. This custom is very scrupulously

* It is most evident, from our author's way of reasoning, that he had no notion of any passage by the *Gape of Good Hope*; for if he had, he would most certainly have taken this opportunity of insinuating it. At the same time, however, I leave it to the reader's consideration, whether this Vessel, supposing it to have been built in the *East Indies*, might not have come this way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the *North-East Passage*. It is likewise clear from what our author has delivered, that the *Arabs* knew no more of *Japan*, which they called *Sila*, than they learned from the *Chinese*, since by the testimony of the oldest of our authors, no *Arab* had yet set foot there in the year of the *Hegira* 230, (A. D. 844)

observed;

observed ; and thus they every day throw an Ingot of gold into this pond as long as the king lives ; not touching them upon any account, but regarding this as a sacred treasure.

“ When the King dies, his successor causes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever missing. They count them, and melt them down ; and this done, the sums arising out of this great quantity of Gold are distributed to those of the royal household, men, women, and children, to the superior and inferior officers, each in proportion to the rank he bears ; and the surplus is given away to the poor and infirm. Then they reckon up the number of Ingots, and what they weigh ; and say, such a *Mehrage* reigned so many years, for he left so many Ingots of gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were distributed after his death to the people. It is accounted a felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the number of those Ingots given away at their death.

“ Their ancient history relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged war with him in this island. This country of *Komar* is the same from whence they bring the wood-aloes called *Hud al Komari*, nor is there any kingdom more populous in proportion than that of *Komar*. This kingdom was at peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mehrage*. They are divided from each other by a passage of ten or twenty days’ sail, with a very easy gale. They say, that in former days there was a very young and high-spirited prince in this Island of *Komar* : this king was one day in his palace, which looks upon a river much like the *Euphrates* at the entrance, and but a day’s journey from the sea ; his prime ministers were with him, and in the discourse they had together, notice was taken of the kingdom of the *Mehrage*, and its glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the croud of Islands which depended thereupon.

“ Then said the king of *Komar* to his minister, I am seized with a desire which I earnestly wish to see accomplished. The minister, who was a wife and a prudent man, and no stranger to the levity of his master, answered, my lord, what is your desire ? I could wish, replied the King, to see in a dish the head of the *Mehrage* of *Zapage*. The minister, well aware it was jealousy that inspired him with this impetuous fury, rejoined, “ my lord, I wish you would not disturb your mind with such thoughts, since “ nothing ever fell out between those people and us, to furnish matter of complaint ; “ they never offended us by word or deed, or ever did us the least injury ; besides, “ they are divided from us, and have no manner of communication with our country, “ nor do they discover any inclination of making a conquest of this kingdom. No one “ therefore ought to hearken to such discourse, or make a word of answer upon this “ head.” The King was enraged at this reply, and said not a word thereto ; but without any regard had to the good advice of his first minister, he opened the same thing to the principal officers of state, and to such of his courtiers as he thought proper.

“ This matter being rumoured about, at length reached the ears of the *Mehrage*. He, who then reigned, was a wife and an active prince, of consummate experience, and in the flower of his age. He called for his first minister, and having acquainted him

him with what he had heard, said to him; it is by no means proper to publish the behaviour of this giddy prince, or to betray how little we esteem him, because of his youth and slender experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he said against me; for such speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his minister to conceal what had passed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thousand Ships of no extraordinary size, and to equip them with all things necessary, arms and ammunition, and to man them with as many of his best forces as they could transport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Islands under his dominion, to divert himself. He wrote also to all the tributary princes of those islands, to acquaint them, that he designed them a visit: and this being a public talk, each of those kings prepared for the reception of the *Mebrage*.

"When every thing was in readiness as he had ordered, he went on board his Ships, and with a powerful army sailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The king, and those belonging to his court, were effeminate creatures, who all the day long did nothing but view their faces and rub their teeth, with mirrors and toothpicks in their hands; or if they moved, had them carried after them by slaves. So the King of *Komar* discovered nothing of the *Mebrage's* purpose, till he appeared in the mouth of the river, on which stood the palace of the king of *Komar*, and till he had landed his troops, who immediately invested the capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

"Then the *MEHRAË* caused proclamation to be made, that he granted entire security of life and effects to all the inhabitants of the Country; and seating himself on the throne of the king of *Komar*, now a captive, he ordered him to be brought into his presence, together with his first minister. Then addressing himself to the King of *Komar*, he said—"Who was it filled your head with a project unequal to your strength, and absolutely impossible for you to compass? What would you have done had you gained your point?" This prince, who had nothing to say for himself, made no answer. Then, continued the *Mebrage*, "if you had enjoyed the pleasure you wished, of seeing my head in a dish, you would have spoiled my kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all sorts of violence. I will not so behave with regard to you; but yet I will execute upon you what you wished concerning me, and then will I return into my kingdom, without touching any thing in your dominions, and without carrying away ought of great value or small: desirous only that you may be recorded an Example, for the instruction of those who shall come after you, that none may exceed the bounds of his power, that each may be contented with his own, and that those you have disturbed may be restored to perfect security" *.

* This is a very pleasant story, and well related; but with respect to the country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to say any thing with certainty, and yet this does not lessen the credibility of the fact. It is not impossible, however, that this history might relate to some of the Islands which are now called *Philippines*; or perhaps some of the Islands in the Straits of *Sunda*. I pretend to determine nothing in such doubtful points, but leave the reader to decide for himself, according to the lights given him by the author, who appears to have written with great caution and fidelity.

VOYAGES DURING THE NINTH CENTURY

"This said, he ordered them to strike off his head; and then turning to the minister he added, "You have done all a good minister could do; I know you offered good advice to your master, and that he hearkened not unto you. Consider who may best succeed this fool for the good of the Kingdom, and set him immediately upon the throne." This done, the *Mebrage* departed for his own territories, and neither did he or any of his, lay hands on the least thing in the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he sat down upon the throne; and being in the palace which looked upon the pond before mentioned, he caused the head of the king of *Komar* to be put into a bason and set before him: and calling in the Chiefs of his kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the reasons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related; and they approved the deed with acclamations and prayers for his prosperity. Then he ordered the head of the king of *Komar* to be washed and embalmed, and put it into a coffer, and sent it back to the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in the room of him he had put to death; at the same time writing a Letter to this new Prince in the following terms: *What inclined us to act as we did to your predecessor, and your Lord, was, his known malevolence towards us; and that we might set an example to his equals, we have been so happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to send his head back to you, having had no design of detaining it, or of arrogating any glory to ourselves, from the advantage we obtained over him.* The news of this action being reported to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the respect they before had for the *Mebrage*, and from that time it has been a custom with the kings of *Komar*, every morning they rise, to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, to prostrate themselves on the ground, and to make the most profound inclinations in honour of the *Mebrage*.

The Province of Chorassan.

"THE Province of CHORASSAN is almost on the borders of *China*. From *China* to *Sogd*, it is of about two months journey through almost impassable deserts, and through a country all covered with land, where no water is to be found. It is not refreshed by any rivers, nor is there any habitation in this province; and for this reason it is that the *Chorassadians* can make no irruptions into *China*. That part of this empire which lies farthest westward, is the Province of *Medu*, which borders upon *Tibet*, so that on this side the two nations are at war with each other.

"Among those of our time who have travelled into *China*, we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had seen a man that had a vessel with Musk in it on his back, and had travelled on foot from *Samare*, and to *Canfu*, the Port for all merchants from *Siraf*. He had by land travelled through all the cities of *China* one after another; which he might easily do, because the provinces of *China* and *Tibet*, where the creature that affords musk is met with, are contiguous. The *Chinese* carry off as many of these creatures as they can; and those of *Tibet*, on their part, do the same *.

"But

* This country of *Tibet*, makes at this day a part only of the great kingdom of *Tangut*, which, according to the best accounts that I have met with, is thus situated. It has the empire of *China* on the east: the kingdom

"But the Musk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two reasons; first, in *Tibet* this creature feeds on aromatic pastures, while in *China* he has nothing to subsist him but what is common; secondly, the inhabitants of *Tibet* preserve their bladders of musk in the pure natural state, while the *Chinese* adulterate all that come into their hands. They dip them also into the sea, or else expose them to the dew; and having kept them some time, they take off the outward membrane, and then close them up; and this musk passes in the country of the *Arabs* for musk of *Tibet*, because of its excellence." - - -

Here our author makes, as it were, another break in his work, in order to pass once more to the *Indians*, and their customs. In speaking of the method pursued by the first author, we observed, that the main design of his work was, by comparing the manners of the *Indians* with those of the *Chinese*, to render them both better known to, and more fully understood by his countrymen. His Commentator therefore, with great propriety, follows the same track; and as he had consulted both books and travellers to illustrate what had been said of *China*, we shall find him as diligent in what regards *India*. - - -

Account of the Isle of Sarandib, or Ceylon.

"It is a customary thing also for men and women of the *Indian* blood, to desire those of their family to throw them into the fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themselves sink under the weight of their years; firmly believing that they are to return in other bodies. They burn their dead. It has oftentimes happened in the ISLE OF SARANDIB, where there is a mine of precious stones in a mountain, a pearl fishery, and other rare and extraordinary things, that an *Indian* would come into the Buzar, or market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular manner, and seize on the most wealthy merchant there present, and holding his Kris to his throat, lead him by the vest out of the city in the midst of a throng of people, while not a soul of them dared attempt his rescue; for if any attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was sure to kill the merchant, and make away with himself: when he had got him out of the city, he obliged him to redeem himself with a sum of money. This outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that such *Indians* should be seized; but when they came to execute this order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant first, and then himself: the same misfortune befel many other Merchants; and after this manner a number both of *Arabs* and

dom of *Ava*, or of *Brama*, on the south: the dominions of the Great Mogul on the west; and those of the Contaisch, or Great Khan of the *Calmuc Tartars*, on the north. This kingdom is divided into two parts; that which lies to the north is the kingdom of *Tangut* properly so called; and the south part is the country of *Tibet*. Both taken together, make the patrimony of that famous ecclesiastical prince the Grand Lama, who is the Pope or Sovereign Pontiff of the *Tartars* that are not *Mohammedans*; but whether they or he ought to be esteemed *Pagans*, or *Christians*, is a point that admits of much dispute.

Indians perished: the merchants therefore sought after other means to secure themselves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

"In the mountain of *Sarandib* they find Precious Stones of various colours, red, green, and yellow, most of which are at certain times forced out of caverns and other recesses by rains and torrents. In these places the king has his officers to keep an eye over those who pick them up: many times also they are dug out of mines in the same manner as metals; and they sometimes find precious stones in the ore, which must be broken to get at them.

"The king of this island makes Laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; here are doctors and assemblies of learned men, like those of the *Hadithis* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to these assemblies, and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expostitions of their laws. Here is a very great Idol of the finest gold, but concerning the weight thereof travellers are not agreed. Here are also temples, where great sums of money are expended in incense*.

"In this same Island there is a very great multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other sects, even *Tanouts*, or *Manichees*, the king permitting the free exercise of every religion. At the end of this Island are vallies of great length and breadth, which extend quite to the sea. Here travellers stay two months and more in that called *Gab Sarandib*, allured by the beauty of the country, chequered with groves and plains, water and meads, and blessed with a wholesome air. This valley opens upon the sea called *Harkend*, and is transcendantly pleasant. You there buy sheep for half a dram; and for the same you purchase as much of their drink as may suffice many persons. This drink is made of palm-honey, boiled and prepared with *Tari* (*Toddi*) or juice, which runs from the tree.

"Gaming is the usual diversion of the inhabitants here; they play at draughts, and their other principal pastime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this country, and better provided with spurs than cocks commonly are; and, besides this, the *Indians* arm them with blades of iron in the form of cangiaris. Upon these combats they bet gold, silver, lands, and farms, which are won by the owner of the cock that beats. They play also at draughts, and venture great sums upon this game, but with such fury, that those who have not wherewithal, debauchees and desperate people, often play away the ends of their fingers.

"While they are at play, they have a fire by them, and thereon a pot of walnut or sesame oil (they have no oil of olives) and they place a little, but very sharp hatchet between them; when one of them has won a game, the other lays his hand

* It appears, that this Island, which is that of *Ceylon*, has been in all ages, famous for its immense wealth and riches. As to the idol that our author mentions, it is not impossible that the priests of this country might practise the same art, which has been used at *Siow*; where they have a monstrous idol of clay and bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many ages supposed to be pure gold; though it must be allowed that there are few countries where such a golden image might be looked for, with greater probability, than in this Island, the people having been always equally remarkable for their wealth and superstition.

upon a stone, and the winner cuts off the end of the loser's finger with the hatchet ; and the patient dips the injured part into the boiling oil to caterise the wound ; and yet they cannot shake off this evil habit of gaming : on the contrary, they sometimes persist in it so obstinately and so long, that before they part, they have all their fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a wick, and soaking it in oil, apply it to some member, set fire to it, and let it burn ; so that the scent of the burnt flesh is smelt by those who play with them, while the parties themselves betray not the least sense of pain.

" In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the people of the country call *Jasara* ; they last three whole months during summer, incessantly, night and day, and scarce does the winter stop them. The *Indians* to the best of their abilities, prepare themselves against these rains some time before they fall ; and no sooner do they come on, than they shut themselves up in their houses, made of wood and cane, interwoven, and thatched with leaves ; they stir not out during all this time, and no soul is seen abroad, no, not even the artificers, who do their work at home ; and during this season, they are subject to several sorts of ulcers in the soles of their feet, caused by the damps. The rains are the life of the *Indians* ; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmost want, for their fields, sown with rice, are watered only by rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby ; for if great store of water lie upon the rice-grounds, they need no other help either from industry or art ; but when the rains are plentifully poured down, the rice flourishes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never rains in this country in the winter.

" The *Indians* have devout men, or doctors, known by the name of *Bramins*. They have poets also, who compose verses, stuffed with flattery, in praise of their kings. They have also astrologers, philosophers, soothsayers, and men who observe the flight of birds ; and others who pretend to the calculation of nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great city in the Kingdom of *Gozar* *.

" There are likewise among the *Indians* certain men who make profession of piety, and whose devotion consists in seeking after unknown islands, or such as are newly discovered, there to plant Cocoa-nut trees, and to sink Wells of water for the use of Ships that sail to those parts. There are people at *Oman*, who cross over to the Islands that produce cocoa-nuts, carrying with them carpenters' tools ; and having felled as much wood as they want, they let it dry, and then strip off the leaves, and with the bark of the tree they spin a yarn, wherewith they sew the planks together, and so build a Ship ; of the same wood they cut and round away a Mast ; of the leaves they weave their Sails, and the bark they work into Cordage. Having thus compleated their Vessel, they load her with cocoa-nuts, which they bring and sell at *Oman*. Thus

* Some of the *Arabian* geographers assure us, that this city of the *Kanuge* lies between two branches of the river *Ganges* in the latitude of 27°, and in the longitude of 131°. Other eastern writers inform us, that *Kanuge* is also a royal city, the king of which is stiled the *Kanuge*, according to the common custom of the *Indies*. It is very difficult to say when or how this kingdom and university was ruined ; but at present it is very clear, that there is no such establishment as in the text is mentioned.

it is, that from this tree alone so many articles are derived, as suffice not only to build and rigg out the Vessel, but to load her also when she is compleated, and in a trim fit to sail *.

"The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes* is of vast extent; they there commonly sow miller, which is the chief food of the negroes. Sugar canes also they have, and other sorts of trees, but their sugar is very black. These people have a number of kings, who are always at war with each other. About their kings they have certain men called *Mohafamin*, because each of them bore their nose, and wear therein a ring. They have chains also fastened about their necks, and when they are at war and going to fight, they each take one end of his companion's chain, and pass it through the ring that hangs under his nose: two men hold this chain, and so prevent the rest from advancing towards the enemy, till deputies have been from side to side to negotiate a peace; which if it is concluded, they take their chains about their necks again, and retire without fighting. But when they once begin to unsheath the sword, not one soul of them quits his post, but remains there till he is slain.

"They have all of them a profound veneration for the *Arabs*, and when they chance to see any of them, fall down before him, and cry, "this man comes from the "kingdom where flourishes the date-bearing palm," for they are very fond of dates. Among these people there are preachers who harangue them in their own tongue, nor may the catebs or orators of any other nation whatsoever be compared with them. Some of these profess a religious life, and are covered with the skin of a leopard or ape. One of these men with a staff in his hand shall present himself before them, and having gathered a multitude of people about him, preach all the day long to them. He speaks of God, and recites the actions of their countrymen, who are gone before them. From this country they bring the leopard skins called *zingiet*, spotted with red and black, very great and broad.

"In this same Sea is the ISLAND OF SOCOTRA, whence comes the *Socotrin* aloes. This Isle lies near the land of *Zinges*, and near also to the country of the *Arabs*, and most of its inhabitants are Christians, which is thus accounted for. When *Alexander* subdued the kingdom of the *Persians*, his preceptor *Aristotle*, to whom he had by letters communicated his conquests, wrote back to him to desire, that by all means he would seek after the island of *Socotra*, which afforded aloes, an excellent drug; and without which they could not make up the famous medicament called *Hiera*: That the best way would be to remove the inhabitants thence, and instead of

* This Passage is very singular, but the facts contained therein are incontestably true; the Cocoa-tree furnishes every thing necessary for building and rigging such Ships as are used in the *Indies*, and for a cargo of considerable value when built. The Body of the tree furnishes plank, masts, anchors, and oars. That Substance like thread, which covers the nut, and which may be drawn out and spun, makes the most excellent cordage in the world, inasmuch as it never decays in the water. The anchors are not to be boasted of, but they serve well enough for such vessels. The liquor in the nut when fermented, becomes a kind of wine; when four it is an excellent vinegar; and distilled, it affords a soft, pleasant brandy. It is certain, that the inhabitants of the *Maldives*, subsist chiefly on their trade in cocoa-nuts, cocoa planks, and the cordage, made from this tree; the manufacture of which, they are better skilled in than any other people in the *Indies*.

them

them plant a colony of *Greeks*, that they might send aloes into *Syria*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*. Accordingly Alexander gave the necessary orders to dispossess the inhabitants, and to settle a colony of *Greeks* in their stead. Then he commanded the kings of the nations, who divided his empire after he had slain the great *Darius*, to execute the orders he had issued out for the preservation of these *Greeks*: They remained then as a garrison upon this island, till God sent Jesus Christ into the world. When the *Greeks* of this same isle being informed thereof, embraced the Christian faith as the other *Greeks* had done before them, and in the profession of this faith have they persevered to this day, as well as all the inhabitants of the other Isles.

"In the Former Book, no mention is made of the Sea which stretches away to the right, as Ships part from *Oman* and the coast of *Arabia*, to launch into the Great Sea; but the author describes only the Sea on the left, and in which is comprehended the Seas of *India* and *China*, which he seems to have particularly had in his eye. In this Sea, which is as it were on the right of the *Indies* as you leave *Oman*, is the country of *Sibar* or *Shibr*, where frankincense grows, and the other countries possessed by the nations of *Cedd*, *Hamyar*, *Jesham*, and *Theeteba*. The people in this country have the *Sonna* in *Arabie* of very antient date, but in many things different from what is in the hands of the *Arabs*, and containing many traditions to us unknown. They have no villages, and they lead a hard and a very miserable life*.

"The Country they inhabit extends almost as far as *Aden* and *Judda*, upon the coast of *Yaman*, or *Arabia the Happy*; from *Judda* it stretches up into the continent as far as the coast of *Syria*, and ends at *Kolyum*. The Seas in this part divide by a slip of land, which God has fixed as a line of separation between these two seas, as it is written in the *Koran*: From *Kolyum* the Sea stretches along the coast of the *Barbarians* to the west coasts, which is opposite to *Yaman*, and then along the coast of *Ethiopia*; from whence you have the leopard skins of *Barbary*, which are the best of all, and most skilfully dressed; and lastly, along the coast of *Zeilab*, whence you have amber and tortoise-shell.

"When the *Siraf* ships arrive in this Sea, which is to the right of the Sea of *India*, they put into *Judda*, where they remain; for their cargo is thence transported to *Kebira* (or *Cairo*), by ships of *Kolyum*, who are acquainted with the Navigation of the *Red Sea*; which those of *Siraf* dare not attempt, because of the extreme danger, and because this Sea is full of rocks at the water's edge; because also, upon the whole coast there are no kings, or scarce any inhabited place; and, in fine, because Ships are every night obliged to put into some place of safety, for fear of striking upon the

* The *Arabs*, besides the *Koran*, have many traditions relating to the *Mahomedan* religion, which they received from the companions of their prophet and his disciples; from these traditions and stories, they form the body of their *Sonna*, which therefore is very different in different places; so that not only the *Sonna* of the *Persians* differs from that of the *Arabs*, but that of the *Africans* varies from that of *Mecca*, and the *Africans* of the Desert: in a word, the *Sonna* with respect to the *Mahomedans*, is pretty near the same thing with the *Talmud* among the *Jews*; and it is owing to both that there are so many different sects, and such a variety of fabulous notions amongst the people of both religions.

rocks. They sail in the day-time only, and all the night ride fast at anchor. This Sea moreover is subject to very thick fogs, and to violent gales of wind, and so has nothing to recommend it either within or without.

"It is not like the Sea of *India* or of *China*, whose bottom is rich with pearls and amber-gris; whose mountains of the coast are stored with gold and precious stones; whose gulpha breed creatures that yield ivory; and among the plants of whose shores are ebony, red-wood, and the wood of *Hairzan*, aloes, camphire, nutmegs, cloves, sandal-wood, and all other spices and aromatics; where parrots and peacocks are birds of the forest, and musk and civet are collected upon the lands: In short, so productive are these shores of inestimable things, that it is impossible to reckon them up*.

"AMBER-GRIS which is thrown upon the coast of this same Sea, is washed to shore by the swell. It begins to be found in the *Indian Sea*, but whence it comes is unknown. We only know that the best of it is thrown upon the *Barbary* coast, or upon the confines of the land of *Negroes*, towards *Sihar*, and places thereabouts: It is of a bluish-white, in round lumps. The Inhabitants of this country have camels trained up to the business, which they mount, and go in search of it: by moon-shine, and ride for that purpose along shore. These camels are broke to this, and as soon as they perceive a piece of Amber-gris, they bend their knees, and their rider picks it up†.

"There is another sort, which swims in great lumps upon the surface of the Sea, almost like the body of an ox, or a little less, and weighs a great deal. When a certain fish of the whale kind, called *Tal*, sees these floating lumps, he swallows the same, and is killed thereby. Then they see the Whale floating on the surface, and instantly the men who are accustomed to this kind of fishery, and know when these Whales have swallowed amber, go out to him in their boats; and darting him with iron harpoons, they tow him to shore, where they split him down the back, and take out the amber: what they find about the belly of the Creature is commonly spoiled with the wet, and contracts an unpleasant scent‡.

"You

* This is at once a very magnificent and a very just account of the wealth of the *Indies*, and it proves very plainly that scarce any part of its riches were concealed from the *Arabs* at this time; so that what some writers report of the designs formed by the Khaliffs and Sultans of *Egypt*, for making themselves masters of the coasts of *India*, and even of its Islands, hath nothing in it absurd or incredible.

† Amber-gris, or as it ought to be wrote amber-grise, is a very rich perfume, and it is certain that there is more of it, and in greater perfection, in the *Indian Sea*, than in any other of the whole world. How it is formed, or from whence it comes, is as great a secret to us as it was to the *Arabs*. It is of different colours, viz. dark-grey, light-grey, black, and red; but the first is the most esteemed, as having by far the richest scent. What our author reports of its being found in this manner by camels, is not very improbable; for the best ambergris in the world is driven on the shore of the Island of *Prince Maurice*; and the Dutch assure us, that their hogs smell it out at a great distance, and run furiously to the shore in order to devour it.

‡ The Abbé *Renaudot*, in his Notes upon this Treatise, speaks very slightly of this story, and seems to think it fabulous. There is however no sort of cause for this suspicion; since this sort of whale is very often found in the *West Indian* Seas, and especially on the coast of *Bermudas*, and vast quantities of ambergris are taken out

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"You may buy the bones of this fish of the druggists of *Bagdat* and *Bassora*. The amber which has not been infected by the ordure in the belly of the whale, is perfectly good. It is an usual thing to make stools of the *Vertebrae* of the back-bone of this whale, called *Tal*. They say, that in a village ten leagues from *Siraf*, called *Tain*, there are old houses neatly enough built, the lintels of whose doors are of the rib of this whale. I have heard a person declare, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coast not very far from *Siraf*, and that going to view him, he saw people getting upon the back of this creature with ladders; and that the fishermen exposed him to the sun, sliced away his flesh, and having dug a pit, gathered up the grease which was melted by the sun; and that having drained off all the oil, they sold it to the masters of Ships. This Oil, mixed up with another kind of stuff, in use with seamen, serves for calking of Ships to secure the seams of the planking, and to stop up leaks. This whale-oil is a valuable commodity, and produces great sums of money."

Our AUTHOR proposing next to speak of Pearls, breaks out first, according to the custom of the *Arabs*, into the following pious soliloquy, which I would not omit, because it is a kind of characteristic in their manner of writing, and may enable the reader to account for such apostrophes in other pieces of this nature.—"Let us, before we speak of Pearls, and the manner of their formation, magnify the great God, who in wisdom has created all things out of earth, and so fashioned living creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for these things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all glory be unto the Almighty, and all reverence paid unto his most holy and tremendous name.

"*Pearls* begin to be formed of a Substance at first somewhat like the plant called *anjedana*; being in size the same, in colour and figure pretty much alike, small, thin, and tender, just like the leaves of this plant: at first it swims feebly on the surface, and sticks to the sides of ships under water, where in time it hardens, grows, and gets covered with a shell. When these Oysters become heavy, they fall down to the bottom of the sea, where they subsist after a manner to us unknown: they appear no other than a piece of red flesh, like the tongue towards the root, without bones, sinews, or veins.

"But there are various opinions touching the production of Pearls; for some say when it rains, the oysters rise up to the surface, and that gaping, the drops of water they catch turn to pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the oysters themselves, which is most likely, and is confirmed by experience; for most that are found in oysters are fixed, and move not: when they are loose, the merchants call them feed pearl. God alone knoweth how this matter is.

"Now this is the most wonderful thing we have heard concerning the subsistence of Oysters. A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Bassora*, and brought with him a Pearl

of its intestines. It is also very certain, that though the best of this perfume is found in the *Indian Seas*, yet *Ambergris* has been frequently found on the shore even of our own Islands, as well as in some other parts of *Europe*; and in *America* it is very common.

worth a great sum of money; he shewed it to a druggist of his acquaintance, and, ignorant of the value thereof, asked him what he thought of it? The merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* asked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at an hundred pieces of silver. The *Arab* much astonished at his words, asked if any person would be willing to give him what he had said it was worth? Upon which the merchant counted him out an hundred drams, and with this money the *Arab* purchased corn to carry back into his own country. The merchant on the other hand brought the Pearl to *Bagdad*, and sold it at a very high rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very considerably. This same merchant declared that he had examined the *Arab* touching the origin of pearls, and that he delivered himself to the following effect: "I was going along," said he, "by *Saman* in the district of *Babrein*, not very far distant from the sea, and upon the sand I saw a dead fox, with something at his muzzle that held him fast. I drew near, and saw a white glittering shell, in which I found the Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the oyster was upon the shore, driven thither by tempest, which very often happens. The fox passing by, and leering at the meat of the oyster, as the shell stood open, jumped thereon, and thrust in his snout to seize the fish, which in its defence closing, locked him fast, as has been said; for it is a property of theirs never to let go their hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an iron instrument at their edges."

"This is the oyster that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a mother her child; when therefore it was sensible of the fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an enemy, and the fox feeling himself squeezed, beat the ground on each hand till it was stifled, and so died. The *Arab* found the pearl, and God would have it that he should apply himself to the merchant; a very happy thing for him *.

"The Kings of the *Indies* wear ear-rings of stones set in precious gold. They wear also Collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of different colours, but especially green and red; yet Pearls are what they most esteem, and their value surpasses that of all other jewels; they at present hoard them up in their treasures with their most precious things. The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains wear the like jewels in their collars†: they dress in an half vest, and carry an umbrella

* What seems most probable is, that pearls are not the natural produce of any oysters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental production, occasioned by some infirmity or disease in the fish. I am led to this notion from two reasons: the first is, that when animal substances begin to corrupt, they commonly shine, which perhaps may be the effect of some intestine motion; the other, that Pearl Oysters are not eatable, but tough, tasteless, and very unwholesome.

† The Princes, and the chief inhabitants of these countries, were by this time better acquainted with the nature and value of all sorts of precious stones than formerly they had been, and of these they had of all kinds from the mines in the Island of *Ceylon*. It is remarkable that the *Arabs* have but one word to signify coloured stones, which is *Yacut*, or *Jacut*, which strictly speaking signifies a Jacinth; but to vary this, and to render it expressive of rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, they add the name of the colour to the stone. It will be proper

umbrella of peacocks' feathers to shade them from the sun, and are surrounded by those of their train. -- To the *Indies* they formerly carried the dinars, called *Sindiat*, or gold pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there passed for three of ours, and even more. Thither also are carried emeralds from *Egypt*, which are set for rings."

THESE TWO AUTHENTIC PIECES are of very great use in filling up this period of *Indian* history, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the account given us by the first author, that Voyages from *Siraf* to *China* were not very frequent till about his time, for otherwise he would not have described that Navigation so particularly. But it appears no less clearly from the Second Treatise, that these long Voyages were grown into much greater use, between the time the first Voyage was made, and this commentary upon it was drawn up: for otherwise the second writer would have been but indifferently furnished with materials, whereas we find that he stood in no sort of want of them; but was able to mention the Voyages and travels of four or five different persons into *China* and the *Indies*, exclusive of the author, whose Voyages gave occasion to this discourse.

The most remarkable of these was *Eben Wabab*, whose adventures are equally singular and instructive; since from them it is very evident that the *Chinese* Emperor, to whose presence he was admitted, had, as we observed, very perfect intelligence as to the *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Mohammedan* religions, and as to the history of their founders and propagators. We might indeed suspect the truth of this, if there were not some other circumstances in this discourse which render them not only probable, but certain. I mean the destruction of the capital of *China* at that time, which our author calls the city of *Cumdan*; and which without doubt was no other than *Nankin*, and *Cansu* or *Canton*, in which so many thousand *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans* were slain; a clear demonstration that multitudes of all these religions had been long before settled in that Empire, and consequently the *Chinese* monarch had it fully in his power to be well acquainted with all the particulars before mentioned.

Neither does this Fact stand entirely upon the credit of this Treatise; since an ancient Monument has been discovered in *China*, which plainly proves that Christians from *Syria* were settled there in ancient times *, though none were to be found when the

to make two remarks upon this subject before we leave it: the first is, that our author is perfectly in the right in his observation, that Pearls are more esteemed in *India* than many other parts of the world, and that they are more valued there in proportion, than any other kind of jewels. Our second observation is, as to the carrying emeralds thither from *Egypt*; which is a very plain proof that these stones are not strictly speaking oriental, though they may, and indeed do, very often come to us from the East.

* This Ancient Monument was first mentioned by the famous Jesuit *Kircher*, who made many mistakes about it, and from thence there grew some questions as to the matter of fact; which however upon enquiry has been since clearly made out, and thence it is evident, that the Christian religion was settled in *China* in A. D. 636, that is, upwards of two hundred years before the massacre at *Canton*, mentioned by the last of our Authors. We have no certain accounts of the Christians in *China* beyond the tenth century, and when



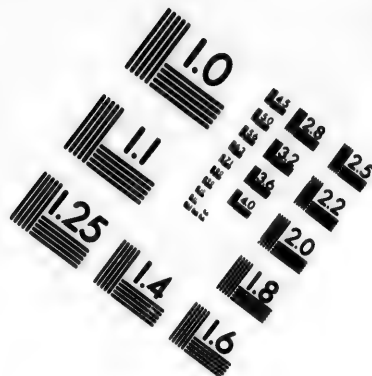
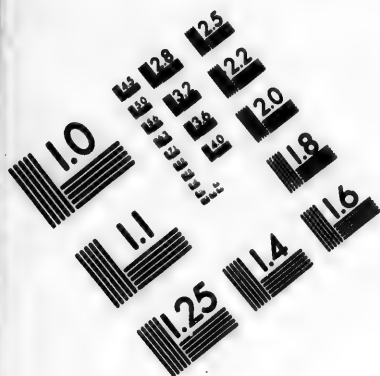
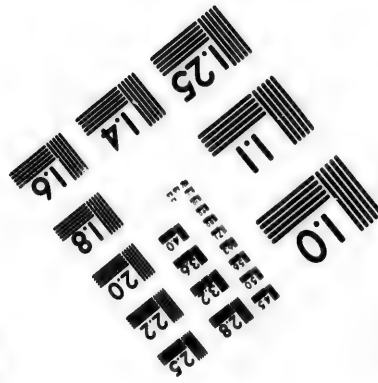
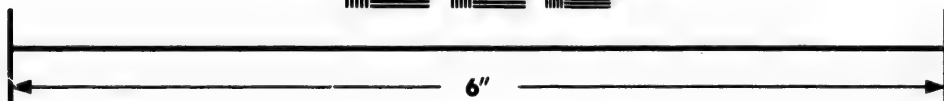
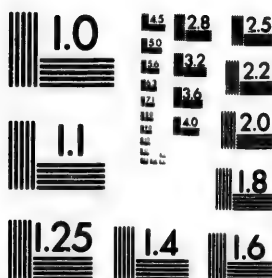


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VOYAGES DURING THE NINTH CENTURY

the first travellers from *Europe* went thither; which is as strong a confirmation of the truth of what our author relates, as in the nature of things can possibly be expected. The Missionaries also that were first sent to *China* found there visible marks of Christianity, though they found no Christians. The *Jews* have been settled in that Empire for time immemorial, and many of them for the sake of riches and preferment have abjured their own religion, and embraced the opinions of the *Chinese*; which is also an unquestionable argument of the truth of these relations.

We may add to this, the Conformity between the accounts given by our travellers and the best *Chinese* histories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been in every respect agreeable to truth. All this is not only supported by our knowledge of many of the customs of these people, which remain to this day the same with those reported in these relations; but they are still more plainly verified by such as are now no longer in use, because many *Chinese* writers, and Christian missionaries from them, take notice of such obsolete customs, and inform us when they were laid aside or began to grow into disuse. On the whole therefore we may safely affirm, that these Treatises are free from all just grounds of suspicion, and ought to be regarded as the earliest and best Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

--- I am persuaded that an entire credit is due to the matters of fact asserted by both of our Authors, and that consequently we may absolutely depend upon what they have delivered as to the state of *China* and the *Indies*, within this period of time; that is to say, from A. D. 833, to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly established, let us see what will follow from it. In the first place, it is most evident that these Eastern countries were in a very happy and flourishing condition, were governed by their own princes, and knew not, generally speaking, what it was to suffer by such sudden and violent revolutions as have since happened in those parts. It must, however, be at the same time observed, that though their state was far better than it is now; yet both our Authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the dignity of their princes began to sink, the severity of their discipline to relax, and the manners of their people to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in *China*, a country still more remote than the *Indies*, the people were in this period very well acquainted with the condition of their neighbours, to whom they must also have been tolerably well known; and yet within the space of two hundred years, the face of things was so entirely changed, that the *Chinese* lost almost all knowledge of us in *Europe*, and we of them.

Lastly, we ought to conclude from the consideration of these Facts, from the state of things in *China* and the *Indies*, and especially from the superiority of their manufactures; that this Empire was in every respect in a much better situation than in succeeding times; that is to say, was better governed, more populous, the industry of

the *Portuguese* came first to *Canton* under Don *Fernand Perez d'Andrada*, which was A. D. 1517, there was no sort of remembrance of Christianity preserved in that empire; so that it is impossible to discover how this religion was exterminated there, otherwise than for want of pastors.

the

the people better conducted, and their foreign Commerce far more extensive than in the ages immediately preceding the Discovery of the passage thither from *Europe*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*. . . .

The Reader, I persuade myself, is by this time of the same opinion with myself as to the value of these ancient writers.—It is plain from what these authors tell us, that the *Indies* in their time were not much altered from what they were in the days of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whereas when the *Portuguese* came thither, they were quite in another condition; we must therefore learn how this came to pass.

. . . It deserves also to be considered, that the first Voyagers into any remote country must lie under great disadvantages, because they report things absolutely unknown before, and which, for that reason, appear monstrous and incredible; whereas, in process of time, and after various persons have visited the same place, the public begins to grow familiar with their relations; and having received repeated testimonies as to the truth of strange facts, renounce the prejudices that were conceived against them at the beginning. It is for this reason that many learned men abroad, but particularly *Ramusio* in *Italy*, and *Bergeron* in *France*, have taken so much pains to examine, correct, and set forth in a most perfect manner, many of these old writers; which after the care they have taken about them, appear to so great advantage, that they scarce seem to be the same that were known to us formerly in so wretched a condition.

But if such Treatises are liable to a bad reception at their first appearance, their credit increases with posterity; and there is very good reason for recurring to the first Voyages, as we do to the first Editions of books, to see how things stood at the beginning. Such writers are, generally speaking, the most curious and the most exact; for being extremely struck with every thing they see and hear, they are more vigilant in their searches; and more particular in their relations, than those that follow them; such taking it for granted, that what is common in remote Countries has been already reported by others, and will not give themselves the trouble of setting down any thing that is not marvellous or extraordinary. We ought not, likewise, to forget that such travellers as are sent to visit distant Countries, or who go thither purely out of curiosity, and from a desire of seeing what others have not seen before; are much more likely to record exactly whatever they meet with, than such as go afterwards into these Countries purely on the score of trade; and on their return, perhaps, are persuaded to oblige the world with an account of what they have met with, compiled at a considerable distance of time, and consequently very liable to mistakes and other imperfections.

* * *Mr. Maurice* in his *Modern History of Hindostan* (v. i. n. 1. p. 223.) notices the above Voyages. "That account, from what we now know of the political situation, the manners, customs and commerce of *India*, bears every mark of authenticity; and though some obscurity hangs over it, in consequence of the different denomination, at that time, of many of the places and Cities described, from those by which they are now known; yet on the whole, it appears to exhibit the true picture of *India*, as it then flourished. . . . It is an Arab's report, at the period of the highest glory of the Moslem empire."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,

CORRESPONDENCE.
DENCE.

I.

THE Observations made by Mr. William Chapple in the year 1761, respecting the effect which Tallow has on the Compass, are certainly important, and worthy the notice of scientific men. I have examined, and can attest their accuracy. These Observations were originally printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1761. (vol. xxxi. p. 358.) whence, with little alteration, I have selected the following communication. Mr. Chapple's letter was answered by a correspondent *Indagator* (Ibid. p. 397.) who attempted to ridicule the discovery: this occasioned a second letter from Mr. Chapple (page 459-), which was again answered by *Indagator*. To this also Mr. Chapple replied (page 569.), when he owns it had sometimes failed; and that this gave him some suspicion, that the attraction, observed before, might be owing, either to a different composition in the Candles, or to some Magnetic property in the Mould, or what the melting vessel communicated to the Tallow. To remove these doubts he had a Mould Candle made of pure ammoniac fat, with which the experiment was tried, and succeeded in all respects as at first, only the attraction seemed stronger.

I FIXED a Pivot on a point of the Meridian line, which point was made the centre of a graduated circle; and putting the Needle thereon, I could easily observe what degree of the quadrant, between the north and west side, the Needle would point at, but this Observation was retarded by an unexpected accident.

As it was almost dark when the Needle was fitted for observing the Variation, I could not see its exact position until candles were brought: the Needle being then at rest, I approached it, with a candle, to observe exactly at what degree it stood; but before I could ascertain this, the Needle became so disturbed, as to shift itself four or five degrees on each side; and was not steadily fixed, until the candles were removed, when it was again at rest. The like attempt being repeated, the same disturbance returned, so that I could not yet ascertain the exact Variation; though I observed that the middle point, between the Needle's vibrations, was not much short of 21 degrees. I now began to suspect it was disturbed by the *Lapis Calaminaris*, in the brass of the candlestick, which is known to have a considerable effect on the Magnetic Needle; and for which reason the Compass should always be hung in a box made of pure copper. On considering this, I removed the candlestick to some distance, and observed with the candle alone; but with no better success, for the Needle would not remain steady, but still vibrated, and mostly towards the candle. I then took two candles, and held one on each side of the Needle, nearly at an equal distance from it; and then it became more steady, though not quite at rest: which enabled me to discern

* I am rather inclined to Scepticism on this subject. Mr. Chapple, in his last letter, adds—I was possibly too hasty in attributing that property to the TALLOW, which perhaps might be only adventitious to it, and owing to some other cause; what that cause may be, I will not now take upon me to say, but if the experiment succeeds with some Candles, and fails in others of the same composition, 'tis plain it must be sought for elsewhere, and perhaps may be discovered by proper experiments. The above communication is however interesting, as it records a curious Fact, or memorable Decision in the history of the Mariner's Compass. I have therefore yielded to the opinion of this Correspondent, with whom Scientific Researches I am well acquainted.—EDITOR.

discern that the *Variation* wanted very little of 21 degrees. Having been amused for an hour or two, by these trials, and still doubting whether it was the *Tallow*, or the *flame of the candle*, that thus influenced the Needle, I deferred all further experiments till the next day; when I found the Needle rested at about 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ or rather nearer 21 degrees from north towards the west. I then took an unlighted candle and held it near the Needle, and I found the candle attract it four or five degrees, out of its place of rest, on either side; and the same, if the candle was placed near either pole of the Needle. I then laid down the candle by the side of, and nearly parallel to the Needle, which now continued vibrating towards it, till it stuck to it; and this on being repeated, was found to succeed in such various positions of the candle, as to convince me that this adhesion was owing to attraction only: from which I concluded that *Tallow will attract the Magnetic Needle*, which I should not have known but from this accident; and I question whether it has been observed before. I remember an instance at sea, of the *Compasser* being equally affected, when the Binnacle was much soiled by tallow running from the candle; so that the two binnacles differed from each other at least ten degrees, or near an whole point. On cleansing the binnacle from the waste tallow, both Compasses were found to agree in the medium between the points, at which the Needle had before stood; so that the tallow which was between them seemed here to have attracted one of the Needles, about five degrees easterly, and that on the other side thereof as many degrees westerly. This is a sufficient confirmation of the attractive quality of Tallow, and its influence on the Magnetic Needle. I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant;

ROBERT MASON, *Lieut. of Marines.*

H. M. S. Fortitude, *Porchester Lake, Feb. 5. 1801.*

II.

DEAR SIR,

IT is greatly to be lamented that the quality of Charcoal to destroy PUTREFACTION, is not more generally known among Naval Men. During last war, some few Captains found the beneficial effects of charring their Water Casks: but such considerable light has been thrown on the subject, in the third volume of *Crell's Chemical Journal*, by *Mr. Kels*, that I beg of you to give the following Translation from the German, which appeared in *Rivington's Annual Register* for 1792, an early place in your valuable Work.

S. S. S.

Spithead, July 5. 1801.

ON THE POWER WHICH CHARCOAL POSSESSES OF CORRECTING AND DESTROYING THE FETOR PRODUCED BY PUTREFACTION, BY MR. KELS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ONE of the most remarkable properties of CHARCOAL, which was first made known by Mr. Lowitz, is its destroying the stench which arises from Putrid Flesh; for on kneading the same with *Charcoal Powder*, the Fetor is entirely taken off, and nothing but a pure smell of volatile alkali remains. This Fact has been since confirmed by Mr. Brugnatelli, and also by * Mr. Kels.

But *Charcoal* by no means checks the putrefactive process which the flesh is undergoing; for in spite of admixture therewith, the flesh becomes at length completely resolved or destroyed. It is not therefore an *antiseptic* in the strict sense of the word, since it only acts upon the fetid effluvia from the putrifying substances.

This property of *Charcoal* suggested to Mr. Kels the *correction of foul and stinking water* by the same means. His first experiments on this subject, which he made in January 1789 (the results of which he communicated to Professors Gmelin, Blumenbach, and Feder, of Gottingen), succeeded agreeably to his expectations and wishes. It was not, we are told, till after his experiments had been made known, that Mr. Lowitz published his method of purifying foul water by the same means, only with the addition of vitriolic acid.

The correction or restoration of Putrid Water by means of *Charcoal*, is so easy, so simple, and so cheap a process, that Mr. Kels strongly recommends it to be adopted, in preference to all other * Methods hitherto proposed in Sea Voyages. In all his experiments he has found *Charcoal Powder*, added in a greater or less proportion, according to the degree of putrefaction, and the quantity of putrid particles, to render foul water sweet by agitation therewith for a few minutes: the subsequent separation of the *Charcoal Powder* from the water is effected with little difficulty.

The purifying operation of *Quicklime in conjunction with Charcoal*, is most striking in the case of water, in which Flax has been suffered to putrefy; such water has a peculiar, and highly offensive smell. That which was used in these experiments was as black

* The Culinary Experience of our good mothers, and grandmothers, may be adduced as an additional corroboration of this useful property of *Charcoal*. It has long been an established practice in the chemistry of the kitchen to take off the offensive smell of meat, a little tainted, by throwing into the pot, when boiling, a red hot wood coal; an expedient which is found always to succeed, unless the putrefaction of the flesh be too far advanced.

† Namely, 1. *Ventilation*, recommended by Foster; 2. *Shaking the water in the casks*, after opening them, recommended by Arkow, and Lind, who further recommends boiling the Putrid Water briskly but for a short time, and also the addition of *Alum*; 3. the *Addition of quicklime*, recommended by Foster (Mr. Kels has found that this last, as is noticed in our text, may be usefully employed in conjunction with *Charcoal*); 4. *Nitrated silver*: this, which has been recommended as a powerful antiseptic by Dr. Hahneman, was tried by Mr. Kels without effect. It is, besides, an unsafe article; 5. and lastly, *Argillaceous earth, or clay*, recommended by Mr. Beckman.

was ink; by addition of Quicklime it was soon rendered quite clear and limpid, the lime carrying down with it black flakes to the bottom of the vessel; but the bad smell was so far from being destroyed or removed, that it was on the contrary made worse; and could only be gotten rid of by the addition of *Charcoal Powder*. Water, in which *cabbage* had been steeped, and which was of a yellowish brown colour, was in like manner rendered fine and clear by Quicklime, but did not part with its stinking smell, till Charcoal was mixed with it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

For the separation or precipitation of the portion of Lime which in this mode of purification remains dissolved in the water, Mr. K. proposes (in preference to fixed air) the employment either of acid of Tartar, or of Vitriolic acid.

Water that has undergone Putrefaction, is deprived of its fresh and brisk taste, which *Charcoal* is not capable of restoring; hence the water that has been thus purified, tastes soft and vapid. For the restoration of its pleasant refreshing taste, Mr. K. recommends the employment of * Fixed air.

The disagreeable Mouldy Taste, which some water has in its natural state, may be corrected by simple filtration through *Charcoal Powder*, which has this further advantage, that it separates at the same time the extraneous matter that is mechanically mixed with the water, and thereby renders it pure and clear.

Mr. K. is induced to think that *Charcoal* is even capable of Preserving water from becoming putrid for a long space of time; for he could not perceive the least putrid smell in water that had been kept, mixed with *Charcoal*, for a whole year. He accounts for this effect by supposing that the *Charcoal* does not, like a true Antiseptic, keep off the putrefactive process, but only absorbs the putrid particles immediately as they are formed, and so prevents them from acting as a ferment to the rest of the water. He therefore thinks it worth while that this Experiment be tried on large quantities of water in Sea Voyages.

As *Charcoal* has been found to take off the fetor from putrid flesh, Mr. K. thinks it may be advantageously employed on Ship-board, for sweetening stinking meat. For this purpose, the meat needs only to be rubbed in, and remain covered over with *Charcoal Powder*, for some time, and afterwards washed clean. He further thinks that it might be useful to add some *Charcoal Powder* at the time the Meat is salted.

The Bilge Water, which so much contaminates the whole air in Ships, might also be corrected by means of *Charcoal Powder*.

* As Dr. Gregory observes in his Economy of Nature, (vol. i. p. 387.) Fixed Air, carbonic acid gas, may be easily obtained, by mixing together equal parts of brown sugar and good yeast of beer, and adding about twice the quantity of water. This Mixture being put into a phial, to which a bent tube with a cork or stopple may be adapted, will immediately ferment, and yield a considerable quantity of fixed air, which may be received into a phial filled with quicksilver or water. Among the most useful properties of fixed air, water impregnated with it becomes a powerful antiseptic.—Nicholson, in his Chemical Dictionary, says that the acid commonly known by the name of Fixed Air, consists of the inflammable matter of Charcoal, united to Vital Air; and that many thence infer the presence of Charcoal in all cases where fixed air is extricated or produced. EDIT.

III.

CORRESPONDENCE. *The following NAUTICAL REMARKS connected with the subject of the present Volume, were sent from the Cape of Good Hope, by a Naval Officer, of superior talents: whose insestimable Friendship long valued and approved, now assists my anxious labours. This Gentleman sailed from England in the Squadron under the command of Sir Home Popham.*

MY DEAR SIR,

FROM crossing the Line well to the westward, in longitude $27^{\circ} 30'$, we avoided the long Calms which are generally met with upon the Equator, by those who cross it further to the eastward, which perhaps was the case with DE GAMA.—When we had crossed the Line one thing struck me very forcibly; which is, that Navigators after getting into the south-east Trades, which prevail from $1, 2$, or 3 degrees of south latitude, as far as $24, 25, 26$, or 27 degrees, should not think of running down their longitude, though bound to the eastward, but should endeavour to get as fast as possible to the southward; and unless the wind is very scant, they should never keep nearer the wind, than a fore-topmast studding Sail will stand. For in the first place, when well to the southward, the degrees of longitude are much shorter; and you are besides sure of Variable Winds, after losing the Trade, and most likely strong north-westers: so that all you have to guard against, while in the course of the Trade Winds, is, if possible, to avoid making the coast of Brazil.

It is always found, that by crossing the Line, in from 24° to 27° west longitude, you meet with fewer Calms, and get sooner across, than a ship would do, by making the attempt further to the Eastward: we had never more of them, than twenty-four hours at a time; though we experienced a great deal of very heavy rain, with some tremendous thunder and lightning. This however generally brought on a stiff breeze, to which we carried all sail, with all hands upon deck; and by these means we were soon across.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. In Latitude $36^{\circ} 02'$, N. Longitude $12^{\circ} 00'$, W. we found a strong Current setting about S. E. by E.
2. In Latitude $34^{\circ} 52'$, N. Longitude $12^{\circ} 30'$, W. found a Current setting about S. E. or S. E. by E.
3. In Latitude, from $4^{\circ} 56'$, to $3^{\circ} 30'$ N., and Longitude 27° W., we met with a strong Current setting to the southward, for the whole distance on the Log for forty-eight hours would not give the difference of Latitude, supposing it to be all a Southerly course, which was not the case.
4. In Latitude, from $2^{\circ} 24'$ to $00^{\circ} 13'$ N., and Longitude $27^{\circ} 30'$ W., found the Current set to the southward, and westward.

5. In

5. In Latitude $1^{\circ} 40' S.$, Longitude $29^{\circ} 05' W.$, found a Current setting to the westward. CORRESPONDENCE.

6. After leaving *Madeira*, when in the Latitude of $28^{\circ} N.$ seamen expect to meet the *N. E. Trade Wind*, and carry it sometimes as far as 6° , 5° , 4° , or even $3^{\circ} N.$ and sometimes even nearer the Line: but it was a general remark that we had this Wind very far southerly; for until the Latitude of $17^{\circ} N.$ we seldom had it better than *E. S. E.* and not often so good: thence, to $4^{\circ} N.$ Lat. from *E.* to *N. E.* and even to the *N.* of the Line, we got hold of the *S. E. Trade*.

7. In the *S. E. Trade*, the Wind generally fell light, a little before noon, and continued to until the evening, when it freshened. It also came further to the southward, after eight A. M. and came round again to the eastward in the evening.

8. We carried the *S. E. Trade* as far as Lat. $29^{\circ} S.$, when we got hold of the Variable Winds.

VARIATION OF THE COMPASS FROM MADEIRA, TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
From December 14. 1800, to February 12. 1801.

Day of the Month.	Latitude Observed.	Longitude by Observation.	VARIATION.	Day of the Month.	Latitude Observed.	Longitude by Observation.	VARIATION.
1800.	<i>Norib.</i>	<i>West.</i>	<i>Westerly.</i>	1801.	<i>South.</i>	<i>West.</i>	<i>Westerly.</i>
Dec.	Deg. Min.	Deg. Min.	Deg. Min.	Jan.	Deg. Min.	Deg. Min.	Deg. Min.
14.	35 02	13 10	18 26	19.	20 45	31 31	1 04
27.	23 38	22 24	14 08	20.	22 10	30 50	0 18
28.	21 27	14 15	15 13	21.	24 34	29 40	0 24
29.	20 42	24 55	11 12	22.	26 42	28 27	0 54
30.	19 02	26 00	11 11	23.	28 49	27 19	1 12
31.	17 37	26 45	10 40	24.	30 16	26 16	1 05
1801.				25.	30 31	26 04	0 45
Jan.				26.	30 56	24 02	not taken.
1.	15 49	26 45	9 40	27.	31 00	24 02	do.
2.	13 02	26 54	8 30	28.	32 20	20 52	3 20
3.	9 59	27 00	7 37	29.	33 06	18 18	not taken.
4.	7 06	26 58	7 14	30.	33 13	15	5 40
5.	4 56	26 21	-	31.	33 53	12 08	9 20
6.	4 28 D. R.	26 00	7 54	Feb.			
7.	3 30 obf.	26 17	7 00	1.	34 32	10 24	not taken.
8.	2 24 N.	27 00	-	2.	34 05	8 17	do.
9.	0 13	27 45	5 30	3.	35 06	8 04	10 05
	<i>South.</i>	<i>West.</i>		4.	35 29	6 44	11 00
10.	1 40	29 05	3 54	5.	35 42	3 56	12 08
11.	3 24	30 13	3 54	6.	35 53	0 32	14 00
12.	5 06	31 32	4 13			<i>East.</i>	
13.	7 07	32 25	2 46	7.	35 53	2 18	17 26
14.	9 11	33 10	1 22	8.	34 45 D. R.	6 25 D. R.	21 00
15.	11 30	33 32	0 39	9.	35 17 obf.	9 57 obf.	not taken.
16.	14 10	33 17	0 25	10.	34 58	13 21	22 00
17.	16 28	32 57	0 45	11.	34 24	15 51	22 50
18.	18 22	32 30	-	12.	-	Arrived at the Cape.	

* From that Latitude to 3° or $4^{\circ} S.$ Variable Winds are expected.

* k k 2

In

CORRESPONDENCE.

In reply to your Queries relative to the Voyage of *Vasco da Gama*, I have to add, that his Squadron continued, during an whole monsoon, at anchor on the coast of Malabar: he lay near Calicut; and when the English obtained possession on that coast, a Vessel fitted out in India, with the best of ground tackling, and every precaution taken that was possible, was sent to the same place, on the approach of the monsoons; but, notwithstanding the superior skill of our seamen, the attempt was found impracticable, and the Vessel was driven ashore.

F. M.

IV.

Every well authenticated communication relative to CHRONOMETERS must be acceptable to the Navigator. I therefore am happy in being able to insert the following account of the going of No. 66. made by ARNOLD, belonging to Rear-Admiral Payne, during the time it was lent to Captain Durham of the Anson.

" DEAR SIR,

Sept. 22. 1800.

" You will perceive by the inclosed, how uncommonly well your Time-piece went. It was by much the best of four we had on board. I am, &c.

J. P. DURHAM."

" Rear-Admiral Payne, &c. &c. &c.

REPORT OF LIBUTENANT KING.

" It should be previously observed that this Chronometer had not been wound up for I believe a year, previous to this trial; so that it would not have been extraordinary, if the Chronometer had in some measure failed.

First Period of twenty-eight days.

May 31. 1800. Received the above Chronometer from the Observatory at Portsmouth, when she was fast of mean time at Greenwich

Sailed to the westward, to Gibraltar, in Long. $50^{\circ} 21' 00''$ W. =

$00^{\circ} 43'' ,30$
 $21^{\circ} 24''$

Should be fast, if it did not gain or lose

$22^{\circ} 7'' ,30$

Observed at Gibraltar, June 28. and found it fast of mean time

$32^{\circ} 42'' ,47$

Rate in twenty-eight days gained, which makes its gaining at $22''$

70 per day, which I give as its rate

$10^{\circ} 35'' ,17$

Second

Second Period of thirty-one days.

CORRESPONDENCE.

June 28. The Chronometer was fast of Greenwich	-	-	11' 18" ,47
Its Rate at 22" 70, for thirty-one days gaining	-	-	11 43 ,70
Should be fast on July 29. being thirty-one days	-	-	23' 2" ,17
Observed July 29. and found it fast	-	-	23 53

Error gained in thirty-one days, which makes its Rate to be Gaining 24" 34 *per* day = to 12' 42" of Longitude West, Plus

Third Period of forty-eight days.

July 29. At Gibraltar, the Chronometer was fast of Greenwich	-	-	23' 53"
Sailed to the Westward of Greenwich, 1° 6' 15" the Longitude of Portsmouth Observatory	-	-	4 25
Its Rate at 24" 34 <i>per</i> day gaining	-	-	28 18
Should be fast, if it went exact, and kept its Rate	-	-	19 28 ,32
Observed it fast, by comparison with Mr. Bailey's astronomical clock at Portsmouth, September 15. 1800	-	-	47 46 ,32
Observed it fast, by comparison with Mr. Bailey's astronomical clock at Portsmouth, September 15. 1800	-	-	47 58
Error in forty-eight days = to nearly 3' of Longitude	-	-	00' 11" ,68

This Chronometer of Arnold's has gone extremely well, as may be seen from the above account: for even the largest Error it has made, is no more than 12' 42" of Longitude in thirty-one days, which is in the second period, and is so small an error, as to have little effect upon making any Land.

WILLIAM KING, *First Lieutenant of the Anson.*

V.

SIR,

It would I think be of service to Navigators if you would give the following valuable pieces of information a place in your Work. I have extracted both articles from Eaton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, printed in the year 1798, and now out of print.

Yours, &c.

March 13, 1801.

AN OLD SEAMAN.

I. "The preservation of YEAST having been a subject of much research in this country, the following particulars may perhaps deserve attention: On the Coast of Persia

CORRESPONDENCE. Persia my bread was made in the English manner, of good wheat flour, and with the *Yeast* generally used there. It is thus prepared: Take a small tea-cup, or wine-glass, full of split or bruised pease, pour on it a pint of boiling water, and set the whole in a vessel all night on the hearth, or any other warm place; the water will have a froth on its top next morning, and will be good Yeast. In this cold climate, especially at a cold season, it should stand longer to ferment, perhaps twenty-four or forty-eight hours. The above quantity made me as much Bread as two sixpenny loaves, the quality of which was very good and very light."

*New Mode of Filtering * Water.*

II. "I have seen practised a method of Filtering water by ascension, which is much superior to our filtering Stones, or other methods by descent, in which in time, particles of the stone, or the finer sand, make a passage along with the water.

"They make two Wells from five to ten feet, or any depth, at a small distance, which have a communication at bottom. The separation must be of clay well beaten, or of other substances impervious to water. The two Wells are then filled with sand and gravel. The opening of that into which the water to be filtered is to run, must be somewhat higher than that into which the water is to ascend; and this must not have sand quite up to its brim, that there may be room for the filtered water; or it may by a spout, run into a vessel placed for that purpose. The greater the difference is between the height of the two wells, the faster the water will filter; but the less it is the better, provided a sufficient quantity of water be supplied by † it.

"This may be practised in a cask, tub, jar, or other vessel. The water may be conveyed to the bottom by a pipe, the lower end having a Sponge in it, or the Pipe may be filled with coarse sand.

"It is evident that all such Particles, which by their gravity are carried down by filtration, by descent, will not rise with the water in filtration by ascension. This might be practised on board ships at little expence."

* For the latest Essays on the subject of purifying, or preserving water during long Voyages, the reader is referred, 1. to *La Perouse's Voyage* (vol. 1. p. 267. Johnson's Translation) for a *Sketch of Experiments to be made for preserving the water on ship-board from corruption, communicated to M. De La Perouse, by M. L'Abbe Tesser, of the Academy of Sciences, and of the Society of Medicine.* 2. To the *Voyage in search of Perouse, by D'Entrecasteaux* (vol. 1. p. 60. DeBrett's Translation.) "To restore water to its primitive purity, it is sufficient to agitate it for a quarter of an hour. We had on board a machine which perfectly answered this end: it was a large tub, of the size of a *double beffolier*: when it was three-fourths filled with water, there were turned round in its middle, by means of a winch and a catch-wheel, four large iron plates disposed in the form of a cross; the water then received a strong agitation, which by disengaging the inflammable Gas with which it was impregnated, restored to it, at the same time, the pure air of which it had been partly deprived; and however tainted it was before, it did not, in a very little while, differ from the best water."—This machine however does not appear so effectual, as the *Tin Pump Ventilator*, used on board our ships. EDIT.

† This mode of filtering water might be practised, if only for the sick; when ships on a foreign station, or strange coast, are obliged to procure a fresh supply, and cannot obtain it good.

VI.

On concluding this work, I feel it incumbent on me to insert a letter from WILLIAM SELWIN Esq. where he notices Scarce Books on Navigation, and connected with this Work :—

DEAR SIR,

Mr Clarke seems, in his letter to you, to have a design of republishing some of the most useful Treatises on Navigation. If he should resolve to do so, I think that the works of *Pedro Nunes*, or *Nonius*, the learned Portuguese; of our countryman *Edward Wright*; and of our other countryman *Robert Hues*; and *The Seaman's Practice*, of *Richard Norwood*; with likewise perhaps *Simon Stevin's Hypomnemata Mathematica*, will be the books most worthy of that attention.

S.

FINIS.